
William Ramsay

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IN

ARCHÆOLOGY, HISTORY, LITERATURE, LANGUAGES, PHILOSOPHY, RELIGION, FOLKLORE.
&c., &c., &c.



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Water will serve to put out fire, umbrellas 'gainst the heat,
A sharp hook guides the elephant, the ox and ass we beat,
Disease we cure with doctors' stuff, the serpent's bite with charms,
Against the fool, the worst of ills, nature provides no arms.

Page 6, note *, for *Ante*, *read* vol. III.
„ 20 „ +, *last word read* lanakañgi.
„ 39 *a*, l. 16 from bottom, *for* הי read התי.
„ 46 *a* „ 43, *for* on *read* in.
„ 48 *a* „ 4, *for* pêij *read* pôy.
„ 48 *a* „ 19, *for* practical *read* poetical.
„ 56 *b* „ 10, *for* or *read* of.
„ 75 *b*, note 91, *for* [illegible] *read* अ.
„ 76 *a*, l. 13, *dele*].
„ 102 *b* „ 12 from bottom, *for* Mahamadans *read* Muhammadans.
„ 107 *b* „ 4, *for* vol. II. *read* vol. III.
„ 110 *a*, l. 28, for *Graculus religiosus* read *Acridotheres tristis*. (Also in the Index, p. 371 *c*, l. 17.)
„ 161 *a* „ 43, *for* T h a n k a w a r *read* T h a u t a w a r.

Page 161 *b* l. 16, *for* hurried *read* harried.
„ 177 *b* „ 24, and p. 179 *a*, l. 17, *for* Balagâmve *read* Balagâmve.
„ 179, transcription, l. 5, *for* ಕೊಂಭಿತೊತ್ತ್ರವಾಂ— *read* ಕೋಂಭಿತೋತ್ತ್ರವಾಂ—.
„ 180 *a*, note §, *for* or Pulikêśî I. *read* or Pulikêśî II.
„ „ *b* „ §, *after* '*Mûrurâyâsthâna*' *add*—But see a note which I shall give on the words '*Mûrurâyara ganda*' below the translation of No. XIV of this Series in Vol. V.
„ 181 *a*, l. 16, *for* being *read* —being.
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„ „ *b*, l. 18-19, *for* Nidagundage *read* Nidugundage.
„ „ „ 27, and p. 206 *a*, l. 19, *for* Jayakêsi III *read* Jayakêśî III.
„ „ note ¶, for *Bankâpurada* read *Bankâpurada*.

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" " " §, *for* Sâyanâchârya *read* Sâyaṇâchârya.
" 207 *a*, l. 2, *for* Sadâśivadêvaraya *read* Sadâśivadêvarâya.
" 208 *b*, " 5, *for* Balagâmve *read* Baḷagâṁve.
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" " *a*, note ‡, *for* Jayasiṁha, the younger brother of Vikramâditya, *read* Jayasiṁha, the younger brother of Ayyaṇa.
" 211 *a*, l. 6, *for* oblations *read* libations.
" 231 *a* " 14, *for* παραπλους *read* περιπλους.
" 233 *a* " 16, *for* Dadhîsthala *read* Dahisthala.
" 235 *a* " 35, *for* S v a y a ṁ b h u m â h a k â l a d e v a *read* S v a y a ṁ b h u m a h â k â l a d e v a.
" 236 *b*, note, l. 2, *for* Kaṇ. Kaṇbi *read* Kuṁ. Kulaṁbî.
" 244 *a*, l. 43, *for* A n t i k o n â *read* A n t i k o n a.
" " *b* " 30, for *varttikakára* read *várttikakára*.
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" 247 *b* " 3, after *Mahábháshya* insert *inverted commas*.
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" 249 *a* " 4, after *Penelope* insert full point.
" " " 24, *for* Lassen *read* you.
" " " 35 for *adyá' pi* read *adyá 'pi*.
" " " 47, for *takañchanorûpikaṁ* read *takañchanarûpikaṁ*.
" " *b* " 16, *for* Sakâbdah *read* Sakâbda.
" " " 20, *for* regard *read* regards.
" " " 42, *dele inverted commas before* the.
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" " " 26 for *eo* read *eis*.
" " " 52, *after* in *insert* the.
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" " transcription, l. 47, *for* गुनणी *read* नगुर्णा.
" 276, transcription, l. 53, *for* शतांतग्गत(त), *read* शतांतर्गत(त).
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" 316 *a* " 10, *dele* No. 37.
" " *b* " 14 " " 38.
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" 331, transcription, l. 24-5, *for* ಸಿ (?ಸಿಂ)-ಐ[25]ನೂಪ್ವಾ್ರ &c., *read* ಸಿ(?ಸಿಂ)-ಜ[25]ನೂಪ್ವಾರ &c.
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" 333, transcription, l. 13, *for* कैकर्य्य(य), *read* कैंकर्य्य(य).
" 334, transcription, l. 51, *for* [51] तेक्रर्मा (क्रिमिः), *read* [51] ते क्रर्मा(क्रिमिः).
" 339 *b* " 1, *for* to *read* and.
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" " " 16, *for* Pudreśvara *read* Rudreśvara.
" 340 *a*, note *, l. 4, for *Acsidotheres* read *Acridotheres*.
" " *b* " 7, *for* J u s a n *read* T û r a n.
" 350 *b*, l. 10, *for* son of &c. *read* descendant of H. E. Kuṭb-allakṭâb Sayyid Muhammad Bukhârî [d. A.H. 791].
" " " 13, *for* son of &c. *read* descendant of H. E. Imâm Hasan &c. [A.H. 39].
" " " 14, 15, *for* in reality a Shaikh &c. *read* for the merit of the Shaikh of the faith, Ma'rûf of Karkhî —[Karkhî is a mahallah in Baghdâd].
" 358 *a* " 31, *for* Kâlbâdevi *read* Kâlbâdevî.
" 359 *a* " 6, *for* of Mambâdevi *read* of Mamalambhuva or Mambâdevî.
" " " 38, *for* P a l s i s *read* P a ḷ ś i s.

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A TRANSLATION OF THE NÎTIŚATAKAM, OR HUNDRED VERSES ON ETHICS AND POLITICS, BY BHARTṚIHARI.

BY PROF. C. H. TAWNEY, M.A., CALCUTTA.

THE following translation* is made from the recent edition of Bhartṛihari's *Nîtiśatakam* and *Vairâgyaśatakam* by Kâshinâth Trimbak Telang, M.A., LL.B.† In the introduction prefixed to his edition he maintains "the tradition of king Bhartṛihari's full authorship of these works." He then arrives at the conclusion that our author flourished about the close of the first and the beginning of the second century of the Christian era." It is unnecessary to recapitulate his arguments here, as No. XI. of the Bombay Sanskṛit Series may be presumed to be in the hands of most readers of the *Antiquary*.

I proceed to extract from Lassen's *Indische Alterthumskunde* (vol. II. p. 1174) some remarks on these poems and their authorship. "The opinion I before expressed, that the date of the composition of the three hundred short poems which by universal tradition are ascribed to B h a r t ṛ i h a r i, must be placed before the overthrow of the older G u p t a dynasty,‡ is of course untenable if the passage in which Buddha is represented as a tenth incarnation of Vishṇu really formed part of the original collection, but I have already remarked above that the earliest evidence of the reception of Ś â k y a M u n i among the incarnations of the Brâhmanic god is to be found in an inscription of the tenth century, and that the passage in question must therefore be regarded as an interpolation. Another allusion, *i.e.* to the Purâṇas as containing doctrines to which the author attaches no value, cannot help us to fix his date, as we may understand by the expression the older works that passed under that title.§ I base my opinion that the poems in question must be referred to so early a period principally upon their great literary merits, which render them conspicuous among the productions of the Indian muse. They place before us in terse and pithy language the Indian views about the chief aspirations of youth, manhood, and old age, about love, about concerns with things of this world, and about retirement from them into lonely contemplation. They contain a rich store of charming descriptions of lovers and their various states of feeling; of shrewd and pointed remarks about human life, about the worth of virtue and the evils of vice, and of sage reflections on the happiness of ascetics, who in their lonely retirement contemplate all things with indifference. On account of the perfect art with which they are composed, these short poems are worthy of being ranked among the masterpieces of Indian genius. Some

* The Sentences of Bhartṛihari have already appeared in more than one European dress. Pet. von Bohlen published a Latin version with a commentary at Berlin in 1833; D. Galanos translated them into Greek under the title of *Ινδικων μεταφρασεων Προδρομος*, published by G. K. Typaldos at Athens, 1845; and H. Fauche gave a French version in 1852.—Ed.

† The poems are also to be found in Haberlin's *Anthology* (Calcutta, W. Thacker & Co., 1847). This seems to be the edition used by Professor Lassen.

‡ *i.e.* before the end of the third century after Christ.

§ Of which Lassen supposes the present eighteen Purâṇas to be a *rifacimento*.

of them are connected in sense, as the description of the seasons; others form a whole by themselves, and may be most fitly compared to miniature paintings, as presenting to us a complete picture in the narrow frame of one strophe. As to the tradition that their author was Bhartṛihari, it probably arose from the circumstance that, according to one story, he is said to have retired to Banâras after he resigned the crown; for the last hundred in the collection of poems attributed to him contain the praises of a contemplative life, and the city of Banâras is mentioned as one in which such a life can be profitably spent; on the other hand, as soon as Bhartṛihari's authorship was generally believed, a strophe in the first hundred in which the faithlessness of women is censured, and a curse is pronounced on them and on the god of love, may well have given rise to the notion that he became disgusted with kingly power on discovering the faithlessness of his wife Anangasenâ,* and abdicated his throne."

Considering the great uncertainty which attaches to Hindu literary history, we may perhaps think it fortunate that there is something like a *consensus* as to the date of these poems. Whether the author of these γνῶμαι was a king or a sage, a man of the world or a pedant, no one can help endorsing Professor Lassen's opinion of their literary merits. Some of them are characterized by an epigrammatic point and a subacid humour rarely to be met with in Sanskṛit literature, and remind us of the best pieces in the Greek Anthology.

FIRST SECTION.

Eternal, Holy Spirit, free from bonds of space
and time,
Whose essence is self-knowledge, Thee I call to
bless my rhyme.

She whom I worship night and day, she loathes
my very sight,
And on my neighbour dotes, who in another
takes delight;
A third she in my humble self nothing but good
can see:
Now out upon the god of love, and him, and
them, and me!

Easy is a fool to manage, easier still a man of
sense,
Brahmâ's self is foiled by one of little brains
and great pretence.

Snatch a jewel, if it please you, from the tiger's
ravening throat;
Cross the ocean, though its billows toss in foam-
wreaths round your boat;
Fearless twine an angry cobra like a garland
round your head;
But with fools forbear to argue,—better strive
to wake the dead.

If you squeeze with might and main,
Oil from sand you may obtain;
If with parching thirst you burn,
Some mirage may serve your turn;

If you wander far and wide,
Rabbits' horns may grace your side;
But you'll never—trust my rule—
Please a headstrong, bumptious fool.

As well attempt to pierce with flowers the
diamond of the mine,
As well attempt with honey-drops to sweeten
ocean's brine,
As well go bind with lotus-bands the lord of
forest herds,†
As strive to lead in wisdom's ways the bad with
sugared words.

When the Creator made the dolt,
He left him not without his bolt;
That fool shows best the wise among
Who strokes his beard and holds his tongue.‡

When but a little I had learned, in my own
partial eyes
I seemed a perfect Solon and immeasurably wise:
But when a little higher I had climbed in
wisdom's school,
The fever-fit was over and I knew myself a
fool.

See that *pariah* making off there with a filthy
greasy bone,
How he'll mumble and enjoy it when he finds
himself alone!
Not if Indra's self reproved him would he blush
and leave his treat,
For the mean abhor no meanness if it only yield
them meat.

* Lassen observes that the etymology of her name (*host of love*) confirms his view.

† i.e. the elephant.

‡ Compare the epigram of Palladas:—

Πᾶς τις ἀπάιδετος φρονιμώτατος ἐστι σιωπῶν
Τὸν λογὸν ἐγκρυύπταν ὡς πάθος ἀισχρότατον.

From Heaven to Śiva's head, and thence to Himâlaya's snows,
To India's plain, thence to the main, the sacred Ganges flows—
A sad descent! but rivers go astray, like foolish men,
From heaven's crown they tumble down, and never rise again.

Deem him who verse and music scorns
A beast without the tail and horns;
What though he never feed on grass,
I hold him none the less an ass.

Those slaves who neither fast nor give,
Unjust, unthinking, idle live,
Are beasts, though men by right of birth,
Unwieldy burdens, cumbering earth.

I'd sooner live in mountain caves with lions, bears, and apes,
Than dwell in Indra's heavenly halls with brainless human shapes.

(*Here ends the section devoted to the censure of fools.*)

SECOND SECTION.

Here follows the praise of the wise man.

Kings in whose country tuneful bards are found
Naked and starving, though for lore renowned,
Are voted dullards by all men of sense;
Poets are ever lords, though short of pence,
And he who spurns the diamond's flawless ray
Himself degrades, not that he flings away.

Those who possess that treasure which no thief can take away,
Which, though on suppliants freely spent, increaseth day by day,
A source of inward happiness which shall outlast the earth—
To them e'en kings should yield the palm, and own their higher worth.

Scorn not those sages who have scaled the topmost heights of truth,
Nor seek to bind their might with bands of straw,
For lotus-strings will never hold in awe
Th' infuriate sovereign of the herd, drunk with the pride of youth.

Heaven, if the swan deserve no quarter,
May drive him from his lotus-bower,
But cannot take away the power
By which he severs milk from water.*

Neither rings, bright chains, nor bracelets, perfumes, flowers, nor well-trimmed hair,
Grace a man like polished language, th' only jewel he should wear.
Knowledge is man's highest beauty, knowledge is his hidden treasure,
Chief of earthly blessings, bringing calm contentment, fame, and pleasure;
Friends in foreign lands procuring, love of mighty princes earning;
Man is but a beast without it: such a glorious god is Learning.

Better silence far than speaking,
Worse are kinsmen oft than fire,
There's no balm like friendly counsel,
There's no enemy like ire,
Rogues have keener teeth than vipers,
Brains outweigh the miser's hoard,
Better modesty than jewels,
Tuneful lyre than kingly sword.

Ever liberal to kinsmen, to the stranger ever kind,
Ever stern to evil-doers, ever frank to men of mind,
Ever loving to the virtuous, ever loyal to the crown,
Ever brave against his foemen, ever honouring the gown,
Womankind distrusting ever—such the hero I would see,—
Such uphold the world in order; without them 'twould cease to be.

What blessings flow from converse with the wise!
All dulness leaves us, truth we learn to prize,
Our hearts expand with consciousness of worth,
Our minds enlarge, our glory fills the earth.

Those bards of passion who unfold
The secrets of the heart,
Their glory never groweth old,
Nor feels Death's fatal dart.

A duteous son, a virtuous wife, a lord to kindness prone,
A loving friend, a kinsman true, a mind of cheerful tone,

* According to Dr. Kielhorn on the *Panchatantra*, I. p. 2, l. 16, it is only the heavenly swans that possess this power.

A handsome shape, a well-filled purse, a soul-illumined face,
Are theirs on whom great Hari smiles, and sheds peculiar grace.

Abstinence from sin of bloodshed, and from speech of others' wives,
Truth and open-handed largess, love for men of holy lives,
Freedom from desire and avarice,—such the path that leads to bliss,
Path which every sect may travel, and the simple cannot miss.

Cowards shrink from toil and peril,
Vulgar souls attempt and fail;
Men of mettle, nothing daunted,
Persevere till they prevail.

Not to swerve from truth or mercy, not for life to stoop to shame;
From the poor no gifts accepting, nor from men of evil fame;
Lofty faith and proud submission,—who on Fortune's giddy ledge
Firm can tread this path of duty, narrow as the sabre's edge?

(Here ends the section devoted to the praise of the wise man.)

THIRD SECTION.

The praise of self-respect and valour.

Worn with hunger, faint and feeble, shorn of glory and of power,
Still the king of beasts is kingly, even to his dying hour;
Will he graze on hay like oxen? No, he longs to meet once more
Tusk-armed elephants in battle, and to drink their spouting gore.

Fling a dry and gristly cow's-bone* to a low-bred cur to gnaw,
Straight he wags his tail delighted, though it cannot fill his maw.

Lions spare the prostrate jackal, but the forest-monarchs smite,
E'en by fortune pressed the valiant scorns to waive his proper right.

Dogs fawn on those who bring them meat,
And grovel whimpering at their feet
With upturned throat, and wag their tails in gamesome mood,
But the huge elephant erect
Bates not one jot of self-respect,
And after thousand coaxings deigns to taste his food

In this revolving world the dead
Are ever born again,
But he is truly born whose race
By him doth praise attain.

Two paths are open to the proud,
As to the woodland flowers,
Which flourish high above the crowd,
Or wither in the bowers.

Râhu spares the lesser planets,
As unworthy of his might,
But he wreaks his lawful vengeance
On the lords of day and night.

On his hood the serpent Śesha doth this triple world uphold,
On the broad back of the tortoise he lies stretched in many a fold,
On the ocean's breast the tortoise like a speck eludes the sight:
Who in thought can limit greatness, or set bounds to Nature's might?

Better had the mount Mainâka borne the brunt of Indra's ire,
Than thus plunged beneath the ocean severed from his sorrowing sire:†
Though he saved unharmed his pinions from the blazing thunder-stone,
Yet he mourns with all his waters for his self-abandoned throne.

The sun-gem touched by Heaven's rays,
Though void of sense, is all ablaze;
How then can men of spirit brook
A fellow-mortal's scornful look?

A lion's whelp will boldly face th' earth-shaking monarch's rage,
For valour dwells in valorous kind, without regard of age.

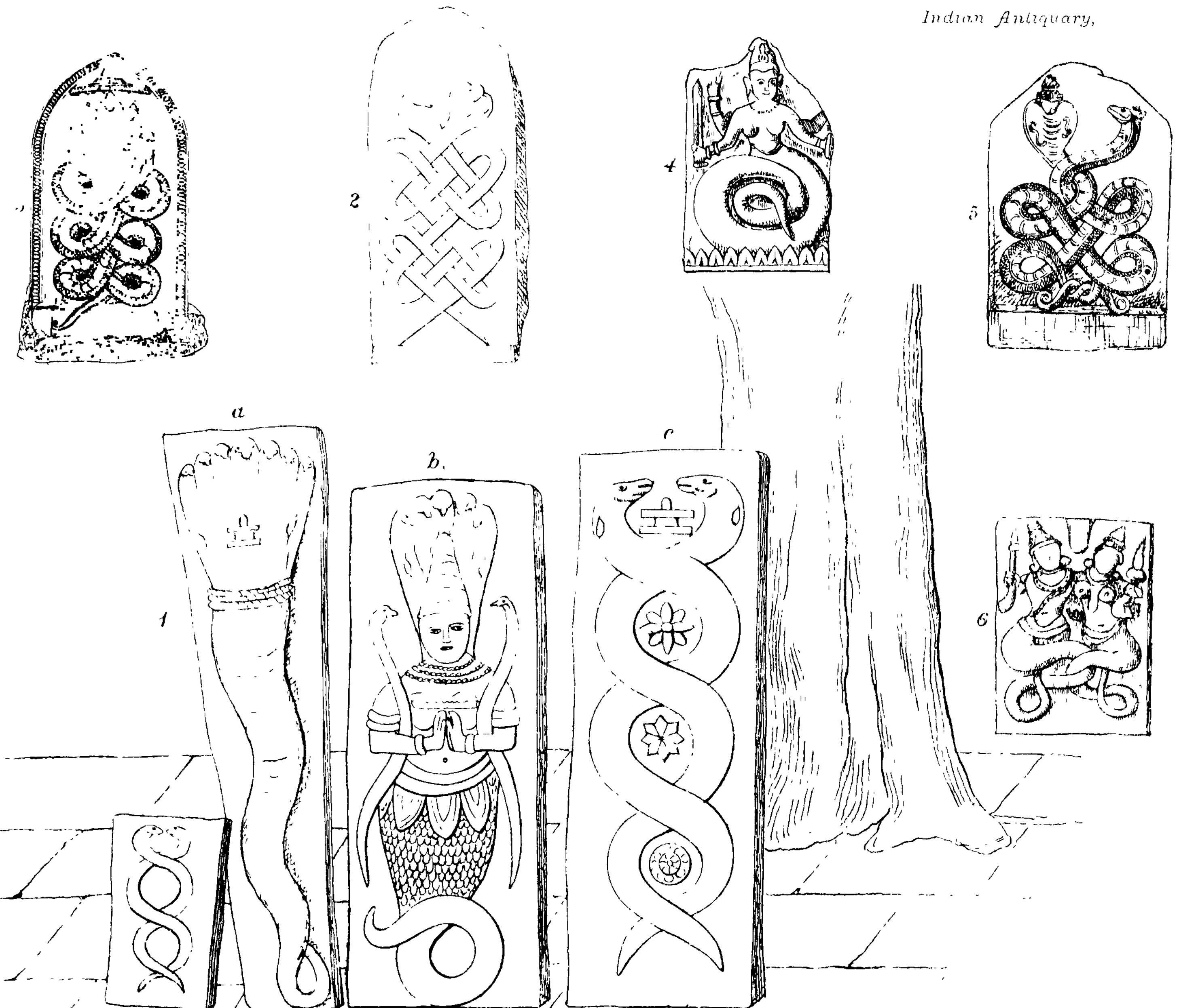
(Here ends the praise of self-respect and valour.)

(To be continued.)

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* The poet's meaning certainly is that a special impurity attaches to eating the flesh of the cow. Bâbu Râjendra Lâla Mitra has shown that this notion is of very recent origin. In fact it did not prevail in the time of Bhavabhûti, who is generally placed in the eighth century. So that this stanza at any rate must have been composed at a far later date than that assigned by Professor Lassen to the majority of Bhartrihari's poems.

† Himâlaya—his son Mainâka was the only mountain that escaped having its wings clipped by Indra.



W. Griggs Photo Lith.

SNAKE WORSHIP.

TREE AND SERPENT WORSHIP.

BY CAPT. J. S. F. MACKENZIE, MAISUR COMMISSION.

Round about Bangalor, more especially towards the Lâl Bâgh and *Petá*,—as the native town is called,—three or more stones are to be found together, having representations of serpents carved upon them, and of which the accompanying sketch will give some idea. These stones are erected always under the sacred fig-tree by some pious person, whose means and piety determine the care and finish with which they are executed.

Judging from the number of these stones, the worship of the serpent appears to be more prevalent in the Bangalor district than in other parts of the province. I have seen stones like No. 1*b* in other parts of Maisur, but their appearance would lead one to think that in the present day they are not worshipped, while those in the immediate vicinity of Bangalor are often adorned with saffron, &c. I have been able to learn but little about these stones. No priest is ever in charge of them. There is no objection to men doing so, but, from custom or for some reason—perhaps because the serpent is supposed to confer fertility on barren women—the worshipping of these stones, which takes place during the Gauri feast, is confined to women of all Hindu classes and creeds.

In fig. 1, *a* represents a seven-headed cobra* and is called Subramanya. *b*, a female, the lower portion of whose body is that of a snake. She is called Mudama, and is the principal and most important figure in the group. *b* represents two serpents entwined, the children of *c*. These three representations are necessary to a complete and orthodox group.

These stones, when properly erected, ought to be on a built-up stone platform facing the rising sun; and under the shade of two *pîpal* (*ficus religiosa*) trees—a male and female growing together, and wedded by ceremonies in every respect the same as in the case of human beings—close by and growing in the same platform a *nimb* (*margosa*) and *bilpatrá* † (a kind of wood-apple), which are supposed to be living witnesses of the marriage. The expense of performing the marriage ceremony is too heavy for ordinary persons, and so we generally find only one *pîpal* and a *nimb* on the platform. By the common people these two are supposed to represent man and wife.

The reason given to me for the *nimb* and *bilpatrá* trees being selected as witnesses proves that the Śaivite religion is in some manner—and this is further borne out by the lingam being engraved on *a* and *b*—connected with this form of tree and serpent worship.

The fruit of the *nimb* and *bilpatrá* is the only one which in any way resembles a lingam, and by placing the fruit of either of these trees on the leaf of the *pîpal*, which represents the *yoni*, you have a fair representation of an entire lingam.

The custom among Brâhmaṇs, still acted up to, that under certain circumstances men must marry plants, is curious. If a Brâhmaṇ is desirous of taking to himself a third wife, he goes through the marriage ceremony correctly, but abbreviated in details, with a *yekke gida* (*Aristolochia indica*). This is looked upon as the third marriage; after the ceremony has been completed the *yekke gida* is cut down and burnt. The man is now free, without fear of evil consequences, to wed the woman who is nominally his fourth wife.

This custom owes its origin not to tree-worship, but to the belief that the number three is an unlucky one. By burning the third wife all bad luck is averted.

It sometimes happens that the elder brother, not having come across a suitable wife, is still unmarried when the younger brother wishes to get married. Before the younger can do so, however, the elder goes through the ceremony of marriage with a plantain tree, which is afterwards cut down, and the younger is then free to wed.

The privileges of chewing betel-nut, wearing flowers in the hair, using sandalwood paste on the body, and tying up the cloth behind in a particular manner, are confined to married men only. By going through the ceremony of marriage with a plantain tree, the unfortunate bachelor who cannot get a wife is entitled to exercise all the coveted privileges.

NOTE BY THE EDITOR.

All over Western and Southern India we find the serpent more or less venerated, and a collec-

* This stone was about 4½ feet high.

† Cratæva religiosa ?—ED.

tion of the sculptured representations of the many forms employed could not fail to be interesting. Sketches of a few varieties of serpent images are given in the *Report* on the *Archæological Survey of Western India* for last season; and from these figs. 3, 5, and 6 are taken. Fig. 2 is from a village in the Belgâm district; Figs. 3 and 5 are from a photograph of six sculptured stones in the principal temple at Sinde-Manauli, on the Mâlaprabhâ, of which two are carved with nine figures each of Hindu *devas* or gods, seated in a line, and another bears a figure of a single hooded snake, a fourth of a pair—the male with three hoods and the female with one; the fifth (fig. 3) had a single snake with seven heads (one of them broken off) very neatly carved in a compact porphyritic slab,—each head has a crest, and over the whole is the *chattra* or umbrella, emblematic of sovereignty; the sixth (fig. 5) has a pair of crested snakes, the male only with its hood expanded. No. 4 is from a stone at Aiholli or Aiwalli,* further down the same river, in the Dhârwâḍ zillâ; and No. 6 is from the door-jamb of a deserted temple at Huli, not far from Manauli.

At Thân, in Kâthiâwâd, is a temple of 'Bâshanji,' as Sesha Nârâyaṇa is locally called. The principal image is a three-headed cobra with two smaller monocephalous ones—one on each side—carved on the same slab. To the spectator's right of them is a figure of Vishṇu in the human form, with four arms: while on, and in front of the altar on which the images are placed are *sâligrâmas* and *sankh* shells. A common votive offering at this shrine seems to be a representation of the three snakes in alto-rilievo on a flat earthenware tile. Near the same town is a shrine of Bândiâ Nâga,† where there is an image but no temple. As snake-worship prevails among the Kâthîs, similar shrines are doubtless to be met with in many places throughout the peninsula; and an account of the traditions, beliefs, and rites connected with them would be specially interesting.

The following notice of the worship of the living serpent is given by Dr. Cornish, in the *Report of the Census of the Madras Presidency*, 1871 (vol. I. pp. 105-6):—"In many places," he says, "the living serpent is to this day sought out and propitiated. About two years ago, at Rajamandri, I came upon an old ant-hill by the side of a public road, on which was placed a modern stone representation of a cobra, and the ground all around was stuck over with pieces of wood carved very rudely in the shape of a snake. These were the offerings left by devotees, at the abode taken up by an old snake, who occasionally would come out of his hole, and feast on the milk, eggs, and ghee left for him by his adorers.

"Around this place I saw many women who had come to make their prayers at the shrine. If they chanced to see the cobra, I was assured that the omen was to be interpreted favourably, and that their prayers for progeny would be granted. There is a place also near Vaisarpadi, close to Madras, in which the worship of the living snake draws crowds of votaries, who make holiday excursions to the temple (generally on Sundays) in the hope of seeing the snakes which are preserved in the temple grounds; and probably so long as the desire of offspring is a leading characteristic of the Indian people, so long will the worship of the serpent, or of snake-stones, be a popular cult. In all probability the snake-stones were originally set up in commemoration of a living snake, formerly tenanting the spot. In most places the stones are to be counted by the dozen, or score; and, judging from the modern practice, as I saw it myself at Râjamandri, they were probably set up in fulfilment of vows, and in remembrance of blessings flowing to the donors through snake-worship."

PERSIAN INSCRIPTIONS FROM BELGÂM, SÂMPGÂM, GULBARGA, AND SIDDHAPUR.

BY H. BLOCHMANN, M.A., CALCUTTA MADRASAH.

Mr. Burgess some time ago sent me tracings of several Muhammadan inscriptions at Belgâm, Sâmpgâm, Gulbarga, and Siddhapur. I now give my readings and translations.

I. The inscription from the Sâmpgâm‡ Mosque is of no interest. It only contains three Qorân verses, viz. *Sûrah* LXI. 13, XII. 64, and VI. 161.

* *Ante*, p. 308.

† See *Ind. Ant.* vol. I. p. 7.

‡ Sâmpgâm is a village to the south-east of Belgâm.

2. One of the Belgâm inscriptions refers to the rebuilding of the south-east wall of the Fort of that place in the A.H. 1043, or A.D. 1633-34.

یا فتاح

ز باران فتادہ حصار از زمین
بہ بستند مضبوط اورا متین
شدہ مستعد از سروپا تمام
بهنگام عبد الحسین مکین
نوشتہ حسابی ز تاریخ هجرت
سنہ الف وسہ دان در اربعین
کتبہ عبد العزیز

O Opener! The Fort having been destroyed by the rains, it was again made strong and firm. It was entirely renovated at the time of 'Abdul Husain, the powerful. A reckoning according to the date of the Hijrah was written down: know it to be the year 1043.* *Written by 'Abdul 'Azîz.*

The metre is *Mutaqârib;* but the 5th hemistich alone is *sâlim*.

3. In the N.E. wall of Belgâm Fort, Mr. Burgess found another inscription, of which he has sent me a photograph. It consists of three distichs, Rubâ'î metre; but the third hemistich contains one syllable too much.

The inscription shows that the foundation of the walls was laid in A. H. 937, or A. D. 1530-31, by Ya'qûb 'Alî Khân.

یعقوب علیخان کہ ازو دلشادست
وز مرحمتش خانۂ جان آبادست
دیوار حصار را اساس از استحکام
چون سدّ سکندری قوی بنهادست
تاریخ مرتب شدنش گفت دبیر
دیوار قوی تر زهمہ جانیادست

Ya'qûb 'Alî Khân, who is a joy to the heart, and by whose benevolence the house of the soul is prosperous, laid the foundation of the wall of the Fort in strength, firm like the wall of Alexander. The date of its being built was expressed by a sage in the words 'a rather strong wall,' as has been mentioned by all people.

The date lies in the words *dîwâr i qawîtar*, which give 937 A. H. The connected writing *dilshâd* and *jânyâd* in the first and last hemistichs is unusual.†

4. The fourth is a photograph of an inscription from Gulbarga, halfway up the bastion, where the great gun lies.

این برج طوپ دوازدہ گزی درعهد ابو المظفر
ابراهیم عادل شاہ خلد ملکہ ابدا عمارت کرد
برہ ملک و ملک صندل سنہ ۱۰۳۴
ل س ن

This bastion of the 12-gaz Gun‡ was erected in the reign of Abul Muzaffar Ibrâhîm 'Âdilshâh by Barah Malik and Malik Sandal,§ in 1034 [A.D. 1624-25].

The spelling طوپ for توپ is rather unusual. The three letters ن, س, and ل below the final words fill up a vacant space, but have no meaning.

5. The fifth inscription was discovered by Mr. Burgess in 1869 on a ruined Wâv, or well, at Siddhapur, and is mentioned by him in his *Notes of a Visit to Gujarât*, p. 72. His tracing enables me to give a correct reading and translation:—

* الله اکبر *

بنای این بای در حینی کہ قصبۂ ست پور
بجاگیر سلالة الامراء العظام میرزا محمد انور ولد
نواب مستطاب اعظم خان بود باهتمام حاجی
اسمعیل الشریف بن حاجی بختیار در ماہ رمضان
المبارك سنہ ۱۰۱۰ هزار و دہ بخیریت مرتب
گشت وعلى الله قصد السبيل و منها جائر يمليخا
مكسلمينا كشفوطط تبيونس ازرفطيونس يوانسبوس
و اسم كلبهم قطمير
کاتبہ لطف الله

God is Great!

The building of this Bâi (well) was successfully completed in the time when the town of Sitpûr was the jâgîr of the scion of nobility Mirzâ Muhammad Anwar, son of the excellent Nawâb A'zam Khân, under the superintendence of Hâjî Ismâ'îl al-Sharîf, son of Hâjî Bakhtyâr, in the blessed month of Ramazân 1010 [*April* 1601 A D]. *And with God rests the guidance to the right road, although there are that deviate from it* [Qorân, XVI. 9].

* A.D. 1633-34. Mr. Stokes only alludes to this inscription, but gives the date as A.D. 1640. See *Historical Account of the Belgâm District*, by H. J. Stokes, M.C.S., p. 40.—ED.

† From this inscription Mr. Stokes infers "that the wall was completed nineteen years after Asad Khân first got possession of Belgâm, if, as I believe, this stone commemorates its completion." (*Historical Account, ut sup.*, p. 25.)—ED.

‡ This has reference to the huge brass gun which still lies close by.—ED.

§ The names of the builders are such as are given to Eunuchs and Habshîs.

Yamlikhá, Maksalminá, Kashfiṭuṭ, Tabyúnus, Azarfaṭyúnus, Yuwânisbús, and the name of their dog is Qiṭmír.

The writer is Luṭfullah.

Nawâb A'zam Khân is better known under his full name, Khân i A'zam Mîrzâ 'Azîz Kokah, of whom the reader will find a biographical note in my *Áín* (translation, p. 325). He was long employed in Gujarât. Mîrzâ Muhammad Anwar was his fifth son (*Áín*, p. 328). Mr. Burgess also ascribes the digging or repair of the Khân-Sarowar near Paṭan to Anwar's father (*Visit to Gujarát*, p. 91).

The names Yamlîkhâ, &c., in the end of the inscription are the names of the *Asháb i Kahf*, 'the Lords of the cave,' who form the subject of the XVIIIth *súrah* of the *Qorán*. The 'Lords of the Cave' are well known to us under the name of "the Seven Sleepers." The origin of the legend is given in Gibbon's *History*, chap. lxxiii (end of vol. III., Bohn's edition).*

The dog Qiṭmîr, was with the seven in the cave, and is much respected by Muhammadans. Sa'dî mentions him in the *Gulistân;* and his name and those of his masters are often written on amulets as a powerful protection against loss or destruction. Hence the occurrence of their names in this inscription, which served both as a historical record and as a talisman.

MALIFATTAN.

BY COL. H. YULE, C.B., PALERMO.

My friend Mr. Burnell, in his *Essay on the Pahlavî Inscriptions of S. India*, has incidentally expressed an opinion that the town of Mayilâppûr, or San Thomè, is the Malifattan of some of the Muhammadan medical writers.†

Though I have often tried, I have never been able to arrive at any satisfactory conclusion on this point; and Mr. Burnell's view is perhaps expressed too positively. I will here put down all the data known to me.

First as to the old name of San Thomè.—The present form Mayilâppûr is, I imagine, accommodated to the long-popular etymology 'Peacock-Town.' Mr. Burnell thinks the proper name was probably Malaippuram, 'Mount-Town.'

Marco Polo gives no name to the city. He calls it a certain little town having no great population, and frequented by few traders. Neither is any name given to it by Friar John of Monte Corvino, afterwards Archbishop of Cambaluc, who, on his way to China (*circa* 1292-93), spent some time in the vicinity and buried a comrade, Fr. Nicolas of Pistoia, in the Church of St. Thomas. The first traveller, as far as I know, to name the place, is John Marignolli, about the middle of the 14th century, who calls it Mirapolis, but who had, I suspect, heard the peacock etymology, for he mentions the peacocks particularly in connexion with the legend of the Apostle's death. The Catalan Map, executed about 1375, gives Mirapor. Nicolo Conti, according to different readings, Malpuria, Malpulia, and Malepor. Barbosa, soon after 1500, has Maylapur, Mailapur, and Malepur; with De Barros, Couto, and the Portuguese of their age, it takes the form Meliapor. In Fra Paolino, again, we find "Maïlapuri, or Maïlapuram,—City of Peacocks."

Then for Malifattan. This is mentioned by Rashiduddîn, in his notices of Malabar, as one of the ports belonging to Sundar Pandi Devar,—"Fattan, Malifattan, and Kayal," as well as in Wassaf's edition of the same notices.‡ And Abulfeda names Manifattan, probably the same place, as a city on the coast of Malabar.

Other notices seem very rare. That of Friar Jordanus, who was a Catholic Missionary in Western and South India, and on his return to Europe was named by the Pope Bishop of Columbum or Quilon in 1328, is remarkable. Naming the kingdoms of India that he was acquainted with after Molebar, where the pepper grows, comes Singuyli (or Cranganore), and then Columbum, "the king of which is called Lingua, but his kingdom Mohebar.§ There is also the king of Molephatam, whose kingdom is called Molepor, where pearls are taken

* Conf. *Fundgruben des Orients*, III. 347-381.
† *Ind. Ant.* vol. III. p. 313.
‡ See Dowson's *Elliot*, vol. I. p. 69, and III. p. 32, disregarding erroneous readings.
§ I will not digress on this curious and perplexing statement.

in infinite quantities." The name re-appears in the Papal records in connexion with the nomination of Jordanus, the Pope in two letters commending the new Bishop to the Christians of Columbum, and "to the whole body of Christian people dwelling in M o l e p h a t a m."*

The only other notice that I can find is in the interesting memoranda of J o s e p h t h e I n d i a n of Cranganore (*circa* 1500) published in the *Novus Orbis*. After noticing the former trade of the Chinese (i n c o l a e C a t â i i) with Calicut, and their abandonment of that port on account of the king's ill-treatment of them, he goes on: "Post hoc adivere urbem M a i l a - p e t a m, quae urbs paret regi Narsindo; regio respicit orientem, et distat ab Indo flumine milliaribus xc. Ibi nunc sua exercent mercimonia."

The statement about the Indus is perplexing,† but the eastern aspect, and the subjection to the Narsingha, or king of Vijâyanagar, show that the place was on the Coromandel coast. Joseph, however, does not mean St. Thomas's, for in another passage he speaks of that as M i l a p a r, "urbs . . . quæ instar promontorium in mare prominet." This, and the mention of the pearl-fishery by Friar Jordanus, are considerable obstacles to the identification of the two places, though the M o l e p o r of Jordanus seems in favour of that identification.

Is there any evidence that Mailâpûr was frequented by the Chinese traders? Ritter cites the name C h i n a p a t a m, applied to Madras, as a trace of ancient Chinese traffic there. I have elsewhere objected to this statement (quoted from J. T. Wheeler)‡ that the name in question, properly Chennapattan or Chennapapattan, was bestowed on the site granted to the English in 1639 by the Naik of Chinglepat, in honour of that chief's father-in-law, Chennapa by name. But this may not be conclusive; for the Naik may have only modified an existing name, as often happens. And De Barros says§: "Though the greatness which the city of Meliapor possessed in those (ancient) days had, by the time our people arrived, become almost annihilated by the wars that occurred in the time of the Chinese, who had held in that place their principal settlements,—of which we see traces to this day in their great edifices."—This seems at any rate to imply traditions of Chinese frequenting Mailâpûr. Barbosa also tells a story of Chinese in connexion with the tomb of St. Thomas.

Chinese coins have been found on the beach, I believe, at various points down the coast as far as Kâyal, both by Col. Mackenzie's people and by Sir Walter Elliot's; but what De Barros says of buildings left by the Chinese warns us to recall the confusion which has taken place in some instances certainly, between C h i n a s and J a i n a s. This is particularly the case, as Dr. Caldwell has pointed out to me, with regard to the famous China Pagoda of Negapatam, the destruction of which, I may observe, has been variously ascribed to the Railway Company and to the Jesuit College there—"*Palmam qui meruit ferat!*" I trust at least it was not the Public Works Department!

My own impression has always been that Malifattan was to be sought further south than Madras, but the only map on which I could ever trace such a name is one in the *Lettres Edifiantes* (Recueil XV.) representing the southern part of the Coromandel coast. In this M a l e - p a t a n appears in Palk's Bay north of Rami-śwaram, about the position of Tondei—scarcely a possible place, I imagine, for a seaport frequented by foreign trade.

I have generally found my ideas recur to Negapatam as the most probable locality. Dr. Caldwell mentions that the Jaina Tower aforesaid was sometimes called the "Tower of the Malla." Is it possible that Negapatam, so long one of the most frequented ports on the coast, was ever called M a l l a p a t t a n? The three names "Fattan, Malifattan, and Kâyil" would then be in proper order, Fattan representing K â v ê r î - p a ṭ ṭ a n a m (as Mr. Burnell confirms), Malifattan—N e g a p a t a m, and Kâyil of course K â y a l at the mouth of the Tamraparni.‖ Further, is not N e g a p a t a m the city which is sometimes called the "city of Coromandel," marking it as the place on the coast which foreigners recognized as the great place of traffic, just as old geographers give us the city of

* Od. Raynaldi, *Annales Ecclesiast.* An. 1330. lv.

† From another passage he would seem by Indus to mean Ganges. Possibly he was shown a map founded on Fra Mauro's, in which the Indus does take the place of the Ganges.

‡ Ritter, V. 518, 620; Wheeler's *Madras in the Olden Time*, I. p. 25; *Cathay*, &c. p. lxxvi.

§ Dec. III. liv. II. cap i.

‖ The Missionary's map just alluded to presents **C a e l** in its proper position.

Bengala? Thus Varthema's "city of Choromandel" must be Negapatam, as Dr. Badger points out, unless indeed it be a fiction altogether.* A less suspicious authority is a Report from Mynheer Ryklof van Goens to the (Dutch) Governor-General in Council, dated September 1675, of which an immense extract is given by Valentyn (vol. V, *Ceylon*, pp 204 *seqq.*). This speaks of the city which the Portuguese had built and fortified upon the site of "the old Gentoo city of Chiormandelan," and how it had prospered, not only in coasting trade, but in the groote Zeevart with Tenasserim, Achin, Malacca, Cambodia, Siam, Johore, and above all with China." I do not see what place this could well be, except Negapatam,† although that name is not mentioned in connexion with it, and does occur incidentally in the following page of the Report.

Some reader of the *Indian Antiquary* may be able to speak with more precise knowledge on the subject.

SANTHÂLI FOLKLORE.

BY REV. F. T COLE, TALJHARI, RÂJMAHÂL.

Toria the Goatherd and the Daughter of the Sun.

Once upon a time there was a certain shepherd named Toria, who fed his goats on the banks of a river. Now it happened that the daughters of the Sun used to descend from heaven by means of a spider's web every day to bathe in this river. Seeing Toria there, they wanted him also to bathe with them. After they had finished their ablutions and anointed themselves with *haldi* and oil, they again ascended to their heavenly abode; whilst Toria went to look after his flock.

Toria, having formed a pleasant acquaintanceship with the daughters of the Sun, by degrees became enamoured of one of them. How to obtain such a fair creature he was at a loss to know. However, one day when these maidens said to him "Come along and bathe with us," he suddenly thought upon a plan, namely, that when they had laid their *sârhis* (upper garments) down, he would seize hers and run off with it. So he said to them "Let us see who can keep under water the longest:" and at a given signal they all dived, but very soon Toria raised his head above water and, cautiously observing that no one was looking, he hastened out of the water, took the maiden's *sârhi*, and was in the act of carrying it away, when the others raised their heads above water.

The girl ran after him, begging him to return her garment, but Toria did not stop till he had reached his home. When she arrived he gave her her *sârhi* and said to her "Now you may return." Seeing such a fair and noble creature before him, for very bashfulness he could not open his mouth to ask her to be his wife; so he simply said "Now you may go." But she replied "No, I will not return: my sisters by this time will have gone home; I will stay with you, and be your wife." All the time this was going on, a parrot, whom Toria had taught to speak, kept on flying about the heavens, calling out to the Sun "O great Father, do not look downwards." In consequence of this the Sun did not see what was happening on earth to his daughter.

This maiden was very different from the women of the country,—she was half human, half divine,—so that when a beggar once came to the house and saw her, his eyes were dazzled just as if he had stared at the sun.

It happened that this very beggar in the course of his travels came to the king's palace, and having seen the queen (who was thought by all to be the most beautiful of women), he said to the king "The shepherd Toria's wife is much more beautiful than your queen. If you were to see her, you would be enchanted." The king said to the beggar "How shall I be able to see her?" The beggar answered "Put on old clothes, and travel in disguise." The king did so, and having arrived at the house asked alms. Toria's wife came out of the house and gave him food and water, but for very astonishment at seeing her great beauty he was unable to eat. His only thought was "How can I manage to make her my queen?" He then went home, and after thinking over many plans at length decided upon one. He

* *Travels of Lud. Varthema*, Hak. Soc. 1863, p. 186.

† Or Nagore? But I cannot learn if this is a place of antiquity

said "I will cause Toria to dig a large tank with his own hands, and if he does not perform his task, then I will kill him, and seize his wife." Having summoned Toria to his palace, he commanded him to dig a large tank, and fill it with water in one night; and said "If you fail to do it, I will have you put to death."

Toria, having heard the king's command, slowly and sorrowfully returned home. His wife, noticing his sad countenance, said to him "What makes you so sad to-day?" He replied "The king has ordered me to dig a large tank, to fill it with water, and also to make trees grow on its banks, during the course of a single night." Toria's wife said to him "Cheer up, do not be dispirited. Take your spade and mix a little water with the sand, where the tank is to be, and then it will form by itself." Toria did so, and the tank was found completed. The king, being greatly astonished, could not accomplish his purpose of killing Toria.

Some time afterwards, the king planted a very large plain with mustard seed: when fit for reaping, he commanded Toria to reap and gather the produce into one heap on a certain day; if not, he would order him to be put to death. Toria, hearing this, was again very sad. His wife, seeing him in this state, asked him the reason. He told her all that the king had said to him. She replied "Do not be sad about this, it shall be performed." So the daughter of the Sun summoned her children the doves; they came in large numbers, and in the space of one hour carried the produce away in their beaks to the king's threshing-floor. Again Toria was saved through the wisdom of his wife. However, the king determined not to be outdone, so he arranged a great hunt. On the day fixed he assembled his retainers, and a large number of beaters and provision-carriers, and set out for the jungle. Amongst these latter, Toria was employed to carry eggs and water. The object of the hunt was not to kill tigers and bears, but to kill Toria, so that the king might seize the daughter of the Sun, and make her his wife.

Having come to a cave, they said that a hare had fled for refuge into it. With this pretext they seized Toria and forced him into the cave; then, rolling large stones to the door completely blocked up the entrance; then they gathered large quantities of brushwood to the mouth of the cave, and set fire to it, to smother Toria. Having done this, they returned home, boasting that they had at last done for the troublesome shepherd. But Toria broke the eggs, and all the ashes were scattered; then he poured the water that he had with him on the remaining embers, and the fire was extinguished. With great difficulty Toria managed to crawl out of the cave; when, to his great astonishment, he saw that all the white ashes of the fire were becoming cows, whilst the half-consumed wood became buffaloes. Having collected them, he drove them home. When the king saw these, he became very envious, and asked Toria from whence he procured them. The shepherd replied "From that cave into which you pushed me. I have not got very many; for I was alone, and therefore could not manage to drive more away. If you and all your retainers go, you will be able to get as many as you want. But to procure them it is necessary to close the door of the cave, and light a fire in front, as you did for me." The king said "Very well, I and my people will enter the cave, and, as you have sufficient oxen and cows, be pleased not to go in with us, but kindle the fire for us."

The king and his people then entered the cave. Toria blocked up the doorway with great exertion, and then lighted a large fire at the entrance. Very soon all that were in the cave were suffocated.

Some days after this occurrence the daughter of the Sun said to her husband "I intend to visit my father's house." Toria said to her "Very well, I will also go with you." She answered "It is very foolish of you to think of such a thing, you will not be able to reach where I am going." Toria replied "If you are able to go, surely I can." She said "Very well, come along then." After travelling a long distance, Toria became so faint that he could proceed no further. His wife said to him "Did not I warn you not to attempt such a journey? As for quenching your thirst, there is no water to be found here. But sit down, I will see if I can find some for you." But when she was gone, impelled by his great thirst, Toria sucked a raw egg that he had brought with him. No sooner had he done this than he became changed into a fowl. Soon after, Toria's wife came back bringing water, but Toria was not to be found

anywhere; but, sitting where she had left him, a solitary fowl was to be seen. Taking the creature up in her arms, she pursued her journey alone. At length she reached her father's house, and amongst the many questions asked her was "Where is your husband Toria?" She replied "I don't know; I left him for a while till I went to fetch water, and when I returned he was not to be seen. Perhaps he will soon arrive; he must be on the road."

Her sisters seeing the fowl, thought that it would make them a good meal. So, in the absence of Toria's wife, they killed and ate it. Some time afterwards they again inquired of her as to her husband; she replied "Perhaps you have eaten him!"

ARCHÆOLOGICAL NOTES.*

BY M. J. WALHOUSE, LATE M.C.S.

I.—*Miniature and Pre-historic Pottery.*

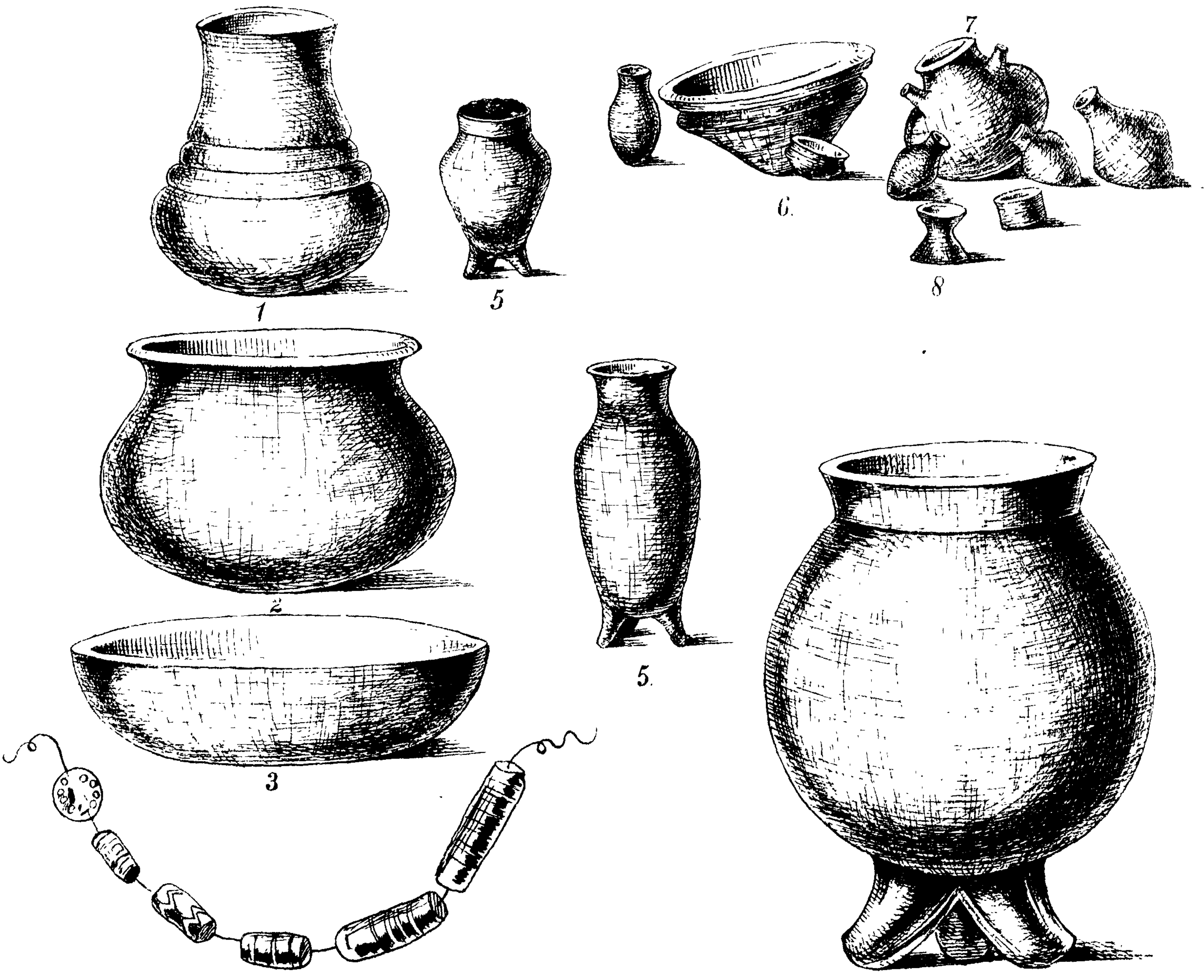
In the megalithic chambered graves in Coorg it is not unusual to meet with complete sets of pottery of the forms commonly found in them, but all in miniature, giving the idea of toy-pottery. Similar tiny vessels are said to have been found in such tombs in other provinces, but I cannot just now find a reference to any instances. In Koimbatur and southern districts I have often found various small vessels, but cannot say they were so small as to be evidently miniature, or smaller indeed than some occasionally now in use. At page 479 of *Rude Stone Monuments*, Mr. Fergusson, remarking upon the little box-like sham kistvaens formed at the present day by the mountain tribes of Travancore on occasions of death, observes, "The people having lost the power of erecting such huge structures as abound in their hills † and on the plains around, from which they may have been driven at some early period, are content still to keep up the traditions of a primæval usage by these miniature shams. There seems little doubt that this is the case, and it is especially interesting to have observed it here, as it accounts for what has often puzzled Indian antiquaries. In Coorg and elsewhere, miniature urns and miniature utensils, such as one sees used as toys in European nurseries, are often found in these tombs, and have given rise to a tradition among the natives that they belong to a race of pigmies; whereas it is evident that it is only a dying out of an ancient faith, when, as is so generally the case, the symbol supersedes the reality."

The difference drawn in the foregoing passage at first sight seems natural, but on consideration there are some points that require clearing up. If miniature vessels were found in miniature tombs, the hypothesis would be very strong; but they are found in the huge megalithic primæval structures, built when the faith, whatever it was, that dictated them, must have been in full life, and which also abound with pottery of the ordinary size. The question then arises, Why, if sepulchres of the full dimensions could be formed, should miniature vessels have been put in them? It seems also questionable whether it could have been done for cheapness' sake. Ancient nations have often entombed valuable things with their dead, and as the feeling and custom relaxed have ceased to bury the real valuables, and supplied their place with cheap imitations, as the Chinese to-day are said to make sham vessels and precious objects on gold and silver paper and burn before their ancestors' shrines. There may be an analogy between such customs and the use of the miniature pottery, but it is noteworthy that whereas nothing can be cheaper and more abundant than pottery of the common size, which also occurs profusely in the tombs, it seems probable that miniature ware, expressly made for the purpose, would be more troublesome and dearer to make, and, though possible, it seems difficult to imagine it could have been used for *that* reason.

Hence upon the whole question there seems room for doubt whether the Coorg vessels really were miniature, or intended to be so; they are not smaller than many tea and coffee cups, especially such as are used by several Eastern nations, and I have seen clay and metal vessels almost as small amongst the various Hindu castes,

* Continued from vol. III p. 278.

† They still number some thousands, and it seems curious that they should have lost the power, when the people of the Khasia Hills, in no wise physically their superiors, are said by Mr. Fergusson (p. 465) to move and erect the great stones, which cover their hills, with perfect facility.



W. GRIGGS PHOTO-LITH.

COORG POTTERY. ANCIENT AND MINIATURE.

especially Brâhmaṇs. Mr. Fergusson says that miniature utensils have been also found with them, which would certainly strengthen his view; but I have not met with any myself, and indeed the custom appears to have been more or less local. I think Mr. Fergusson is mistaken in supposing that this tiny earthenware suggested to the natives the idea that the tombs belonged to a race of pigmies, but that it arose, as I have always gathered from the natives, from the holes or apertures so generally occurring in the slabs at one end of the structures, and which are regarded as doors or entrances to what are popularly called houses, for the natives have no idea of their being sepulchres.*

In the accompanying plate the figures marked 1, 2, 3, and 4 are examples of the miniature ware, of the actual sizes of the originals. 1, 2, and 3 are formed of a rather dark-coloured clay, and were found placed one upon the other, the middle vessel, No. 2, containing the incised beads figured below; these are of red carnelian, with ornamental bands and spots scratched upon them in white; they are bored, too, showing that the cairn-builders understood how to work these very hard pebbles, and they are exactly similar to carnelian beads found in English barrows. No. 4 is formed of red clay with particles of mica intermixed, and is supported on three short feet.

Nos. 5, 5 delineate a very characteristic form of a tall urn or jar, standing upon three, and sometimes four short legs. This form occurs not only in Coorg, but wherever kistvaens are found throughout Southern India. I have frequently disentombed it in the Koimbatur and Salem districts. These urns vary from one to three feet in height, are made of red clay, very strong and close-framed, and usually contain fragments of bones and ashes. The legs or feet on which they stand present a feature of obvious usefulness that has quite vanished from modern Hindu pottery, so far as I know, all *cháttis* and pots used to-day† being round-bottomed and troublesome to steady. Footless pots are also common enough in the cairns, but with them are always found large quantities of earthen stands (figure 8) on which to place them, but no such devices are in use now.

No. 7, with its two curious spouts, would seem to intimate that distilling in some shape was known to the people who made it; and No. 6 may be remarked as presenting a shape very similar to some pottery in the Indian Museum from the ancient city of Brâhmâṇâbâd, in Sindh. This is interesting because, with the exception of the pottery from the megalithic tombs, this from Brâhmâṇâbâd, to which the date A.D. 700 appears to be ascribed, is probably the most ancient Indian earthenware of which any examples survive, and forms a link between pre-historic and modern pottery. Amongst the Brâhmaṇâbâd specimens there are urns the same in shape with figures 5, 5 in the plate, but *without* the legs, and standing instead on a flat-rimmed bottom, like a slop-basin; and there are small vases with the large halves just like figure 6, but with narrower necks and mouths. Two or three small vases with single high loop-handles manifest in design a Greek influence widely removed from any Hindu fashion.

NOTES ON HINDU CHRONOGRAMS.

BY G. H. DAMANT, B.A., B.C.S., RANGPUR.

In Sanskrit as in Musalmân inscriptions the date is often expressed by words, but, contrary to the usage of the Muhammadans, amongst whom each letter has a fixed value, the Hindus usually employ a separate word to represent each figure, although a word may occasionally be taken to represent two figures. The date must, as a rule, be read from right to left. In a date I found on a temple at Bordhon Kuti Rangpur, the sentence representing the date is *Yuga-dahana-rasa-kshmâ*, which gives the date 1634 (Śaka, as shown by another expression in the inscription); here *kshma*, the earth = 1, *rasa* = 6, the six *rasas* being *madhu*, honey, sweet; *lavaṇa*, salt; *kaṭu*, pungent; *tikta*, bitter; *amla*, sour; and *mishṭa*, sweet: *Dahan* = 3, it is a synonym for *Kṛitika*, the third nakshatra; and *yuga* = 4, the four yugas.

The words employed to represent numbers are usually taken from the Hindu system of philosophy, mythology, or very commonly astronomy or astrology (*jyotisha*), and in many cases the

* A new theory respecting the use of the hole is advanced in a preceding paper, vol. III. pp. 277, 278.

† In some parts of Western India vessels for holding grain, *ghí*, &c. are still in use with short feet or supports.—ED.

allusions are very intricate, and difficult to be understood by any person who is not well versed in Jyotisha and the other sciences.

Almost any word which can possibly be construed so as to signify a number may be used in a date. I give a list of some of the words which are most commonly found as substitutes for figures:—

0: Any word signifying "ether," such as *kha*, *gagana*, and *antariksha*.

1: *Bhú*, the earth, and *chandra*, the moon, with their synonyms.

2: *Yugal*, *dwandwa*, and such like words.

3: All words meaning *fire*: *Agni* is a synonym for *Krittika*, the *third* nakshatra. *Netra* and other words for "eye:" the reference is to the *three* eyes of Siva. *Ráma*, *i.e.* Paraśuráma, Rámachandra, and Bálaráma.

4: The most common words are *yuga* and *veda*.

5: *Váṇa* and synonyms, the five arrows of Kámadeva. *Vaktra*, the five faces of Siva.

6: *Ripu* and synonyms, the *six* being the enemies of man:—káma, lust: kradha, passion; lobha, covetousness; moha, infatuation; mada, pride: and mátsarya, envy. *Ritu*, the *six* seasons. *Anga*, the *six* branches of knowledge derived from the Vedas,—śiksha, pronunciation; chhandas, prosody; vyákaraṇa, grammar; nirukta, explanation of obscure terms: kalpa, religious rites: and jyotisha, astronomy.

7: *Muni* or *Rishi*, the *seven* great sages. *Dwípa*, the seven continents.

8. *Vasu*, eight supernatural beings. *Gaja*, the eight elephants that support the earth.

9: *Graha*, the five planets,—Mars, Venus, Mercury, Jupiter, and Saturn, with the sun and moon, Rahu and Ketu: *Dwára*, the nine orifices of the body.

10: *Diś*, the ten quarters. *Avatára*, the ten incarnations of Vishṇu.

11: *Rudra*, the eleven kings of that name.

12: *Mása*, the 12 months. All words meaning the sun. Surya is supposed to have been divided into twelve parts by the father of his wife Savarṇá.

For numbers from 1 to 27 the names of the 27 nakshatras may be used. Synonyms may be used in all cases. As a rule, each word is to be taken as the number it represents, and then the whole expression is to be read backwards: instances may occur in which the different numbers are to be multiplied or added together, but they are certainly very rare, and I have met with none.

The following are ordinary instances of Hindu chronograms:—

Sindhudwyángabhú = 1624.

Sindhu = 4, the four seas on the four sides of the earth—north, south, east, and west, *dwya* = 2, *anga* = 6, *bhu* = 1, and the whole read backwards gives 1624.

Again, *Kha-dwandwánga-mrigánga*.

Kha = 0, *dwandwa* = 2, *anga* = 6, and *mrigánga* (a synonym for *Chandra*) = 1, and the whole gives 1620.

Another date, *Vedágata-badharáná* = 1634:—*Veda* = 4, and *vedágata* means that which precedes *veda*, *i.e.* 3: *badhara* is a derivative from *badh*, to destroy, and is a synonym of *ripu* = 6: *aná* signifies *putra* = 1.

These dates were all taken from inscriptions on temples in Rangpur.

It is usual to add some such expression as *parimite* or *parisaṅkhye*, "by counting," to signify that the words are intended to represent the date.

The practice does not seem to be one of very great antiquity, and many of the supposed old dates are very doubtful. The instance which Mr. Blochmann quoted in his paper on Muhammadan chronograms* from *Jour. As. Soc. Beng.* Pt. I. 1872, page 310, is admitted in a note by Bábu Rájendralala Mitra to be incorrect, and not to represent the date at all. Again, in the Dinájpur inscription quoted in *Ind. Ant.* vol. I page 127, it seems most probable that the words *Kuñjara-ghaṭa-varshaṇa* do not contain the date,† if they do, I cannot help thinking that the interpretation must be 118 if we are to read the date from right to left, according to rule, or 811 if it is to be read from left to right. *Kuñjara* can undoubtedly mean 8, *ghaṭa* means, in its primary sense, a watering-pot, and secondarily the constellation Aquarius, which is the eleventh sign of the Hindu zodiac, and hence the meaning might be 11: but the date 118, or whichever way we take it, is too early. 811 would be a more likely date, but there seems to be no reason for violating the ordinary rule

* *Ind. Ant.* vol. III. p. 27.

† *Ind. Ant.* vol. I. pp. 193, 227.

OLD KANARESE LITERATURE.

BY THE REV. F. KITTEL, MERCARA.

(*From the Indian Evangelical Review*, No. I. pp. 64-9.)

Jaina Literature.

The originators of Kanarese literature are the Jainas, who have cultivated both Sanskṛit and the vernaculars of the South. They have not only written from sectarian motives, but also from a love for science, and have reproduced several Sanskṛit scientific works in Kanarese. The Sanskṛit works date back as far as the beginning of the fourth century A.D. Their great grammarian Hemachandra probably lived in the twelfth century. The oldest Jaina manuscript in Kanarese of which I know was copied A.D. 1428. The saying that its original was composed a thousand years ago may be true.

Some of the scientific Jaina works in Kanarese, all of those in Sanskṛit verse, are the following:—

1. Nâgavarma's *Chhandas* or Prosody. His birthplace was Veñgi deśa. His work on prosody is the only standard work on that subject known to the Kanarese. It comprises both Sanskṛit and Kanarese metres. As his Sanskṛit source he mentions only the well-known *Chhandas* of Piñgala Nâga.

2. Nâgavarma's *Kâvyâvalokana*, a comprehensive treatise on the rules of Poetry. I have as yet only been able to procure the first and the beginning of the second chapter. The headings of its five chapters are: *Sabda smṛiti, Kâvya mala vyâvṛitti, Guna viveka, Rîti krama, Rasa nirûpana.*

3. Nâgavarma's *Nighaṇṭu*, a vocabulary based upon Vararuchi, Halâyudha, Bhâguri, and the *Amarakośha*. The author gives only here and there the Kanarese meanings of the Sanskṛit terms, being often obliged, on account of the metre it appears, to use a generally known Sanskṛit one. Halâyudha was a predecessor of Hemachandra, but later than Bhâguri and Amaradatta.

4. Sâlva's *Rasaratnâkara*, a treatise on poetry and dramatic composition, is professedly based on Nâgavarma, Hemachandra, and others. The text of my manuscript is rather incorrect. Here are a few sentences from its first chapter in an unperfect translation:—

"The action of the mind (*chitta vṛitti*), the properties (*lakshaṇa*) of which are constant (*sthâyi*) and inconstant (*vyabhichâri*), and are combined with the pantomimes (*abhinaya*) of amorous passion (*râga*) and so on, is *Bhâva*. When the actions of the mind arouse the constant affections (*bhâva*) by a playful woman and other such objects as belong to the means of excitement (*uddîpana*) of (or concerning) the real object of affection (*âlambana*, for instance the hero of the piece), means that are famous in poetical and dramatical works, *Vibhâva* occurs. Further, when the specialities of the action of the mind, the properties of which are, as stated, constant and inconstant, are perceived by spectators from perceptions (*anubhava*) of amorous looks, movement of the arms, and so on, *Anubhâvas* occur. By in various ways putting in front and setting in motion (*sañchâra*) death and the other constant ones, *Vyabhichâris* are produced."

"*Bhâva* becomes apparent by the mind (*chitta*); *Rasa* arises from the *Bhâva*; Speech (*vadana*) displays this (the *rasa*). *Bhâva* is the action of the mind (*manaḥ pravṛitti*); *Vibhâva* specifies the *Rasa* that is born; those that have a sense for beauty (*bhâvuka*) know and enjoy the *Rasa* which is born of the *bhâva*, and this is *Anubhâva*. The action completely pervaded by the mind wherein the *sthâyi* (constant property) is (still) combined with constancy is natural disposition (*satva*), and by this (*parichchhatas*) the *sâtvika bhâva* is displayed; when it is not constant, it becomes *sañchâri* (or *vyabhichâri*, *i.e.* inconstant property)."

"The eight constant affections (*sthâyi bhâva*) are: amorous passion (*rati*), mocking (*parihâsa*), grief (*śoka*), effort (*utsâha*), wrath (*prakopa*), astonishment (*vismaya*), fear (*bhaya*), and aversion (*jugupsatâ*)."

"The eight natural (spontaneous) affections (*sâtvika bhâva*) are: horripilation (*pulaka*), tears (*aśru*), perspiration (*sveda*), inability to move (*stambha*), mental absorption (*laya*), inarticulate speech (*svara bheda*), tremor (*kampa*), and change of colour (*vaivarṇya*)."

"The appearance-affections (gestures) (*anubhâva*) are: frowning (*bhṛikuṭi*), colouring of the face (*mukha râga*), change in the look of the eyes (*lochana vikṛiti*), tremor of the lower lips (*adhara kampana*), displacing of hands and feet (*kara charaṇa vyâsaka*), and other actions of the members of the body."

"The thirty-three inconstant affections (*vyabhichâribhâva*) are: intelligence (*mati*), shame (*lajjâ*), haste (*âvega*), apprehension (*śankâ*), death (*maraṇa*), fickleness (*chapalatâ*), delight (*harsha*), self-abasement (*nirveda*), indigence (*dainya*), recollection (*smṛiti*), loss of presence of mind (*moha*), indolence (*âlasya*)," etc.

"The eight mild condiments (or tastes, *sânta rasa*) are: amorous emotion (*śriñgâra*), mirth (*hâsya*), tenderness (*karuṇa*), heroism (*vîra*), anger (*pravaudra*), surprise (*adbhuta*), terror (*bhayânaka*), and disgust (*bîbhatsa*)."

"As it has been said: 'The pearl of pleasures is woman with her antelope's eyes' (*bhoga-ratnam mrigâkshî*), the amorous emotion-condiments are of all the condiments (*rasa*) the most pleasing to the world. The amorous emotion-condiments are, therefore, treated of in the first instance. Herein some mention the tender constant (*sthâyi*) attachment-condiment (*sakha-rasa*); it is included in the amorous passion (*rati*), and so on. Where women are the friends of women, and men those of men, all such friendship too is included in the amorous passion. But the friendship of Râma and Lakshmana and others is included in the peculiar heroism (*dharma vîra*). The love of children for mother and father is included in the fear (*bhaya*)," etc.

5. Kesava's or Kesi Râja's *Sabda Mani Darpana*, or Grammar of the Kanarese language. His father's name was Mallikârjuna. As this is also the name of one of Śiva's Liñgas, it is no wonder that Liñgâit books claim the renowned K e ś i R â j a to have belonged to the Liñgâit sect. But would a Liñgâit poet under any circumstances adduce, for instance, the prayer "Give me abundance of joy, O highest Jinendra!" merely to give an example of a very common form of the vocative, having the choice between this one and hundreds of others? And would he not, once at least, have shown his Liñgâit (or Śaiva) colours? Besides, his curt language is precisely that of Jaina authors. Keśava's grammar is very valuable, and the only complete one of the Kanarese language in Kanarese (there is also one in Sanskṛit) that is authoritative. It deserves to be studied by all that are interested in the Kanarese language.*

6. Devottama's *Nânârtha Ratnâkara*, *i.e* a collection of Sanskrit words that have various meanings—168 verses in different Sanskṛit metres. That the author is a Jaina appears, for instance, from verse 157, in which he states that the word *Paramâtma* has three meanings: (1) the state of existence which wants no support (*anâdhâratâ*) (2) Jineśvara; (3) a Siddha.

A few sectarian works of the Jainas are —

7. Nâgachandra's *Jina Muni Tanaya* (*i.e.* "O son of the Jina Muni"), these being the words with which each verse concludes. It is a somewhat flat exposition in 162 Kanda (*Ârya*) verses of what according to Jaina views is virtuous.

8. *Sâstra Sâra*. Of this and of the next work I have seen only a fragment. It propounds the views of the Jainas, at the same time refuting Brahmanism.

9. Vrittavilâsa's *Dharma Parîkshâ*. Here is the beginning of it in an abridged form:—

Vaijayantî was a town beautiful for its Jaina *chaityas* (sanctuaries). Its king was Jitaripu, his wife Vâyuvegâ, and their son Manovega. At the same time Vijayapura was ruled by Prabhâśañka, whose wife was Vimalamatî; their son was Pavanavega. Manovega studied under the teacher (*Upâdhya*) Pushpadatta. His intimate friend Pavanavega had his doubts regarding the Jaina tenets. Manovega asks a Muni what should be done to convince his friend, and is advised to take him to Pâṭalîpura, where, by means of disputations with the Brâhmaṇs, his friend would become acquainted with the futility of Brahmanism.

The two friends went to that town with its fine temples of Brahma (*hiranyagarbha âlaya*) and various Brahmanical devotees (also *bhûtikâdi liñgi*), encamped in its garden, the next morning put on the disguise of grass- and wood-cutters, entered the town by its eastern gate, went into a temple of Brahma (*abjabhava*), put down their bundles of grass and wood, beat the big (temple) drum (*bheri*), and sat down on the throne (*simhâsana*). As soon as the learned of the town heard the sound of the big drum, they came to the temple, thought the two strangers were great men (*kârana purusha*), made their obeisance, and asked: "What is your country? What *śâstra* do you know? With what *vidyâ* are you conversant? Tell us quickly!" They said: "We have seen the whole world, and have come here to see the town. But with *śâstras* and *vidyâs* we are not conversant." Then the Brâhmaṇs said: "Except learned men come, beat the big drum, and gain the victory in disputation, they are not allowed to sit on the throne." They answered: "Be it so," and came down from the throne. The Brâhmans put the question: "How is it that people of your glorious features appear in such a miserable state?" The strangers said: "Why do you ask thus? Have there never been any such of your own sect (*mata*) as have lived in the same state?" The Brâhmaṇs responded: "If there ever have been any people gifted with the same supreme power (*vibhava*) as you in our sect, that have lived in such low circumstances, tell us!"

Thereupon the strangers adduced a *śloka* about the ten *avatâras* of Vishṇu (which I give, as it is also quoted in the abovementioned *Sâstra Sâra*): *matsyah kûrmo varâhas cha nârasimhas cha vâmanah | râmo râmas cha krishnas cha buddhah kalki dasâkritih* |, arguing that Vishṇu, as being subject to death and birth, could not be eternal (*nitya*); and, as having been born as animals, could be but ignorant (*ajnânî*); and said: "Such being the case, your question regarding our low circumstances is quite futile." To this the Brâhmaṇs had no

* This work was published in 1872 at the Basel Mission Press, Bangalore, by C. Stolz.

answer, declared the strangers to be the victors, and gave them a testimonial to that effect (*jaya patra*).

Then the two returned to the garden. The next morning, in another disguise, they entered the town at another gate, went again into a temple of Brahma, and a similar occurrence took place. After eight such meetings, during each of which Manovega plainly shows the foolishness of Brahmanical hero and deity tales, the friends return to their home.

I have still to mention two valuable Jaina Commentaries :—

10. A commentary in Kanarese on the *Amara Kośa*, called *Náchirâji*.

11. A commentary on Halâyudha's dictionary, the *Abidhánaratnamálá*.

Liñgâita Literature.

The Liñgâitas or Liñgavantas (not meaning here the Arâdhya Brâhmaṇs, who also wear the liñga), have always been very active in expressing their ideas in poetry. At first, as it appears, they used Sanskṛit, and perhaps Telugu, as their medium; for instance, the poet Someśvara of Pâlkurike wrote a *Basava Puráṇa* in one or the other of the two languages; I do not know whether it is still extant in the original, but we have a translation of it in Kanarese. The following are Kanarese Liñgâita works :—

1. The *Śataka* of Someśvara of Pâlkurike, who lived in the time of the Ballâḷa kings. It consists of 110 verses in the Mattebha Vikrîḍita metre, and contains some moral and other reflections on various subjects. The 7th verse may serve as a specimen: " O Hara, Hara! O rich and beautiful Someśvara (*Śiva*)! Though one tree of the wood in which the bird roves becomes barren, will no fruitful tree grow for it? Though one flower fades, will there be no flower for the black bees? Though always one self-conceited man lies against the poet, or one is parsimonious, will not constantly some liberal persons be born on earth ?" The poem occasionally utters some really fine thoughts.

2. Bhîma's *Basava Puráṇa*,* 61 chapters in Śaṭpadi—a translation of the above-mentioned Someśvara's *Basava Puráṇa*. Bhîma finished his work A.D. 1369. It states that Śiva sent Nandi, the bull of Kailâsa, to the earth to become the son of Mâdalâmbike, the wife of Mandige Mâdirâja, of the town of Bâgavâdi in Karnâṭa, and to make the liñga worship independent of Brahmanism. Nandi being born of her, and being called Basava (Vṛishabha), in course of time entered the court of Bijjaḷa, the king of Kalyâṇapura, on the Tungabhadra, as prime minister, and by the power of his high position, by doing wonders and giving instruction, did all he could to promote the growth of the Liñgavanta sect. In the end he instigated some of his followers to murder Bijjaḷa, who had no lasting faith in Liñgavantism. According to one account Basava died 810 A.D. (Kali 3911). One of the stories runs thus: " Once when Basava with pleasure was sitting in the assembly of the king (Bijjaḷa), he called out: 'It will not be spilled. Do not fear! Holla!' and with excitement stretched out his hands, as if at that moment he were lifting up an earthen vessel. Then said Bijjaḷa: 'He who has smeared a little finger's ashes on his body becomes mad to the degree of a mountain! Such is a true saying,' and gently laughing addressed Basava: 'Alas, master Basava, has Śiva's madness come upon thee too? Has the feeling of devotedness risen to thy head? Why didst thou, as if raving, suddenly call out in the assembly of the odd people (*asama*, *i. e.* people who worship Śiva with his three eyes, and who at the same time are curious characters themselves): "Do not fear!" joyfully lift up thy arms, stretch them out and act as if thou seizedst something?' Then said Basava: 'It is not meet to tell the mass of good properties which one has to each other; but if I do not tell, the assembly will laugh. Hear, therefore, O king Bijjaḷa! To the east of yonder Tripurântaka (Śiva) temple, about six miles from here, is a renowned Kapileśvara (liñga). When a certain female devotee, from love, was giving it a bath of a thousand and one hundred *khaṇḍugas* of milk, this ran from street to street in a stream, and by the walking of elephants a muddy quagmire was produced. In one of the streets with such deep mud a female of the name of Kâṭaka carried buttermilk for sale, when her feet slipped, and she with trembling looked in this direction, and called out: "O Basava, reach and take the falling pot!" Then, before it could fall, I raised the pot by stretching out my hands in that direction.' " The king, who had his doubts, had the cowherd brought, who corroborated Basava's statement.†

Besides legends regarding Basava, the Purâṇa contains many others regarding Śivas that lived before him, or at the same time with him.

3. Virûpâksha's *Channa Basava Puráṇa*,‡ finished A.D. 1585; 63 chapters in the Śaṭpadi metre. It contains the legend of Channa Basava, who was one of Basava's near relations and fellow-labourers

* See a translation by the Rev. G. Würth, *Jour. Bom. Br. R. As. Soc.* vol. VIII. pp. 65-97.
† Conf. *Jour. Bom. Br. R. As. Soc.* vol. VIII. p. 76.
‡ See a translation of this also by Rev. G. Wurth, *Jour. Bom. Br. R. As. Soc.* vol. VIII. pp. 98—221.

at Kalyâṇapura, and some sayings of his contemporaries. Channa Basava's own sayings in general are tales about certain feats of Śiva, and statements about Laiṅga doctrines and ceremonies. Chapter 54 gives the *Soma Sûrya anvaya*, of the members of which it is said that they could not have got eternal bliss; chapter 55 has short legends of Śiva Saraṇas; chapter 57 is a recapitulation of Basava's wonders, etc.; and chapters 62 and 63 contain some so-called prophecy.

4. Siṅgi Râja's *Mala Basava Charitra (Purâṇa)*, *i.e.* legends regarding the great Basava (Bijjaḷa's prime minister); 43 chapters in Śaṭpadi—doings and sayings of Basava that bear the same type as those of the preceding two *Purâṇas*. A story that was told by Basava in Bijjaḷa's court is, in an abridged form, as follows:—A huntsman by profession one morning told his wife that he was going to bring her some sweet venison, and went away. On the road he heard the sound of conch-shells and drums proceeding out of a Śiva temple, and thought that to be a good omen. The whole day he roamed about in the jangle without seeing any game. In the evening he came to a tank, and ascended a tree that stood on its bank. It was then the fourteenth day from the full moon of the month Mâgha. He plucked off the leaves that were obstructing his sight (then occurs a flaw in the manuscript). The leaves, together with some spray water, came in contact with an old liṅga that for thousands of years had been left alone. After a sleepless night, the next morning he saw that the liṅga had been worshipped, was comforted, and took some roots and fruits home as a gift (*prasâda*) from the Śiva liṅga, which he, and his wife who had observed the watch of the *Śiva râtri* in a temple during the night, ate as food after a fast (*pâraṇe*), and made up their mind always to do the same. However, the huntsman continued his sinful occupation of killing animals, till death showed its face, and the messengers of Yama came to take the old sinner to hell. Then Śiva's servants strongly interfered, so that Yama went to Śiva to complain. Śiva called his servants, who related the story of that night, and, by quoting a verse of Sanskrit Śiva Dharma showed the great virtue of presenting even a few leaves and some water (to a liṅga). Thereupon, Śiva sent Yama away, and blessed the huntsman and his wife, because they had performed a *Śiva râtri*.*

The age of Siṅgi Râja is doubtful; he had, however, become a known personage at the year 1585 A.D., when it was said of him by the author of the *Channa Basava Purâṇa* that "he had performed many wonders and obtained Śiva's grace."

5. Toṭadârya's *Śabda Manjari*, *i.e.* a vocabulary of Tadbhavas and old Kanarese words—140 verses in Śaṭpadi. Toṭadârya lived in Keggere at the time when the Narasiṁha dynasty of Vidyânagara was declining.

6. *Kabbiga Kaipiḍi* (the poet's *vade mecum*) by Liṅga, the prime minister of the king of Uggehaḷḷi and son of the Brâhmaṇ Virûpâksha. His work is a vocabulary like the preceding—99 verses in the same metre. Another vocabulary, the *Chaturâsya Nighaṇṭu*, by Kavi Bŏmma [Brahma], may be Jaina, as it is composed in Aryâ verses; Bŏmma, however, is a name not unfrequent with the Liṅgâitas. It contains 100 verses.

7. Chikka Nañjesa's story of the poet Râghava. It was composed after Nos. 2 and 4, as it refers to their authors. It is in Śaṭpadi, and has 19 chapters, with 1495 verses.

Râghava's father was Mahâdeva Bhaṭṭa of Pampâpura (Hampe, Vidyânagara); his *guru* was Harîśvara. Being once a little cross in his behaviour towards his guru, who had reproved him for not using his poetical faculties exclusively for the honour of Śiva, this worthy knocked out several of his teeth by a blow with one of his wooden shoes. The pupil, however, was received back into favour, his teeth were restored to him, and he was instructed. The drift of one of the stories that formed part of his instructions may be given here. At the time of king Bijjaḷa there was an excellent Liṅgavanta woman in Kalyâṇapura, called Kamalâyi (*Kamalе*). Śiva wanted to visit her, assumed the form of a debauchee, and went to the street of that town inhabited by prostitutes, in company with Nârada (the favourite Ṛishi of the Liṅgâitas), who had to carry his betel-pouch. The worthies of that street wondered at his beauty, and were entertained by him. Evening came on. (Here follows a very obscene description of what takes place in that direction.) Meanwhile Śiva went with Nârada to the bazâr-street called "the great dancing-school," and was again the object of admiration of bad men and women. Nârada pointed out to him a number of houses occupied by female devotees, till they came to the house of Kamalâyi. She received him as a beautiful libertine, and did still more; at this last act her life entered into a liṅga. In the morning she was found dead, and a great lamentation commenced; the liṅga, however, in which her life was, became known, was brought and tied to her neck, when instantly her life returned to her.

The poet Râghava is introduced as calling himself "the inventor of the Śaṭpadi metres"

* See also *Basava Purâṇa* in *Jour. Bom. Br. R. As. Soc.* vol. VIII. p. 94.

(Kanarese metres with six lines), metres in which nearly all the Liñgavanta and Brahmanic Kanarese poems appear, but, as far as I know, none of the Jainas. He is pictured as a very good disputant, and died in Velâpura. His death took place before 1369 A.D., as at that year he had already become a renowned man of the past. There is a work of recent date, named *Anubhava Sikhámaṇi*, containing Śaiva stories, that professes to be a work of Râghava in a revised form.

8. *Prabhu Liñga Lílá*—25 chapters, with 1110 verses, in Śaṭpadi. The author's name is not given in my copy; but it is probably the work of the same name that was composed by Châmarasa Ayya at the time of Prauḍha Râja of Vidyânagara. It is the legend of the Tañgama *Allama Prabhu*, (the son of Nirahañkâra Muni), who at last ascended the guru throne in Kalyâṇapura in Basava's time. The first story relates how Allama went to the town Banavaśe, in the country Bēlavala, where the king Mamakâra Prabhu ruled, and how he seduced the princess Mâye, the king's only child.

9. *Prauḍha Rája Kathá*, *i.e.* stories told to king Prauḍha of Vidyânagara, to convince him of the truth of Liñgavantism. It was written by Adṛisa, the son of Annappa, of the *Kare kula* of the merchant-chiefs (*desáyi*) of the parganah (*paragaṇe*) of Kollâpura. The stories are mostly, if not throughout, somewhat more detailed accounts of the short legends of Śaivas found in Bhîma's *Basava Puráṇa* and the *Channa Basava Puráṇa*.

10. *Akhaṇḍeśvara vachana*, a treatise setting forth the specific Liñgâita tenets and ceremonies. It is also called *Śaṭ Sthala Acharaṇa*. The sacredness of the number six with the Liñgâitas is founded on the mantra *om namaḥ Śiváya*, which has six syllables. Thus they speak of Ṣaḍ akshara, Ṣaḍ dhâtu, Ṣaṭ karma, Ṣaḍ indriya, Ṣaḍ Bhâva, Ṣaḍ liñga. The headings to the nine chapters are as follows (the word *sthaḷa* meaning *topic*):—*Śrî guru káruṇya sthaḷa*, *Liñga dháraṇa sthaḷa*, *Vibhûti sthaḷa*, *Rudráksha sthaḷa*, *Bhakti sthaḷa*, *Tûrya nirálamba sthaḷa*, *Prasádi sthaḷa*, *Práṇa liñgi sthaḷa*, *Saraṇa sthaḷa*.

11. The *Brahmottara Káṇḍa* of the *Skanda Puráṇa* or *Śiva kathá amrita sára*, translated after the time of the poet Râghava—31 chapters, with 1844 verses, in Śaṭpadi.

12. Ṣaḍakshari Deva's *Rájaśekhara Vilása*, *i. e.* a legend regarding some episodes in the life of the Choḷa king Râjaśekhara—14 chapters: finished A.D. 1657. Ṣaḍak-shari, a disciple of Chika (chekka) Vîra deśika, stands as a poet, according to my impression, higher than all the other Kanarese poets known to me. His diction, however, is somewhat too flowery and verbose, and he frequently uses very obscene language. He introduces no verse in Śaṭpadi, and in this, as well as in grammar and vocables, imitates the ancient poets. His language is difficult, but a model of exactness.

Śaiva Literature.

By *Śaivas* (whether all of them were Arâdhya Brâhmaṇs or not is doubtful) were composed the following works:—

1. *Bhakti Rasáyana*, by Sahajânanda; 107 verses in Śaṭpadi. It has some good thoughts.

2. *Anubhavámrita*, by Śrî Rañga, son of Mahâliñga of the Sahavâsi family, and a pupil of Sahajânanda guru. A very popular treatise on Vedântism; 856 verses in Śaṭpadi.

3. *Chidakhaṇḍa anubhava sára;* 537 Śaṭpadi verses on the Vedânta by Chidânanda.

4. *Dnyána Sindhu;* a Vedantist treatise in Śaṭpadi, 46 chapters, by Chidânandâvadhûta, whose guru was Chidânanda.

5. *Viveka Chintámaṇi;* ten Prakaraṇas, by Nijaguṇa Śivayogi, on matters regarding the Nigamas and Agamas. Its first paragraph, for instance, concerns Iśvara's attributes; then follow the four divisions of the *Veda*, then the four divisions of vâdas (*vidhi váda*, *artha váda*, *mantra váda*, *námadheya*), then the *Vedáñgas*, the *Upavedas*, &c. It is often too short to be of much use.

6. Sarvadnya's *Padas*. Verses that sometimes express neatly the wisdom of the streets. The metre is *Tripadi*, a kind of Kanarese verse with three lines, that is not often used. He tells his own story in the concluding chapter. Entire copies of his work appear to be rare.*

7. Mañga Râja's *Nighaṇṭu*.†

8. Iśvara Kavi's *Kavijihvábandhana*.‡

Vaishṇava Literature.

Works that fall under this heading are of comparatively little interest, as they, with the exception of the Dâsa Padas, are mere translations of, or free extracts from, Paurâṇika works.

1. Jaimini's *Bhárata*, translated by Lakshmîsa of Devanûr (Maisûr), son of Aṇṇama, of the Bharadvâjâ family. It professes to be a translation of the *Aśvamedha parva* of a work by Jaimini Muni, the muni having given this description of Dharma Râja's horse-sacrifice to king Janamejaya. It is in Śaṭpadi, and is written in a simple but classical style; 34 chapters containing 1907

* A few verses of his are translated in the *Ind. Ant.* vol. II. (1873) pp. 23 *seqq.*

† An account of this work is given in the *Ind. Ant.* vol. I. (1872) pp. 345 *seqq.*

‡ See the Mangalore edition of the *Śabdamaṇidarpaṇa*, p. xxiv. *seqq.* A *Sañgîtâ Ratnâkara*, which I have never seen, is said to treat of melodies (*râga*).

verses. Some say (for instance the Munshi Tirumale Syâmaṇṇa of the Wesleyan Missionaries in Maisûr) that it is not more than about 150 years old.*

2. *Mahâbhârata*, ten of the *Parvas* in Śatpadi. The translator, who calls himself Kumâra Vyâsa, dictated his verses in the town of Gadagu (not far from Dhârvâḍ). In his time, he states, there already existed a number of translations of the *Râmâyaṇa*. This translation, as well as that to be mentioned next, cannot be called classical.

3. *Râmâyaṇa*, translated in Śatpadi by a Brâhmaṇ under the assumed name of Kumâra Vâlmîki, as it seems, an inhabitant of the place Torave (in the district of Solâpur). This work is later than Kumâra Vyâsa's, as he refers to him. (Can they be identical?) He honourably mentions the Vedântist Sañkarâchârya.

4. The *Bhâgavata Purâṇa*; 11,298 verses in Satpadi. Towards the end the author says: "The good poet Châṭu Viṭhṭhala Nâtha has made the Kanarese translation."

5. *Jagannâtha Vijaya*; 18 chapters, by Rudra. He says he has taken his stories from the *Vishṇu Purâṇa*, and his object is to glorify Kṛishṇa. The work contains well-known Kṛishṇa legends, in this case in various Sanskṛit metres, thus bearing the appearance of some antiquity. Also the predecessors he mentions—Bâṇa, Harsha, Mâgha, Sañkhavarma, Sântivarma, Guṇavarma, Manasija, Karnama, Pampa, Chandrabhaṭṭa, Ponnamayya, Gajâñkuśa—are of a peculiar character.

6. *Kṛishṇa Lîlâbhyudaya*, taken from the *Bhâgavata Purâṇa*. The author invokes Mâdhava Muni or Anandatîrtha (of Uḍupa or Uḍupi, on the western coast, who died A. D. 1273). Regarding his family, &c., he says, "In the grâma of Kaḍagatûr, in the country Penugoṇḍa (?), is a Brâhmaṇ of the Jâmadagnya *gotra*, a servant of Mâdhava Muni, a Kanarese of the northern district. His son is Vĕñkârya Timma Arasârya. Of him I, Vĕñkayârya, am the first born son; my mother is Śeshâmbe, my brother is Nârâyaṇârya. I bear the appellation Haridâsa. The lord of my work is Vĕñkaṭa Sauri" (*i. e.* Kṛishṇa of Tirupati). The work consists of 51 chapters, with 2543 verses in Satpadi. It bears also the name of *Kanaka Kṛishṇa Lîlâbhyudaya*.†

7. *Hari Bhakti Rasâyana* by Chidânanda, 301 Śatpadi verses in 5 chapters. In the prologue he confesses he does not know the mysteries of the Vedânta, or the Kâpila, Pâtañjala, and Sâṇḍilya methods, or the way of the *Agamas* and *Purâṇas*, and will only write by the grace of his guru. Afterwards, however, he professes to give a short abstract of the *Agamas* and *Purâṇas*.

8. The *Dâsa Padas*; songs by Kṛishṇa's servants, in honour of their master. They are in various Ragaḷe metres, composed to be sung, and each accompanied by a refrain. They frequently refer to Râmânuja and Mâdhava of Uḍupu as the great gurus. There exist many hundreds of these popular songs by Kanaka Dâsa, Purandara Dâsa, and others.‡ Kṛishṇa is always introduced as being represented by an idol, this being either at Uḍupu, or Tirupati, or Paṇḍarîpura, or Velâpura or Śrîrañga, or Kâginele (in the Kôḍa taluk of Dhârvâḍ). The Kṛishṇa Dâsas in South India may stand in connexion with Chaitanya (A. D. 1486—1534) § and his followers.

I give a Purandara Dâsa hymn that has the honour of being the first piece in a school-book in a prose translation :—

"*Refrain.*—In the whole world those are fools
Who leave the one god (Kṛishṇa) and adore bad gods."

Hymn.

"He who leaves his wife alone (not thinking that she might yield to temptation) is a fool;

He who lends money to relations is a fool;

He who entrusts a person with his money-bag is a fool;

He who is an impudent fellow is a great fool, O master!

He who sells his own daughter to sustain himself is a fool;

He who lives in the house where his wife has been born is a fool;

He who uses bad language when poverty comes on is a fool;

He who has no fixed mind is a great fool, O master!

He who in his old age takes a wife is a fool;

He who plays with a serpent is a fool;

He who does not support the twenty-one families (*kula*) is a fool;

He who does not say 'O father Viṭhala!' (*i. e.* Krishṇa) is a fool;

He who milks the mother the calf of which has died is a fool, O master!

He who lends money without a pledge is a fool;

* Conf. Weber's *Indische Streifen*, p. 392.

† Verse 2 of the work is "When a sapphire (*indra nîla*) is set in gold (*kanaka*), people think it natural; when gold is set in a sapphire, they wonder (? here occurs a flaw in the manuscript). May the godly Vĕñkaṭa Sauri, who always wears the spotless gold-jacket (? *kanaka*) on his breast that is like a sapphire (*hari nîla*) give me success!"

‡ Of these 174 have been printed at Mangalore, and reprinted at Bangalore.

§ See "Chaitanya and the Vaishnava Poets of Bengal;" *Ind. Ant.* vol. II. (1873) pp. 1 *seqq.*

He who is brooding over eighty subjects is a fool;

He who uses bad language against his own mother is a great fool;

He who betrays the house in which he has eaten is a fool;

He who utters calumnies is a fool;

He who sees the glorious Purandara Viṭhala with the white-lotus eyes and does not worship him is a great fool, O master!"

According to many other hymns the Purandara Viṭhala is identical, for instance, with the Kṛishṇa idols at Paṇḍarîpura and Tirupati, in the lastmentioned place being the Vĕṅkaṭagiri or Pûragiri or Śeshâdri on which he dwells.

9. *Kṛishṇa Charitra* or *Vara mohana taraṅgiṇi;* 42 chapters, with 2705 verses (the metre of our manuscript being very irregular, I cannot tell in what metre it is composed), by Kanaka Dâsa. The second chapter begins: "He who has uttered the work is the best servant (*dása*) Kanaka; she to whom he has uttered it is his wife, the very wise woman; the lord of the work is the *Adi Keśava* of Kâginele; when a person hears it, virtue is obtained." And towards the end of the work Kanaka Dâsa says: "Kâginele's Narasiṁha, who is the Adi Keśava, will cause the wishes of good people to be fulfilled." Kanaka Dâsa, "by the favour of Kâginele's *Adi Keśava,*" composed also a *Bhakti Sára*, 108 verses in Śaṭpadi.

Of *Stories* in prose I mention the translations of the Sanskṛit *Pañchatantra, Vetála Pañchaviṁśati,* and *Haṁsa Viṁśati.* The translation of Suka Śaptati is in Śaṭpadi verses. Of stories in prose I may adduce still the following, as they are connected with a semi-historical person, viz. the tales about Râma Kṛishṇa of Tennâla. The work begins with saying that in Tennâla, to the north of Madras, there was the Brâhmaṇ boy Râma Kṛishṇa. Once when a Sanyâsi saw him, he liked him so much that he taught him a *mantra*, telling him to repeat it thirteen million times in a Kâḷi temple, when the goddess with her thousand faces would appear to him and bestow a proper boon on him, if he did not lose his courage. The boy did as he had been told, and Kâḷi appeared to him as a female with a thousand faces and two hands. He was anything but afraid, and began to laugh. Kâḷi asked: "Why dost thou laugh at me?" Then said the boy: "O mother, man has one nose and two hands; but whenever he catches a cold, he gets overmuch to do with blowing his nose. Thou hast a thousand faces and a thousand noses; well, when it sometimes happens that thou catchest a cold, how dost thou blow thy noses?" Then Kâḷi cursed him to become a prince's jester. In course of time he went to Anegondi, the capital of the Karnâṭaka country, where Kṛishna Râya, with his minister Appâji, ruled, at the court of whom he played the nineteen tricks related in the work.

I trust others will undertake to make our knowledge of Kanarese literature more complete.

CORRESPONDENCE AND MISCELLANEA.

To the Editor of the Indian Antiquary.

Sir,—Since the publication, in your December number, of my concluding paper upon Castes in Punâ and Śolâpur, I have received from a Catholic friend a letter objecting to some statements made in it respecting the native Christians, of which I hope you will publish the enclosed copy. The passages omitted and indicated by asterisks were purely personal, or referred to names of persons and places which I think it unnecessary to publish, although entrusted with a discretion to do so.

Even without the proofs advanced by my correspondent, I would have no hesitation in accepting his authority as superior to my own, and to the sources whence my original information was desired, although these were not *primá facie* untrustworthy. It only remains for me to add that I used the word 'Ultramontane' simply as the name of a party, for which I don't know any other in general use, and without attaching to it any objectionable sense, and that the paper in question was written several months ago. Had I written now, after Mr. Gladstone's essay and pamphlet have excited men's minds upon the subject, I should certainly have omitted the whole passage, having no desire to make the *Antiquary* a field of religious discussion, whatever my private opinions may be.

W. F. Sinclair.

My dear Mr. Sinclair, * * * * * * * I however take exception to the correctness of your remarks on the Catholics of Western India under the jurisdiction of the see of Goa.

You say (1) that they are very much at one with the (so-called) Old Catholics of Germany, and (2) that they are at bitter feud with the 'Ultramontane party,' as represented by the Bishop of Bombay and the Jesuits. I have had nineteen years' intimate personal experience of the condition of Catholics of both jurisdictions, and say confidently that you mistake in both these assertion.

In March last there was an open-air meeting in

the quadrangle of St. Xavier's College at Bombay, attended by not less than 4000 persons; at least two-thirds of them were of the Goanese obedience. This meeting was presided over by the Vicar Apostolic (who is commonly known, as you style him, as the Bishop of Bombay), the Vicar General of the Portuguese jurisdiction sat on his right hand, and numbers of each jurisdiction were seated alternately on the dais. Each motion was proposed and seconded by persons of each jurisdiction. The utmost good-feeling prevailed, and the two telegrams which resulted from the meeting—one to the Pope congratulating him on his 83rd birthday, and the second to the German Bishops, offering them our sympathy under persecution—were sent signed by the Vicar Apostolic and by the Vicar General, in the name of "*the Catholics of both jurisdictions*." The clergy of the two jurisdictions constantly officiate in each other's churches at Bombay, Mahim, and Bandora, and doubtless elsewhere. It is true that there was at one time a dispute between the two jurisdictions which ran to the scandalous length of disputes in civil and criminal courts, but what I have said above is, I hope, evidence to prove that the quarrel was of short endurance, and that now there is not only no feud, but Catholic harmony between the separate jurisdictions. As to the alleged Altkatholiken sympathies of the Goanese Catholics, I point to the telegram of our March meeting to the Catholic Bishops of Germany in refutation of it.

I have lived * * * * for four years under the Goanese jurisdiction, and have not been able to discover any difference in doctrine or in sympathy * * * * * * * * * * * * * * *. I see that you, in common with the English press, use the very puzzling word Ultramontane in connection with the Jesuits. The word was first coined in reference to the temporal power of the Pope, but it is difficult to say what it now means. I have come to understand it to mean "a consistent, firm, and enthusiastic Catholic;" if you use it in this sense, I take leave to apply it to the clergy of both jurisdictions here.

THE GOD VITHOBÂ OF PANDARPUR.

The *defilement and injury of this idol*, which have been already referred to,* form a *regular* case of *Hara versus Hari* (Śiva *versus* Vishnu—Vithobâ being held to be an incarnation of the latter) Three devotees of Śiva from one of the great South of India shrines *found access* to the temple of Viṭhobâ, and from jealousy, it is supposed, of his popularity, and from covetousness of his emoluments, set to belabour him with stones suspended from their necks. They inflicted serious injuries on the face, belly, and feet of the image before they could be disarmed. They were nearly beaten to death by Viṭhobâ's votaries, but saved ultimately by the police. On being brought before the magistrate (a native judiciously selected), no person appeared to prosecute them for the supposed sacrilege of which they were guilty; and they were duly set at liberty, and have disappeared from the scene. The calamity was then, with telegraphic speed, bruited throughout the whole of the Marâṭhâ Country and other provinces of India. The inquiry universally arose among the natives, What can be done to mitigate the catastrophe? The doors of the temple were shut, and workmen were understood to be busy, either in effecting repairs, or in constructing a new image likely to be floated on a tank by the help of a board beneath it, and given forth as the return of the "self-formed" image so long worshipped. While repairs have been effected in the way expected, the image worshipped in the shrine frequented by the lowest castes has interchanged places with the article that was mended, and which was wont to be worshipped by the thousands and tens of thousands of Marâṭhâ pilgrims.—*Dr. J. Wilson.*

* *Ind. Ant.* vol. II. p. 272

ÂGARÎS.

Âgarî · a numerous caste in Thânâ district, and found on or near the sea-coast. There are two divisions: 1. Jusâgarî; 2. Mîthâgarî,—the former working *in cocoanut plantations*, drawing the toddy, is said to be addicted to drinking, yet to rank as Marâṭhâs or Kunabîs: the latter, or Mîthâgarîs, work in the salt-pans on the low, flat shore Their work is very arduous and necessitates long exposure to the sun's rays: character similar; also said to be a branch of the Marâṭhâs, but they neither eat nor intermarry with Âgarîs, and it seems probable that the whole of the people termed Âgarîs are of the same origin as the Kolîs, whom they are said *to resemble in every* part of their character. In Gujarât the salt-preparers are Kolîs, and in Kânarâ a corresponding people have been noticed, the Khârwîs†—wrongly, it would seem, termed Śûdras, in the Leper return of that district,—intimating that there also an idea prevails that the caste belongs to the Śûdra division Khârwîs are also compared to Bhills They are probably of aboriginal origin. —*Trans. Med. & Phys. Soc. of Bombay*, No. XI. N. S.

† *Ind. Ant.* vol. II. p. 154, and conf. vol. III. p. 77.

SKETCH OF SABÆAN GRAMMAR.

BY E. REHATSEK, M.C.E., Hon. Mem. B. Br. R. A. S.

During the latter part of the first half of this century, when certain inscriptions were first brought to Europe from the southern part of Arabia, hazy notions were entertained about them. It was not even certain whether they ought to be read from right to left, as all the Semitic languages, or in the contrary direction, and conjectures were hazarded about their Abyssinian, Ethiopic, or even Phœnician origin. Fresnel, the French Consul for Jeddah, made a collection, which was published, and gradually scholars, like Osiander and others, ventured to read and to interpret them. The number of these inscriptions, small and large—the shortest consisting only of a few words, and the longest of many lines, engraved on stone, but some also on metal plates—amounts now to more than eight hundred; but as the language ceased to be spoken, probably about the beginning of the Christian era, and no other written monuments of it exist, considerable difficulty is experienced in eliciting the true sense of these records, though at present the mode of deciphering them has become so well fixed that their reading presents not much difficulty, except in cases where the letters are indistinct either in the originals or the copies. There is also a blacksmith in Mareb who, allured by the profit arising from the sale of copper tablets, manufactures spurious ones from old inscriptions, and has been exposed in the *Journal* of the German Oriental Society as a forger; some fabricated texts also were published there by Prætorius in 1872 (pp. 426-433).

The cognate languages, but especially the Arabic, Ethiopic, and Hebrew, afford the most valuable aid to the scholars who have signalized themselves in this field of Oriental research; as yet they do not all quite agree in their translations, but they may nevertheless be depended upon as safe guides in researches of this kind. The number of such men at present is small; the chief scholars are Prætorius, Lenormant, Socin, Levy, and Halévy,—the latter of whom was bold enough to go personally to Southern Arabia and copy nearly seven hundred of these inscriptions, which are by the Arabs called Hemyaritic.

According to Muhammadan tradition the town of Hemyar was not originally the seat of empire; it was Saba, the present Mareb, which was annihilated by the breaking of a dam* not only husbanding the waters flowing from the mountains for the irrigation of the land, but also enhancing the power of the monarch, who thus kept in his hands the key of fertilization, and was enabled to grant or to withhold it as he listed. The memory of this catastrophe, considered as a chastisement from God, in which many inhabitants perished, and in consequence whereof the seat of government was transferred to the town of Hemyar, survived till the *Qorân* was written, and is alluded to in *sura* XXXIV. 14 and 15, as the inundation of Âla'rem, *i.e.* of the dams that confined the water:—

١٤ لقد كان لسباءٍ في مسكنهم آية جنتان
عن يمين و شمال كلوا من رزق ربكم و
آشكروا له بلدة طيبة ورب غفور ١٥ فاعرضوا
فارسلنا عليهم سيل آلعرم

"14. The people of Saba had indeed in their dwelling-places a sign:—Two gardens, on the right and on the left! [*It was said to them*] 'Eat ye of the bounty of your Lord and be thankful unto him! [*Yours is*] a goodly country and a gracious Lord. 15. But they turned aside [*from this injunction*]: and we sent upon them the inundation of Âla'rem."

The names Hemyar and Saba are also of frequent occurrence in the inscriptions themselves, but it appears that the expression Hemyaritic instead of Sabæan language, which has hitherto been current, will in course of time have to give way to the latter, as being perhaps more expressive and comprehensive.

The Languages of Southern Arabia.

There is great probability that the language

* See M. Caussin de Perceval, *Hist. des Arabes*, Tome III. He and M. de Sacy agree in fixing this flood of Irem in the second century A.D.—ED.

whose written monuments, in spite of the iconoclastic fervour of the first Moslems, have been preserved to our times, must have been the principal idiom of Southern Arabia, though there is no doubt also that various other dialects, and even languages, were current; but in the entire absence of reliable information it would be useless to adduce the scanty and unreliable notices in Muhammadan authors, by whom such pagan researches were generally considered sinful unless they contribute in some way to elucidate their own religion, and to this circumstance we are indebted also for the meagreness of the vocabulary purporting to contain Hemyaritic and Yamani words given by Suyuti* as follows:

قوله تعالى وانتم سامدون قال الغناء وهي يمانيه
......عكرمه قال هي بالحميريه
قوله تعالى و لو القى معاذيره قال ستوره * قال
بلغة اهل يمين
لا وزر قال لا جبل * و هي بلغة اهل اليمين
اللهو بلسان اليمينه المراة
قوله تدعون بعلا قال ربا بلغة اليمين
الطير جهالة بلغة حمير
فنقبوا هربوا بلغة اليمين
بلغة حميرية يسمون الكتاب اسطورا

It will be observed that some Qorânic words are here translated differently; thus in *sura* LIII. 61 وَأَنتُمْ سَامِدُونَ is usually rendered by "And you are careless or triflers," or, as Sale has it, "spending your time in idle diversions;" but Suyuti renders the word سامدون by الغناء

Again, in LXXV. 15 وَلَوْ أَلْقَى مَعَاذِيرَهُ the meaning is "and though he offer his excuses" (or set forth his plea); but Suyuti puts for معاذيره its equivalent ستوره; and in the same chapter, v. 11, كَلَّا لَا وَزَرَ we have in Suyuti for لا وزر "no place," the word لا جبل. He further says that لهو [play] is in the Yamani language المراة [woman]. In *sura* XXXVIII. 15, "Do ye invoke *Ba'l*," he says ربا the acc. of ربّ [Lord]. The word طير [bird, &c.] means, according to him, in the Hemyaritic language, جهالة [ignorance]. In *sura* L. 35 فنقبوا rendered by Sale "Pass therefore," is, in the language of Yemen هربوا—'they fled.' Lastly كتاب *book* is in the Hemyaritic language called اسطور.

The following expressions, occurring in the same work, p. ٣١٢, stated to be Hemyaritic, with their Arabic equivalents, I insert without comment:—

بلغة حمير تفشك تجنبا عثرا طلع سفاهة جنون زيلنا
ميزنا مرجوا حقيرا السقاية الاناء مسنون منتن
امام كتاب ينغضون يحركون حسبانا بردا من الكبر
عتيا تحولا مآرب حاجات خرجا جعلا غراما بلاء
الصرح البيت انكر الاصوات اقبحها يترکم ينقصكم
مدينين محاسبين رابية شديدة وبيلا شديدة بجبار
بمسلط مرض زنا القطر النحاس محشورة مجموعة
معكوفا محبوسا *

Hemyaritic is believed to have ceased to be a spoken language long before the Hijrah era; but perhaps it may have been used later also, in the same manner as Latin inscriptions are still employed on buildings, monuments, and coins among ourselves, long after the language itself has become a dead one.

The Hemyaritic or rather Sabæan language, as at present known from the inscriptions, although essentially one, may be divided into four varieties or dialects, the first of which is the general Sabæan, comprising by far the greatest number of all the inscriptions hitherto known; the second was current in Ma'in, and is the Minæan dialect belonging to the people called Minaei by the Greek and Roman geographers; the third is nearly the same as the last, and was spoken in the interior of Hadramaut; whilst the fourth, to judge from terminations of words such as מהרמש "his sanctuary" and מקדמהמש "their rank and order," appears to have been affected by Persian influences, as it is well known that Persian colonies existed there.

The inscriptions hitherto discovered may, according to their contents, be divided into six classes:—

* الاتقان في علوم القران السيوطي Calc. 1857, pp. 310 *seqq.*

I. Votive inscriptions, usually engraved on bronze tablets or stone slabs, occurring in the interior or in the immediate vicinity of temples. A multitude of national and local deities are mentioned in them, and these prove the Sabæan pantheon to have been prodigiously rich.

II. Votive tablets, called by Halévy *Proscynèmes*, belonging to strangers who completed some act of devotion in the sanctuary and there inscribed their names and descent. These inscriptions are engraved on slabs suitable for the purpose, and the formulæ vary but slightly. The chief interest of these inscriptions centres in the large number of territories, towns, and tribes mentioned in them, affording materials for a restoration of the ancient geography and ethnography of Southern Arabia.

III. Architectural inscriptions, traced on the walls of temples and other public edifices, in order to commemorate the name of the building, or of the persons who had contributed to it. In this latter case, care is taken to indicate the exact dimensions of the portion constructed by each man, and if a stranger was among them his country and tribe are mentioned. Inscriptions of this kind constitute the majority in Halévy's collection.

IV. Historical inscriptions, intended to announce a victory gained over a foe, or to commemorate an event wherein the author plays a part. Under this head fall the texts of Mareb and of Ṣirwâḥ, the inscription on Ḥisn G'urâ'b, and especially the inscription on the monolith of Ṣirwâḥ, the copy of which was stolen from Halévy by the Arabs.

V. Police orders, engraved on pillars at the entrance of temples or other public localities, in order to warn the people against the commission of damages under pain of fines. These texts are very interesting, because they show great perfection in the civil organization, as well as the existence of a penal code among the Sabæans.

VI. Funerary inscriptions, not many of which have as yet been discovered, but which prove that the Sabæans were in the habit of carrying away their dead from inhabited places into isolated valleys, and up mountains, where they erected small houses for them.

The Sabæan Alphabet.

In the following sketch of Sabæan grammar I shall give only what has been fixed by valuable authorities, not the least of whom is Halévy, whom I intend to follow closely. I shall only mark by signs of interrogation words not yet fully authorized, and shall designate the inscriptions of Fresnel, Osiander, and Halévy respectively by *Fr. Os. Hal.* or *H.* Although the alphabet is at present well fixed, I append *A harmonic Sabæan, Hebrew, and Arabic Alphabet*, and shall adduce some peculiarities of certain letters; mention a few, the occurrence of which is rare, and whose value was not at first very well fixed; enumerate those letters which are apt to give rise to confusion; and, lastly, I shall mention such letters as may, by their too great proximity to each other in certain inscriptions, sometimes be mistaken for one letter.

The ה generally remains after the preformative letters of the Imperfect, thus :—הפין, הפרע. There are, however, a few exceptions : יפין (*H.* 152, 14*), יפרע (*Os.* VIII. 11†). In the Minæan dialect the ה is sometimes considered as a vowel : thus we very often find בהן (בהנכב *H.* 188, 5), ארבעהי (*H.* 199, 1), מרבהת (*H.* 111, 5) for בן, ארבעי, מרבת. This takes place even in the divine name מרצׄהי (*H.* 222, 1 ; 229, 2), which is certainly derived from the radical רצׄו (رضو = רצׄה). The other gutturals, ח. ח̄, ע, and ע̄, present no peculiarity.

The letters ו and י, like the first radical of verbs, are often elided by the servile letters :—יהאן, קה' for יוהאן, יוקה ; when the ו forms the third radical it generally remains unchanged, thus :—(ת) שבו, רצׄו, אחו ; but also רצׄי, רצׄים occur (*Os.* XII. 9 ; 1, 9).

The servile ה usually becomes ס in the Minæan and in the Ḥaḍramaut dialect ; thus הו, ה, the suffix of the third person, appears in these dialects in the form סו, ס, for instance בנסו or בנס, אנפססם instead of בנהו (בנה), אנפסהם (אנפסהמו, אנפססם). In the same manner the fourth form of the verb, which is in ordinary Sabæan הפעל, becomes ספעל in these dialects : thus the Sabæan הקני, החדת̄ in the Minæan and Ḥaḍramaut dialect will be סקני, סחדת̄. This is another approach to the Assyrian, and in general to the languages of East Africa. This form answers to the Aramæan שפעל and to the Ethiopic אספעל.

The change of the servile ה into ס is much

* Halévy's inscriptions here referred to will be found in the *Journal Asiatique* (1872 Fev.—Mars).
† Osiander's are given in No. 7, Oct. 1873, &c.

Harmonic Sabæan, Hebrew, and Arabic Alphabet.

Sabæan.	Hebrew.	Arabic.
𐩱	א	ا
𐩨	ב	ب
𐩩	ת	ت
𐩻	ת̄	ث
𐩴	ג	ج
𐩢	ח	ح
𐩭	ח̄ (כ)	خ (ك)
𐩵	ד	د
𐩹	ד̄	ذ ص
𐩧	ר	ر
𐩸	ז	ز
𐩪	ס (ש)	س
𐩦	ש (שׁ שׂ)	ش (س)
𐩮	צ ץ צ̄	ص ض
𐩷	ט	ط
𐩼	ט̄	ظ
𐩲	ע	ع
𐩶	ע̄ (ג)	غ
𐩰	פ ף	ف
𐩫 𐩤	ך כ ק	ك ق
𐩡	ל	ل
𐩣	ם מ	م
𐩬	ן נ	ن
𐩠	ה	ه
𐩥 (rarely 𐩰)	ו	و
𐩺	י	ي
(𐩳 very rare)	ט	ظ
𐩯	ת ה	ث ث

A.—Doubtful letters.

𐩶 = غ ة

𐩳 = ص צ

𐩳 rare, very rare = ظ = ض

𐩻 Sound between ث and ت

B.—Letters easily confounded.

I. א ס כ צ
II. ב ... ד ... צ ... ס ט
III. ג ל
IV. ה י ק ת
V. ו ע
VI. ז ס
VII. י ת
VIII. צ ס
IX. ק ס

C.—Combinations apt to be mistaken.

... for ...

D.—Letters sometimes marking the commencement or the end of an inscription:—

The Sabæan Numerals.

1 ...
2 ... (*Hal.* 154, 8.)
3 ... (*Hal.* 151, 9.)
4 ...
5 ...
6 ...
7 ... or ...
&c.
10 ...
11 ...
12 ... &c.
15 ... (*Hal.* 192, 3.)
17 ... (*Hal.* 199, 1; 478, 12-13.)
18 ... (*Hal.* 208, 4.)
20 ...
22 ... (*Hal.* 478, 10.)
25 ... (*Hal.* 196, 10-11.)
30 ... (*Hal.* 188, 3, 459, 2.)
40 ... (*Hal.* 400.)
47 ... (*Hal.* 199, 1.)
50 ... (*Hal.* 150.)
60 ... (*Hal.* 352, 3.)
63 ... (*Hal.* 151, 10.)
100 ... (*Hal.* 412, 2, 3.)
1000 ...
3000 ... (*Hal.* 150, 8.)
4000 ...

The figure ... also occurs for ... or 20

more strictly observed in the Hadramaut than in the Minæan dialect, where sometimes the usual form occurs. The first of these dialects, however, displays another peculiarity, namely, if an ם is to be added to a word terminating with ה it is not affixed, but the ה is changed to הֿ, thus עלפהֿ, אההֿ, גנאה, בנהֿ (N. H. 1), for עלפתם, אהתם, גנתם. But this הֿ, instead of representing an absorption of ם, may perhaps only represent an aspirated pronunciation of the feminine ת, as is usual in Barbary and in some districts of Yemen.

Permutation between ה and ת occurs seldom, as in הופדהו (*Fr.* LV. 4), אחה (N. H. 1), and אהבטן (H. G. 1, 8) for הופדתו, אחת, אחבטן, but this may perhaps be an error of the copy.

A much more important permutation is that according to which the sound גֿ (*g'*) is rendered by a simple ג (*g*) like גז (*Os.* XVII. 8-9) instead of גֿז (*ibid.* XVIII. 10). In the same way the root גות (H. 169, 2) must assimilate with the Arab غوث, and the root hidden in the form יגתן (*Hal.* 639, 3) does not differ from that occurring in יגֿתהו (*Os.* IV. 10-11. This permutation proves that the Sabæans always pronounced ג ج hard, as some tribes still do, and not like *j*, as is most usual with modern Arabs.

In the repetition of two consonants the full uncontracted form is preferred in Sabæan. This peculiarity appears to be confined to the liquids ל, מ, נ, ר ; for instance :—הודללי (*Os.* X. 7), יתצמנן (D. M. G. XIX. 1), ענן (*Os.* XV. 2), כררם (*H.* 191, 1), instead of הודלן, יתצמן, ען, כרם. The proper noun ודדאל must certainly be pronounced *Waddâdêl* (ودّاد) "friend," as the form of the participle (ה)מודד (*H.* 187, 2) proves.

The roots of the Sabæan language are mostly triliteral, and present all the forms occurring in the other Semitic languages :—

I. Perfect roots :—דבה, הרג, סבר, שבע, כבר;

II. פ״ו, פ״י : יקה, וכל, וסם, ולד, ודד, יפר : יהר, יבס, ידע, יגר;

III. ע״ו, ע״י, and ע״ע : היב, ודד, כון : קוה, עיב, שיב, שים; זנן, הבב, סלל;

IV. ל״ו, ל״י and ל״א : ראו, שבו, אתו ; בני, נסי, שרי, קבא, הנא, כרא, ברא, גנא.

V. Mixed roots :—ופי, ילל, ומי, מצא, ודד.

As already observed, quadriliteral roots are scarce, and seem to occur only in some proper nouns, such as הלפרם or הלפרם, הדבר and in the name of the divinity עתתר, which latter is abridged to עתת when it designates a man's name. הופעתת and הקעתת are contracted from הופרעתתר, הקרעתתר.

The noun הלת is contracted from הלאלהת (הד). The word באחצר "ram" (*H.* 187, 6, &c) appears to be formed from באחצר, "he who enters into the house :" which epithet may refer to the unconcernedness of this animal.

The degradation of the sibilants may be represented by the following scale :—

ז — ד̄* — ד
ש — ש — ס* — ה̄* — ה̌** — ה
צ — צ̄* — ט̄* — ט — ע

These transitions do not occur with regularity and in a logical manner in the Semitic languages; they are possible without being necessary. The forms accompanied by an asterisk are common both to the Arabic and to the Sabæan ; the latter, however, may degrade the original ט a degree further by transforming it into הֿ. The Aramæan descends to this last stage of degradation.

In the other consonants the Sabæan generally agrees with the phonetics of the Arabic language; sometimes, however, it deviates, and follows a manner peculiar to itself. Among cases of this kind the fact is to be pointed out that the Arabic words مِن *from* and مَن *who* are both rendered by בן, so that it becomes difficult to distinguish them from the substantive בן *son*, but in some cases this change does not take place, and the word occurs exactly as in Arabic.

The exact determination of the letters equivalent to غ and ض is due to Osiander, but he was not so successful in determining the equivalent of ظ. There is also another character the value of which was debated, but is now believed by Halévy to represent an intermediate sound between the Arabic letters ث and ت. (See p. 26. B.)

The Sabæans rivalled the Egyptians and the Assyrians in the extreme care with which they produced their graphic texts : hence the inscriptions of Yemen are numbered among the most beautiful of antiquity. They are traced on stone or metal, and present a monumental character which seems to have been immutably fixed in very remote times, else it could not have subsisted with such uniformity from the banks of the Euphrates to Âden. Some details observed in certain letters are not confined to a fixed region, but arise only from the sculptor's manner. But, in spite of the general neatness of the characters, it is impossible for copyists not to confound with each other certain letters, especially when they have to deal with a text obliterated, or seen

from a distance. The chief sources of confusion are the Sabæan forms for the letters—

I. א, ס, כ, צ. II. ב, ד, צ, ם, ה. III. ג and ל. IV. ה, י, ק ה. V. ו and ע. VI. ז and פ. VII. י and ח. VIII. צ and ט. IX. ק and פ.

An attentive collation of texts only can elicit the true lection. (See p. 26.)

There is reason to believe that, besides the monumental, another more manageable cursive form of writing also developed itself: the inscriptions of B e l e d A r ḥ a b, of B e l e d N e h m, of S i l y â m, but principally the *graffiti* of J e b e l S h e y ḥ â n, which contain so many strange signs, bear witness to this. It is even possible that a portion of these signs are due to the combination of two or three letters for their unusual forms. That the Sabæan characters allowed of ligatures is proved by the existence of numerous monograms where one common trait serves to unite three and even four letters. Like many other nations, the Sabæans also used ornamental letters, of which several specimens exist. In the Museum of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society there is among the Sabæan inscriptions one with a large ornamental initial enclosed in a quadrangular frame cut round it, leaving the letter ר in relievo, with three ornamental cavities in its body; and in another much smaller slab one trait unites several letters.

The Sabæan orthography is very sparing in the designation of vowels. The letter *a* never graphically denotes a vowel: with rare exceptions *i* and *u* are rendered by י and ו at the end of words only. There exists, on the contrary, a great tendency to elide these in the body of words, even when they are radicals, or when they represent an element of grammatical flection. Thus we meet with הבת (*H.* 624, 2), אכן (*H.* 155, 1), בנהו (*Os* IV 1), הרם (*H.* 589), instead of the usual orthography, הינם, איכן, בנהיו, הירם. Sometimes the *scriptio defectiva* is adopted where the existence of a diphthong is certain: thus, for instance, the word Ḥ a ḍ r a m a u t is nearly always spelt הצרמת: likewise אפת (*Os.* XVIII. 5) for אפית.

The words are generally separated by a perpendicular line; this, however, is often omitted in inscriptions written with cursive characters, which aggravates the difficulty of interpretation. Often this mark of separation is too close to the adjoining characters, and is apt to give rise to mistakes. For instance, the representative of ع ע standing too near after the perpendicular of separation, may with it be read as ذ, ד; if it be after ج ג it will make with it the letter ب ב, and if it be immediately after ن נ the supposed coalescence will represent ك כ; and lastly if it precedes ج ג both together will make غ ג̄. The end of the inscription is sometimes indicated by certain ornaments; there are also two or three signs to indicate the beginning, especially in long texts sculptured on large edifices. Inscriptions of small extent destined to attract the attention of the public are enclosed by one or two letters. (D.)*

The Verb.

The voices which have hitherto been authenticated are the following seven:—

1. Original form קל Qal:—ז(י)ן, מלא, ידע, דכר, קם, שים.

2. Energetic form פעל Pa'el:—פרע, חדד.

3. Reflective form תפעל Tafa'el (tafâ'el): תנחי, תקדם.

4 Internal reflective form פתעל Pat'al:—כתרב, כתאל, קתדם, כתבר.

5*a*. Causative form הפעל Hafel: האחר, החדה, הקני, הוטי, הללי, הברע.

5*b*. ספעל Saf'el: סחדה, סקני, ס(ו)תב, ס(ו)צא, סנבר (Minæan and Ḥaḍramaut dial.).

6. Reflective causative form: סתפעל Satf'al: סתרעי, סתטר, סתמלא.

7. Causative and reciprocal form הנפעל Hunfa'al: הנחבש

The *Qal* is the principal voice, from which the other voices are derived, either by internal modifications of the radical, or by the aid of certain letters added externally. As the Sabæan writing shows only the skeletons of words, we are not able to point out the various details of the root with reference to the vowels. Accordingly we do not know whether the second radical was pronounced with the vowels *a*, *i*, *u*, as in the majority of the Semitic languages, or whether it was affected by the *shva*, as in Ethiopic.

Thanks to the usage of separately pronouncing the duplicated liquids, it is possible to discover the existence of the *Pa'el* among the voices derived by the internal modification of the root: פררע, מננן, כררע (*H.* 188, 2); the proper

* All this I have shown on p. 26

noun סתהרם (*H.* 193, 1) leads also to שְׂהַר (شهر); to the voice Pa'el belongs also סאל (סאלהו, *Os.* VIII. 3) and סעד (סעדהו, *Os.* VI. 4, VII. 4-5, &c.). As *the Pâ'el* (third Arabic form) is discerned only by the vowel, it is of course not visible in the text; but as this voice exists also in Ethiopic, it could not be wanting in Sabæan.

The *Pat'al*, which answers to the Arabic *ifta'al* (8th conj. إفتعل) but is wanting in Ethiopic, is a much more interesting voice. Numerous examples of it occur: כתבר (H. G.), כתרב (*H.* 187, 3), קתדם (Naqab el Hajar, 1), סתאל (*Os.* XII. 5), נתדר (*H.* 484, 4), עתבר (*H.* 478, 16), from סבר, עבר, נדר, קדם כרב.

The voices formed by an external augmentation are the same as in Arabic and Ethiopic, only the physiognomy of the preformatives is more original than in those languages. For the *Tafa'al* (5th conj. تفعّل) we possess as examples תנבא (*Fr.* No. LV. XIV. 3; *Os.* V.), תמלא (*Fr.* No. LV.), תנחי (תנחין, *H.* 147, 1), תננם and תבקבם, whence the divine names—מתבנבין (*H.* 144, 6; 145, 3; 146, 3, &c.) and מתבקבם (*H.* 189, 1; 222, 1) are derived.

The addition of a prefix ה serves to form the causative; this voice, identical with the Hebrew הפעיל, corresponds to the הפעל of the other Semitic languages (Arabic 4th conj. افعل). As a proof that the ה is original, it may be adduced that instead of הפעל the Minæan and Hadramaut dialects regularly present the form ספעל; but, as the change of the servile ה into ס is repeated in the pronoun, it becomes clear that the ספעל of these dialects implies the existence of a הפעל; accordingly the א is a degradation of ה, and not the ה a strengthening of א. This point will aid us in recognizing the nature of the Semitic verbal prefixes in general. The הפעל occurs very frequently in the inscriptions, as for example:—החדת (החדתי, *Fr.* No. LIV.), הופי (הופין; הקני Os. VIII. 3), האחר (האחרו, *Os.* X. 5), הצרע (הצרעה, *H* 681, 5-6; 682, 9): in the Minæan and Hadramaut dialect סחדת (*H.* 257, 1), סקני (*H.* 353, 2; 63, 2), סבא (דיסבאם, *H.* 257, 3).

The voice *Satf'al* (סתפעל) answers to the Arabic 10th conj. إستفعل which occurs also in Ethiopic and Assyrian. The examples of this voice are numerous:—סתמלא (סתמלאו *Os.* XVI. 7), סתוד (Cruttenden *Sanâ* 1), סתעדר (סתעדרהו, *H.* 681, 4), סתקרא (*H.* 51, 2), סתרשו (*H.* 535, 2).

The last voice is the *Hinfa'al* (הנפעל), the Arabic 7th conj. إنفعل. The original ה occurs also in Hebrew, especially in the Imperative; only one example of this voice can be produced: הנהפש (*H.* 237, 7); from this example, belonging to a Minæan text, it may be seen that all the Sabæan dialects agree on this point. This voice is probably the origin of the divine name נכרח (*H.* 189, 191, 2, &c.), the root whereof appears to be כרח.

It may be presumed that the emphatic forms *Pa'el* (فاعل) and *tafâ'el* (تفاعل), which are very common in Arabic and Ethiopic, existed likewise in Sabæan, as also the voices (א)סתפָעַל and (א)סתפַעַל which the Ethiopic has fully developed; but as these delicate shades concern merely the vowels, they are not perceptible in the texts.

As to the prefixed consonants which maintain themselves in Sabæan in an original state, it is important to observe that the reflective is formed by the ת alone, without the support of a guttural, whilst the reciprocal form is preceded by an ה. This induces to the belief that this form (Arabic 5th conj.), instead of being identical with the Hebrew *Hitpa'el*, as is generally conceived, constitutes a simple and anterior element whence the Hebrew form composed of the causative ה and of the reflective ת is derived. A similar remark also suggests itself with reference to the 7th Arabic form, which is usually identified with the Hebrew נפעל, without considering that it has for its organic form not the נ alone, but הנ (הִקָּמֵל = הִנְקָמֵל, נִקְבַּץ contracted from הִנְקָבֵץ, &c.), exactly as in Sabæan, that is—a compound formed from the causative ה and from a reciprocal נ; accordingly we may ask whether the א of the Arabic *infa'al* represents the enfeeblement of the organic ה, or is perhaps merely paragogic (euphonic); and in that case it would represent the simple form, whence the Sabæan and Hebrew forms were derived. The nature of the vowel attached to the personal letters of the Imperfect of this form appears to be in favour of the latter alternative It is that in the imperfect the personal letters generally have the sound *a*;—يَقْبَل يَتَقَبَّل بِقَبَل &c. opposite to the Hebrew *i* (*e*), excepting the 2nd (3rd) and 4th forms, in which these letters are pronounced with *u*:—يُقَبِّل (يُقَابِل) يُقْبِل whilst the Hebrew has *sheva*: יַקְדִּשׁ; יְקַדֵּשׁ = יְהַקְדִּשׁ. It

is evident, accordingly, that if the 5th form were identical with the Hebrew הנפעל the vocalization of the Imperfect would have been يُنْقَبِل with *u*, and not يَنْقَبِل with *a;* consequently we must consider the Arabic *infa'al* as having only one single preformative, the נ, herein resembling the 5th form, which, combining with the particle of the causative, has produced the Hebrew *Hitpa'el.*

In the 10th form likewise, apart from the prosthetic *alef,* which is wanting in Sabæan, it may be observed that the preformative סת is composed of the causative ס, which supplants the ה in the dialects, and of the reflective ת, so that this form answers to the Hebrew *Hitpa'el.*

The following table presents a view of the most-used forms in the Semitic languages, and the arrangement of the voices from the simple to the compound :—

	Simple.	Emphatic.	Energetic.
Original theme or Pal فعل.	פעל	פעּל (Ar. Eth. Sab. ?).	פעל
Reflective theme.	תפעל (Aram. ? Ass.)	תפעּל (Ar. Eth. Sab. ?)	תפעל (Aram.)
Internal reflective theme.	פתעל (Arab. Sab. Ass.)		פתעל (Ass.)
Reciprocal theme	נפעל (Ar. Ass.)		נפעל (Ass. ?)
Causative theme	הפעל (Heb. Sab. Arab. Aram. Eth.) ספעל (Aram. Ass. Eth. Min. & Hadr. dial.)	ספעּל (Eth. Sab. dial. ?)	ספעל (Eth. Sab. dial. ?)
Causat. and Refl theme.	התפעל סתפעל (Aram. Ass. Eth. Minæan and Hadr. dial.)	סתפעּל (Eth. Sab. dial. ?)	התפעל (Heb.) סתפעל (Eth. Sab. dial.)
Causat and Recipr. theme.	הנפעל (Heb. Sab.)		
Recipr. and Refl. theme ...	נתפעל (Rabbinic Heb. Ass. Aram)		

As we have just seen, the Semitic languages use the three letters ה, נ, and ת (ס, ש) sometimes simply and sometimes combined, in order to form derived voices, for the purpose of indicating an action which strikes by its external effect. These letters, which are visibly pronominal themes, serving also for the inflection of nouns, and constituting a real link between these two categories of words, show that the verb and noun were originally confused in the linguistic conception of the Semites. The most powerful instrument used in these languages to discriminate between the verbal and the nominal idea was the tonic accent, so well conserved in Hebrew, thus · verb—*ḥabál,* חבל "to wound," noun - חבל, *ḥébel* "a wound;" verb—*gadál,* גדל "to become great." noun—גדל *godel (godl)* "greatness;" verb—*qamas* קמץ "to grasp," noun—קמץ "fist."

The Semitic nations, which manifest so delicate a perception in picturing the movements of the mind that produce action, have come short as to the manner of indicating the succession of actions. They have not conceived of time as a determined and fixed period, but appear rather to have considered it as a point always receding, which cannot be seized, and which may be spoken of in a relative sense only. Accordingly Semitic verbs possess originally no special designation to distinguish *time* in the modern sense of the word. From a Semitic point of view the names *Past* and *Future,* applied by indigenous grammarians to the chief verbal inflections, are inaccurate; these forms indicate neither an absolute Past nor an absolute Future; they merely designate a relative succession floating between a distant past and a distant future; the names of *Perfect* and *Imperfect,* denuded of every idea of time, are more convenient. The *Perfect* points out the act as completed in an absolute state, whilst the *Imperfect* designates the same in a

subordinate uncompleted state. It may even be said that a relation analogous to that between a noun and an adjective exists between the Perfect and the Imperfect. Hence it follows that in the conjugation, the Perfect, being considered as a kind of verbal noun, precedes the terminations of the subject; whilst on the contrary the Imperfect, marking an act yet in need of a subject, is placed after it, so that the personal pronouns are placed at the head of the complex.

The modifications to which the vowels attached to the radical letters of the verb were subjected in order to indicate the Subjunctive Mood cannot of course be ascertained, but they could not be different from the method adopted in the Ethiopic language, with which the Sabæan conjugation has several features in common. Among the terminations of the moods, the termination with נ is of great interest. The first interpreters of Sabæan texts observed that the Imperfect often shows נ at the end of the word, like the Emphatic Arabic Imperfect. This *n* is considered identical with the Hebrew particle נָא "now, behold," which would serve to emphasize the idea of an act yet waiting for completion; but this explanation does not well agree with the fact that this *n* stands also before the personal suffixes in the poetical forms: יְבָרְכֶנּוּ, תְּשֻׁרֶנָּה, יְכַבְּדָנְנִי, יְשַׁחֲרֻנְנִי, יְשַׁבְּחוּנְךָ; it is moreover often used in the particles הֲהִנֵּה, בַּעֲדֵנִי, and even sometimes before the possessive suffixes attached to the Perfect. Osiander meant to surmount this difficulty by supposing that the *n* had in Hebrew an origin different from the Arabic *n*, whilst on the other hand he declared that the *n* of the Perfect is due only to a false analogy with the Imperfect; but such a system of explanation, increases the difficulties instead of solving them, and it receives the most formal denial by the fact that in Sabæan the *n* is added even to the Perfect. These two moods may be called Consecutive Perfect and Consecutive Imperfect, because they are almost always subordinate to the absolute verb and preceded by the consecutive ו. Examples of the Consecutive Imperfect Singular ויהופין הופדהו אלמקה (*Fr.* No. LV. 4, 5); the Plural shows *n* twice, קני ויקנין (*Os.* XXV. 5, 6), כהמלאו ויסתמלאנן (*ib.* XVI. 7): this prolonged form occurs also after other particles: —יפקלן (*Os.* X. 10), פתחן (*ib.* X.), יקהן (*ib.* IV. 15), יעברן (*ib.* XVIII. 5), יסבין (*ib.* XVII. 11). For the Perfect a single *n* occurs in the Plural: בראו וחשקרן (*H.* 3, 2-3; 10, 1-2; 10, 2-3); in the Dual, בני והותרן (*H.* 43, 2), חמרי והנקבן ואהרן (*Os.* 35. 1); for the Singular Halévy gives three examples; one in masculine, בני וגמרן (*H.* 169, 2), and two in the feminine, תמזית ותנורן (*H.* 681, 2; 682, 2), והתלאן הבאת (*H.* 681, 6); whence it may be seen that the feminine ת disappears before this termination.

At present, however, Halévy considers it more probable that in the two last examples the second verb is in the Imperfect, analogous to the formula —נצחת, והנצמן, which is so frequent in the inscriptions of Amrân. From this it may be concluded that the *n* constitutes so important an element for the verb that it is doubled in the Imperfect Plural.

The preposition ל is often added to the Imperfect in order to impart to it a Subjunctive sense; it is sometimes added to the simple, and sometimes to the prolonged form, *e.g.* ולדן (*H.* 259, 1), ולהב (*H.* 259, 3), ולדבהו (*Os.* IV. 11-12), וליעהוו (*Os.* IV. 10-11), ולהאן (*Os.* XXVII. 9), ליסלען (*H.* 152, 4), ליחדרן ולינורן (*H.* 147, 6), ליכתופנן (*Os.* XXXV. 4), and even to the Perfect in these two forms: ולוהא (*Os.* VI. 6, 7. VII, 8), ול הרין (*ib.* XX. 6), כל הורן (*H.* 149, 11), להובן (*ib.* 149, 9); the forms are perhaps Infinitives. Halévy also discovered the preposition ב prefixed to the Imperfect בקנם (*H.* 259, 7), a form very common in vulgar Arabic, and in the Ethiopic dialects.

The Sabæan verb has two genders, the masculine and the feminine; and three numbers, the singular, the dual, and the plural. There is no doubt about the existence of the dual, which was first suspected by Fresnel, and afterwards denied by Osiander. Whenever two subjects are treated of, the verb takes the termination י instead of ו, which is the mark of the plural—(ואהדהו יאלי אלשרח): הכרי (*Os.* XXXV. 1), הוחדהי (כרבאל והלכאכר) (*Fr.* No. LIV. 2), בניי (*H.* 169, 2); the feminine dual is formed by תי, as shown by the example (ושמנרם) שכחי (*Os.* XXXIV. 4). The terminations י, תי are the organic forms of the Arabic dual ا ـَ, تَا and seem to have been pronounced *-é*, *-té*. The dual of verbs has disappeared in other Semitic languages, and among them also in Ethiopic. Halévy has found no example for the dual of the Imperfect, but, to judge from the analogy of the Perfect, it ought also to have existed.

As the texts are all composed in the third

person, they leave us in uncertainty about the personal suffixes of the first and the second person of the Perfect. There is, however, reason to believe that they were ך and ךְ, as in Ethiopic.

To the conjugation of the verbs פ״ו, it is to be observed that the ו is suppressed in the Subjunctive; thus ידנן (*Fr.* No. XI. 3), לחב (*H.* 259, 3), דיקהן (*Os.* IV. 13), from ודן, וחב, וקה. The פ״י verbs never elide the *yod*: בניו (*Ab.* 1, 5), תנהיו (*H.* 147, 1), תנחית (*H.* 681, 2; 682, 2). It is interesting to find that in the ע״ו verbs the medial ו is retained: כונת, חור, הוב. It was probably pronounced *ô*, as in Ethiopic, and did not become *á*, as in Arabic. The same analogy with the Ethiopic system is observable also in the ע״י roots; the *yod* remains in שים (*H.* 76, 1; *Os.* IV. 5), קיף (*H.* 8, 1), sometimes also קף (*H.* 44, 2, 3), but the *yod* is elided before the suffixes beginning with a consonant: סכתי (*Os.* XXXIV. 4).

In the Perfect and Imperfect, personal suffixes may be added, as in Arabic. The rule is that in the Perfect the suffix is appended immediately after the third radical; *e.g.* כאלהו (*Os.* VIII. 3), סעדרתהו (*H.* 681, 4), מנו (probably for מנית "heard her prayer," *H.* 681, 7), וקההמו (*Os.* I. 5), וקההמי (*Os.* XXXIV. 6). Examples for the simple Imperfect:—יכנבים (Minæan dial. = והנבחו), יסבאם (= והבאהו, *H.* 257, 2-3), יכורהם (= יכורהם, *H.* 465, 4), יסבאיסם (= והבאהם, *H.* 465, 4); for the prolonged Imperfect:—יהברנהו (*H.* 680, 2), f. יהובנה (*H.* 681, 7-8).

Paradigm.

	1st Perfect.				2nd Perfect.	1st Imperfect.	2nd Imperfect.
3rd pers.	סבר	בני	כין	שים	גמהן	יקני	יקנן
3rd p. f.	סברת	. ..	כינת				
2nd p.	סברך ?						
2nd p. f.	סברתי ?						
	or סברך ?						
Dual m.	חמדי	בניי	......	. .	אהחן		
Dual f.	סברתי ?	.... ..	. . ..	... .	שמתי		
	סברו	בניו	. . .	.... ..	..	יקניו	יקנן
	סברכמו ?						
	סברכן ?						
	סברו						
II. 2.	סאל	. .		.. .	. .	יסביו	

II. Causative	הקני
	סהית
	הפרעת
	ההרהי
	ההדהו
III. Internal Reflective	כתרב
IV. External Reflective	תנבא
	תנהית
	תנהיי
V. Causative and Reflective...	סתיפי
	סתמלרת
	סתמיאו
VI. Causative and Reciprocal...	הנהפש

With Suffixes.

	וקההו
	מנו
	וקההמי
	וקההמי
IV.	תנבאהו
V.	סתעדרתהו
VI.	הראשהמי
1st Precative...	לותא
	לידבהו
2nd Precative...	ביקנם
Passive	יומי

Nouns.

The nouns, to which also the Infinitives of verbs belong, are sometimes simple, and sometimes augmented by the addition of certain letters internally or externally to the roots. Nouns of simple formation are extremely numerous: באל, ד̈מר ,אמה ,רי , אהל ,עֹּן ,נהל ,רנף; with the feminine termination ורחה ,צרית; with נ termination: עמכן, אהרן ,גבאן ,נעמן ,הרן ,נהכן.

As prefixes to substantives, the letters מ ,ה (Minæan dial.), ת, and ת are used, *e.g.* מקם ,מונר, מרבה ,מכבא ,מרית ,הקנית (Min. כנהית), תעלם ,הנהית. The two last forms are derived from הפעל and הפעל respectively. For the proper nouns the most frequent prefixes are א and י, *e.g.* ארעם ,אהוף ,אשיע; conf. Heb. אשבל and Phœnician אשמן; the formation with י is still more often used: ינעם or ינעם, (*Fr.* No. LIV. 1; XL. 1), יפרע or יהפרע (*Os.* VIII. 10), יאמֿם (*Os.* VIII. 1), יהנב (*Os.* XXXV. 1), יאהֿל (*Os.* XXXV. 5), יבכל (*N. H.* I. 1), a formation identical with the Hebrew יצחק ,יעקב ,יפתח. While י, properly speaking, expresses the third person masculine, the prefix ת designates the feminine gender תנף (*H.* 686, 5; *Os.* XXXI. 5) for the masculine ינף: thus the name of the town תנעם in the Khaulân, built at the foot of Mount Yina'm, ינעם is formed. A similar formation occurs in תדמר, the Semitic name of Palmyra. The prefix נ occurs in the divine name נכרח(ם) (*H.* 189, 1, &c.), and is derived from the voice הנפעל, like the Hebrew נפתלי. This formation is very common in Assyrian.*

The principal letters entering into the body of the root are ה ,נ ,ו, and י; the ה is inserted chiefly in nouns and infinitives derived from the פהעל *voice*, *e.g.* כהרב (*H.* 474, 4); the נ occurs in הנבצ(ם) (*H.* 157, 11-12), which is also written הינבם (*ibid* 1); at present, however, Halévy believes the lection of the last-mentioned word to be false, and that it is always to be read הנבצם. The ו occurs in פוקמן (*Os.* XVII. 1); *yod* appears in היגרת (*Os.* IX. 1) and was probably also pronounced in הנהת = هنيهة (*H.* 588); the insertion of the letters ו and י after the second radical is interesting,—*e.g.* צרוח *Sirwâh* (صِرْواح) חמיר(ם) *Himyar* (حِمْيَر); perhaps also מריב *Maryaba* (*Fr.* No. LIV., LVI.) may be added.

The existence of a diminutive in Sabæan is attested by the pronunciation Χόλαιβος, כליב (= كُلَيب), handed down by the author of the *Periplus*. Our texts present the form כריב *Kuraib* (נשאכריב, *H.* 48, 13), the diminutive of כרב; but the nouns קרין(ם) (*Os.* XIII. 1) and אסידם (*Os.* XI. 1) do not indicate it with certainty, because it is possible that they were pronounced *Qaryan*, *Asyad*, according to the analogy of חמיר, of which, however, there is little probability.

In the adjectives all the external formations existing in Arabic also occur: מסעד(ם) (= مَسْعُود), מזוד (مُزَوَّد) מוודם, מתבקבם (*H.* 202, 1); as to the words כבר (*Os.* XXXV. 5), קרב (*Os.* XX. 8), רחק (*Os.* XX. 7-8), it is doubtful whether they were pronounced *kebîr*, *qarîb*, *rahîq*, as the Arabic فعيل, or whether the pronunciation was *kebûr*, *qarûb*, *rahûq*, as in Ethiopic. The active participle שנא was certainly pronounced فاعل fashion, *shâni* (شانى). Both pronunciations must have existed simultaneously, since the words adduced above, צרוח and חמיר, may be derived only from the forms פעיל and פעול; also the proper nouns כבור and כהורת (?) may be mentioned.

The denominative adjectives are formed by the addition of an נ, *e.g.* שרקן (*H.* 257, 3) "eastern" from שרק "east." The *gentilitia* terminate with *yod*, *e.g.* סבאי(ן) (*Os.* XXVII. 3) 'Sabæan,' מעני(ן) (*Os.* XXVII. 1) 'Minæan,' מתבנמי(ן) (*H.* 144, 6-7), 'he of מתבנם,' בני(ן) (*H.* 682, 3), she (*f*) of בנ, הנכית(ן) (*H.* 682, 1-2), she of הנך, the people called Anachitæ.

In Sabæan, as in Arabic, there are three numbers. The dual is formed by the addition of the letters ני which represent the abbreviation of the numeral תני, Phœn. שנ(ם), *Heb.* שני(ם), *e.g.* תני צחפתני (*H.* 520,10), תני מצלני (*H.* 353,4), הנהתני 'double gift' (*H.* 259, 4), כחפרני(הן) (*H.* 535, 1). The נ may also fall away, leaving only the *yod*, which was probably pronounced *ê*, and in this manner the *yod* is also to be read in שמי 'heaven,' which is the root of the divine name דשמי, the *Baalsamen* of the Phœnicians. This abridged form is adopted in all the Semitic languages which possess the dual, *e.g.* Phœn. שמ(ם) *samem*, *Heb.* שמי(ם) ימי(ם) 'two days,' Arabic يومين. This appearance of the organic and consonantal form in the Sabæan dual upsets the opinion broached by some grammarians, according to which the Semitic dual is only the accusative plural of the Arabic declension; it is now clear that the dual,

* Oppert, *Assyrian Grammar*, pp. 100-101.

as well as many other inflections, owes its existence to the degradation of entire words gradually incorporated into the terms they are intended to inflect.

The external plural seldom occurs in the absolute state; it is indicated by the terminations י, ;, and ת. In the names for the decades the י occurs constantly, *e.g.* עשרי 20 (*Wr.* 5), ארבעי (*H. G.* 1, 10) or ארבעהי (*H.* 199, 1) 40. סבעי 70 (*H.* 3, 4). The letter נ is probably the characteristic sign of the plural in the other words: רחמן (*H.* 3, 3) 'merciful (gods).' The *n* of the plural does not disappear before another termination, *e.g.* (ה)בית:ן 'the houses' (*H.* 657, 2; *Ab.* I. 11), (ה)מנ:ן (*H.* 373, 4).

The plural in *-ât* ־ָת occurs even in words not terminating with ה in the singular (ב)תלת: (*Os.* XXXV. 6), (ב)ארצת (*H.* 63, 5), מסקית (*H.* 169, 2), (בם)מרהרת (*H.* 484, 9), and with internal modifications: מקימת (*Os.* XXXI. 3), אדומת (*H.* 51, 7), from מקם (*Os.* XX. 9) and אדם (*Os.* XI. 3). The reduplication takes place in אלאלת the *Alilat* of Herodotus, originally אל *Ilos*, the Semitic *Kronos*, then by extension 'god.' The Minæan texts often show התת, *e.g.* (י)עדבהתת (*H.* 666). (י)מהתת (*H.* 361, 2; 362, 2, 3), (ב)ביתהת (*H.* 395, 2), (ן)הבהתת (*ib.* 403, 2).

The various forms of the internal plural are not distinguishable in the consonantal writing; the form occurring most is אפעל (افعال , افعول) (ב)אאד: (*Os.* XXXI. 3), (ב)אנססם (*H.* 468, 3), אנזל (*Fr.* XLV. 2), (ן)אעתר (*Os.* IV. 14), (המו)אדור (*ib.* XIII. 8); אצף (*Os.* XVIII. 5) probably = אציף, *aṣwaf*. There are also examples for the plural of the plural: (הן)צהבתת (*H.* 666), (המו)אהורית (*Os.* XIII. 8), (ן)אקנית (*ib.* XX. 3).

The *yod* is the characteristic for the *status constructivus* of the external plurals, so that graphically the plural and the dual are both the same, *e.g.* בני (*Os.* XVIII. 3), (הי)אהל (*Os.* IX. 1). מלכי (*Os.* XXXV. 5) אלהי ואלהתי 'the gods and goddesses of..' (*Os.* XXIX. 6). The *yod* is sometimes supplanted by a ו, *e.g.* בנו (*Os.* IX. 2, &c.). (באלהו (ובאלהתו (*Ab.* I. 11-12). It may be seen that no regard for cases exists, contrary to the usage of the Arabs. It seems also that the use of the form בנו is limited only to the names of tribes, like בנו מרתדם (*Os.* I. 1; IV. 1), בנו ארנדם (*ib.* IX. 2; XI. 3), בנו חזן (*ib.* XVIII. 2), &c.

The Arab grammarians, who were struck by the termination in *m* of many Hemyaritic and indigenous proper nouns, have justly considered it as the apocope of '*quod*,' thus imparting to the name to which it is added an indefinite sense; in short, the *m* is a sign of indetermination.

The Sabæan mimmation in general follows the same rules with the Arabic *tanwîn*, *e.g.* שמסם (עבדשמסם, *Os.* X. 1) = شَمْسٌ, יתעם (*Ab.* I. 5) = Heb. ישע; הורם (*Os.* I. 11) = نُورٌ, והבם = وَهْبٌ, בחרם (*H.* 478, 16), = بَحْرٌ, (יבסם = *ibid.*) يَبْسٌ, שרקם (*ib.*) = شَرْقٌ, מערבם (*ib.*) = مَغْرِبٌ, נעמתם (*H.* 681, 8) = نِعْمَةٌ, מסעדם = مَسْعُودٌ, and the diminutives אסידם = أُسَيْدٌ, קרינם (*Os.* XIII. 1) = قُرَيْنٌ, סעידם = سُعَيْدٌ, and the internal plurals אתמרם = أَثْمَارٌ, אולדם = أَوْلَادٌ.

The following do not always receive the *m* in conformity with the Arabic *tanwîn*: 1*st*—Proper nouns terminating in א and ו: *e.g.* סבא 'Saba,' קנא 'Kâne,' כמינהו 'Kaminakum,' קרנו 'Karnon,' and the divine name עתתר, the Semitic Astarte; 2*nd*—The elative אסעד = أَسْعَدُ, ארבע, אבלם; 3*rd*—Proper nouns resembling one of the inflections of the Imperfect, or rather the third person of the Perfect: יהבר or יפרע, אאל, יתאב, יחשבן, יסמר, שמרת, קשבת, הינמת, כלבת, הנהה; 4*th*—Proper nouns terminating in ן: קתבן, ימנן, 'Katabani,' קדרן 'Gedranitæ' גבאן 'Gebanitæ.' These rules nevertheless have many exceptions, and the use or omission of the *m* appears to depend on local usage. Thus we meet with אלם, בודנם 'Vodona,' הצרמותם 'Hadramaut' by the side of אל, בנין, הצרמת; the omission of *m* is so frequent that it is superfluous to give further examples.

As a sign of indetermination the *m* must naturally fall away in the *status constructivus*, where the first word is closely connected with the following one, and thus obtains a determinate sense: בית עתתר (*H.* 257, 1) 'the house, the temple of Attar,' אשעב סבא 'the peoples of Saba,' אמלך מעין 'the kings of Ma'in, *i.e.* of the Minæans;' nor can the *m* occur before the personal suffixes עבדהו, ידקהמו, &c.

The linguistic problem here presents itself: Does the Sabæan language possess a definite article, like nearly all the northern Semitic idioms, or has it none, like the Ethiopic? Osiander after a minute investigation decided that the Sabæan

language from the very beginning had no article at all, and herein he perceived a special approach to the Geez and the other Abyssinian languages. To Halévy this approach between the Ethiopic and the Sabæan appears very problematic. It is easily understood that a language, like the Latin or the Ethiopian, which developed no indefinite, had no need of a definite article; but it is less intelligible how a language, such as the Sabæan, which had an indefinite article, should not have developed a particular form in order to indicate the much more salient idea of emphasis and of determination. This reasoning Halévy thinks must suffice for a conclusion *à priori*, that the Sabæan could not have been without a definite article. This new linguistic feature, more complicated than the mimmation, and affording a key to certain hitherto inexplicable Semitic flections, was discovered by Halévy after a diligent examination of the texts. As a counterpoise to the *mim*, which imparts an indeterminate sense, the syllable הו is appended in the Sabæan language to a word in order to give it a determinate or emphatic sense; this syllable is attached to proper as well as appellative nouns, *e.g.* כמנהו 'Kaminakum' (*H.* 327, 2), ורחהו 'the month of...' הגרהו נשקם 'the town of Neskus' (*H.* 282), אלמקהו; the ו often disappears in the writing—such is even the usual orthography—*e.g.* אלמקה, לגה, חובה, ידעכבה name of a divinity (*H.* 144, 8-9); in the divine name מרצׄחי the *waw* has become *yod*, probably in consequence of reaction of the preceding *waw*, whilst the ה has fallen away in קרנו 'Karnon.' This הו is visibly nothing else than the pronoun of the third person הוא, הא from which also is derived the indefinite Hebrew article -ה, which has become a prefix; whereas it is in Sabæan a suffix, exactly like the emphatic א- of the Aramæan languages,—which is itself also a degradation of the pronoun הוא. The particle in question may remain even at the end of words in the *status constructicus*: מרב הרמההו (*Hal.* 176, 2-3) 'the sanctuary of Madhab,' or in old English phraseology 'Madhab his sanctuary,' ביומה יתעאל (*Hal.* 185,5) "in the day of Yeta'el, מלכה מענם (*Hal.* 353, 9), 'King of Ma'in,' אלאלהה מענם (*Hal.* 465, 2) 'the gods of Ma'in.' The Sabæan dialects often present an ם instead of ה, *e.g.* מחרמם אלם (*Os.* xxix. 5) 'the sanctuary of Al'm,' ביתם יפש (*Hal.* 208, 3), 'the house of יפש', שעבם מענם (*Hal.* 193, 2), 'the people of Ma'in.' Persian influence may have had something to do with this change into ם, though Halévy makes no allusion to it here, and in some other cases he seems to disregard it. Even in compound proper nouns, the ה tends to maintain itself, especially after monosyllables formed from the roots ليّ, *e.g.* סמה כרב (*Os.* i. 10), סמהעלי (*Fr.* xlix.), רבההנפעם (*Hal.* 588), though in closely united compounds the original sense of this particle, which properly means 'he, him,' has become almost effaced.

Besides the signs of determination and indetermination, the Sabæan has, in the form הן, a third sign, which appears to be equivalent to a very energetic and almost demonstrative definite article; this termination, usually abridged to ן, is visibly composed of הו and of another pronominal root, and thus resembles the Hebrew particle הן, 'behold,' the prolonged form whereof is הִנֵּה. This energetic article is even of more frequent use than the other two terminations, *e.g.* הגרן שבות (*Os.* xxix. 6), '(the gods and goddesses) of this town of Sabota,' הן מזנן (*Os.* vii. 2) or only מזנן (*Os.* i. 4; iv. 2, &c.), 'this table,' הגן = הג דת (*Os.* i. 4; iv. 3), 'because,' ביתן רצפם (*Hal.* 257, 1-2), 'the, or this, house with flagstones,' מענן (*Os.* xxvii. 1), 'the Minæan,' הנביתן (*Hal.* 682, 1-2), 'she who belongs to the Anchitæ,' כורן (*Hal.* 615, 30), 'he of the Kaurarani,' בחתאן ובהרפן (*Har.* vi. 9-10), 'in winter and in summer,' כל אביתן הרן ותורן 'all the houses of Hirrân and of Ṭhuran.' It is probably this organic compound הן which forms the numerous class of proper nouns terminating in *n*, *e.g.* כהלן = كَهْلَان , גבאן, חרן, קתבן, כדהן, הרן, נעמן, חרבן, רותן, צנען, נהםן, עמרן &c. particularly frequent in the names of the ancient Horites, which seem to be of Kushite origin (Gen. xxxvi. 26, 27); חמדן, אשבן, יתרן, כרן, דישן &c. and also among the Abrahamites, the sons of Keturah: זמרן, יקשן, מדן (*ibid.* xxv. 2).

This exposition which embraces nearly all the varieties of nouns as far as they occur in the texts, seems to confirm the idea broached in the preceding chapter with reference to the original identity of the nominal and verbal categories in the Semitic languages, since the flections of these two categories of words take place by means of the same pronominal themata: הו, א contracted to ה, ו, י, ם, ן, ת and for the compounds הן and הת. These themata are in reality five, as follows:—

1*st*—The elative א of nouns; the אפעל form

of verbs in Aramæan; this א appears to arise from an original ה.

2nd—הו in nouns. This is the determinative article and denominative sign, and in verbs the causative; voice הפעל.

3rd—מ, in nouns the sign of indetermination; in verbs the sign of participles and of verbal nouns.

4th—ן, הן in nouns the sign of the plural and the demonstrative article; and in verbs the sign of reciprocity and of emphatic action.

5th—ת, הת in nouns the neuter (feminine) gender; in verbs the intransitive, the passive, and the optative.

Pronouns.

The number of pronominal themata is very small, and consists generally of monosyllables, excepting however the nominal and verbal roots, which are in the Semitic languages always biliteral or triliteral. In these essentially polysyllabic languages, the pronominal themes tend by the force of analogy to combine with each other and to escape from monosyllabism, so that they rarely occur in a simple state.

In the Sabæan texts the pronoun ד, corresponding to the Arabic ذا, Hebrew זה, Phœnician ז, &c., does not occur isolated when it has a demonstrative sense, but only combined with ן, another demonstrative pronoun which likewise does not occur isolated; thus we get the compound דן, which reminds us of the Arabic ذين (الذين) and the Aramaic דן, דנא *e.g.* דן סטרן (*Hal.* 615, 14: *Fr.* L.), 'this inscription,' דן ותן (*Hal* 602, 5; 603, 5, 6; 604, 2, 3), 'this idol,' דן בהתן (*Hal.* 252, 6), 'this door,' דן מנסכן (*Hal.* 48, 12), דן מזנדן (*Os.* VII. 2; VIII. 2; IX. 3-4, &c.), 'this tablet (document, monument)', דן מבנן (*Hal.* 438, 1), 'this construction.' In the feminine דת = זאת ذات of the other Semitic idioms makes its appearance, *e.g.* דת תנדהן (*Hal.* 149, 15), 'this agreement(?),' דת אהדתן (*Hal.* 217), 'this plate (plank)?' דת מדבתן (*Hal* 51, 17), 'this decision.'

Like the northern Semitic languages, the Sabæan also makes use of הא (= היא) for the remote demonstrative pronoun; it occurs either isolated or combined with ן. Of the first case Halévy knows only the example דא מדתן (*Hal.* 49, 15), 'that elucidation there,' but the compound form is more frequent: הן מבני (*Hal.* 203, 2), 'that construction there,' הן בלבן (*Hal.* 49, 11) הן ? יגן (*Hal.* 149, 3).

In the pronouns הות, הכת and אלת (אהלת) the final ת appears to be purely enclitical, and not a feminine termination. Of הות only a few examples exist: הות ארצן (*Hal.* 49, 8), 'that land there,' הות כפרן (*ib.* 48, 5), 'this village (?) there,' הות מדגן (*ib.* 62, 9).

For the plural demonstrative the word אל is used, which becomes אהל in the Minæan texts. It occurs sometimes isolated, and sometimes combined with ן, *e.g.* אל רצפן (*H.* 196, 5; 191, 10; 243, 13) 'these flagstones or slabs,' אלן אותנן (*Hal.* 352, 3) 'these idols.' In אהלת of the example אהלת מכנתן (*Hal.* 465, 2) 'these localities' the final ת is only enclitical; and the same is also the case with the ת added to the remote plural demonstrative pronoun הם in the example המת אטרן 'These fields there' (*Os.* IV. lines 14 and 19) which occurs twice. הם itself is not yet perfectly fixed, on account of the bad state of the texts. Accordingly we cannot say anything as yet about feminine pronouns of remoteness, as the results hitherto obtained are confined only to the masculines, which are summarized as follows:—

Singular הות and הית (?) that, there.
Plural המת, and אלת those.

The Semitic languages have but one root to indicate the subject in an indefinite manner, namely, by מ, the vowel of which is in Hebrew expressed by ה, and in almost all the other languages of the same family by א. From its nature it designates objects having no salient individuality, and is applied to things, but must, in order to become personal, be combined with other pronouns. In Hebrew it is composed of the simple radical מה, and produces by phonetic transformations the form מי, which, whilst the cognate idioms have selected the complex מן, becomes מן, مَن. The Sabæan follows this latter method of combination, but presents a very singular phonetic peculiarity, namely, the change of *m* into *b*, so that מן becomes בן; perhaps this use is restricted to the Minæan dialect, where it occurs very frequently. In the following examples, however, the lection is uncertain, on account of the mutilated state of the texts: בן דיהרי ינן דיתהבר (*Hal.* 257, 3), 'he who retires, he who deranges,' and בן דיסור (*Hal.* 535, 4), 'he who overturns.' There is also an example in which the מ is not changed, מן יעבר (*Hal.* 259, 2), and this case occurs especially in common Sabæan (*Hal.* 242, 2; 343, 3; 344, 29). For the simple מ there is one example which is uncertain:

סהנצרקם (*Hal.* 188, 5); but it seems to exist under the form of ב in בנן joined to the Perfect (*Os.* x. 3; xiii. 3, 10; xxvii. 3) or to the Imperfect (*ibid.* xiii. 10); this word appears to Halévy to represent the Arabic locution ما كان (لما) Thus the phrase במסאלהו בנן הסאל נעמהו (*Os.* xiii. 3), compared with the variant במסאל יסאלן בעמהו (*ibid.* xii. 5), may be translated 'in the demand which he demanded of him.' This meaning suits also the other passages. The מ may also be doubled to express the vague idea 'whatever may be, whoever,' *e.g.* מן מום קלם (*Hal.* 149, 10) 'of any damage whatever.' This curious word suggests the striking manner of the Hebrew מְאוּמָה or מְאוּם used as a substantive in the sense of 'something;' the medial ו appears to be the copula 'and;' and the whole compound properly means 'what and what.'

Some of these pronouns are also used as relatives. First, ד is prefixed to verbs:—דיתברנהו (*Prætorius* in ii. 2) 'he who would break it,' דשפתהו (*Os.* xxvii. 2-3) 'in whom he has confidence.' In lieu of ד sometimes דן also occurs, *e.g.* דן תנבאהו 'that which he asked from him.' When ד is placed before substantive or proper nouns, it always means 'of, from,' and must never be taken in the sense of the Arabic ذو 'endowed with,' as Osiander fancied. The ד serves exclusively to express the periphrasis of the genitive where the object is to be pointed out with greater emphasis: מלך סבא ודרידן (*Fr.* xlv. 3) 'King of Saba and of Raidan,' עתתר דיהרק (*Hal.* 465, 3) 'A'ttar of Yahraq,' עבד בן עמכרב דחצֿלן דאהל גבאן (*Hal.* 233, 10-11) 'A'bd son of Ammikarib from Khadlân of (belonging to) the people of Gaban.' It serves also to form adjectives: עתתר דקבצם וע שרקן (*Hal.* 442, 3) 'A'ttar, *Egyptian*, and A'thtar, *Oriental*; for the feminine דת is used, *e.g.* דת מרתדם (*Os.* xv. 1) 'The Marthadatess,' עבדם דרותן חלכם דת (*ibid.* xxii. 1, 2) 'Halkm the Beni-A'bdess (*i.e.* she who belongs to the Beni A'bd) of Raotan.' The ד is sometimes supplanted by ה, which is evidently an alteration of the demonstrative הו: for instance, אלמקה הירן (*Os.* vii. 5) = אלם דהרן 'Almaqqahu of Hirrân.' The demonstrative אל is also used as a relative, and is then treated as a singular, 'he who:' אל התכר (*Hal.* 349, 12) 'he who causes to fructify,' אל יהוהר (*ibid.* 6) 'he who accelerates (?),' אל להו (*ibid.* 344, 26) 'he who has.' This remarkable fact occurs in vulgar Arabic and in Tigreh, which proves once more that the popular dialects sometimes retain ancient elements consigned to oblivion in the literary language.

As to the origin of אל, which its biliteral form ranges by the side of הו ,ד, it is doubtless not a properly so called pronominal root, because in that case they both ought to be decomposed into two separately used monosyllables, which never takes place with them. No alternative remains but to consider them as derived from verbal roots forming a kind of infinitive. In fact the verb הוא 'to be' exists in Aramæan, and with a slight change in Hebrew היה; Halévy thinks that the original type of אל is the Ethiopic הלו, Tigreh אלי Amh. אֵל 'to be, to exist,' whence apparently the Hebrew particles הֲלֹם 'in this direction' (properly 'existing,' understood 'place') and הָלְאָה (= הלוה) 'in this direction' are derived. Each of these two synonymous verbs has furnished a remote demonstrative, which has, in its turn, become transformed into a definite article: הוא = הַ in Hebrew and הלו = أل in Arabic; the ה is known still to maintain itself in the pronunciation of the Bedavis of the Najd.

Let us pass to the personal pronouns. Here our texts are the best refutation of the preconceived idea, broached by numerous psychologists, according to which the Semites in general are an entirely personal and subjective race. A supposition like this has no other basis except the justifiable extension of the Arab national character to the entire Semitic race. It is undeniable that the eight hundred inscriptions as yet known are all conceived in the third person, and present no trace either of the first or second person, except in certain cases where the use of the first person is indispensable. The same use occurs again in the Hebrew writing and in the Phœnician texts, where the pronoun of the first person is not only rare, but purposely avoided by circumlocution; thus we read: לעבדי (= לְעַבְדּוֹ) for לי (*His.* 1, 2), אבדך (= עַבְדְּךָ) for אנך (*Sid.* 3), &c.

Moreover, the personal pronouns of the Semitic languages present a phenomenon worthy of the attention of physiologists just as much as of linguists, and which puts the original objectivity of the Semitic race in the best light:—Whilst the Âryan idioms possess a radical *ah* (*am*), *az* (*em*), *ad* (*am*) for the first, and a *tw* (*tu*) for the second person, the Semitic languages possess nothing of the kind, so that they are obliged to

have recourse to combinations of demonstrative roots, the personal signification whereof is rather accidental than natural. This becomes clear from the analysis of אני, אנא, أنا, the organic form of all of which is הואנהוא, meaning literally '*is qui* (*est*) *is*;' אנת, אתה, is composed of הואנת '*is qui* (*est*) *id*.' Let us add that the complete form of these pronouns is אנך (אנכי), אנהך. The final ך is radical, as is proved by the plural אנחן, אנחנא, אנחנו common to all the Semitic languages, and where the נ has maintained itself under the form of ח. For the second person the originality of the נ becomes also evident by comparing the possessive suffix ך '*thus*,' although the original אנך exists only in Egyptian: סתב כם (*Hal*. 450, 3) '*posuit eumdem, ipsum*' כתב כמם (*ib*. 437, 2) '*posuit eosdem*' (conf. *Hal*. 259, 3, 4; *ib*. 478, 17); I would here mention the Persian کس '*aliquis*,' which Halévy does not notice, but which is at least in the writing, if not in the meaning, nearly the same with כם and may have something to do with it. From the above analysis he concludes that אנכי is composed of הואנכהוא '*is qui* (*est*) *idem is*, and אנהך from הואנהך '*is qui* (*est*) *id*, *idem*,' lastly אנחנו from הואנכנו '*is qui* (*est*) *idem qui* + *pl*.'

In consequence of the too impersonal locutions of the inscriptions, it is impossible to ascertain whether the Hebrew form of the first person אנכי, (אנך) was in use among the Sabæans. This appears improbable, because these forms are also unusual in the cognate languages. As far as the second person is concerned, it could not be different from the form אנת, אתי common in the Semitic family. The isolated pronoun of the third person is identical with the demonstrative הא (הוא), but it is not known whether the feminine was הא (היא), as in the sister languages, or whether it resembled the demonstrative form הות peculiar to the Sabæan. The masculine plural הם occurs in several passages (*Hal*. 416, 2; *ib*. 311, 18; 346, 4), and the analogy of the other Semitic languages presupposes the certain existence of the compound הן (= هنّ הן) for the feminine.

No possessive suffixes except those of the third person are to be met with: הו for the singular masculine, and סו for the same in the Minæan dialect; the ו often disappears in writing: בנהו (*Os*. I. 1), בהבהו (*Hal*. 478, 1), בנה (*Hal*. 187, 2) 'his son, exactly like the Persian ش in پسرش; in עינהו (*Os*. XXIX. 7) 'his eye' the second ו is redundant. No example of the feminine exists, as in Persian, and perhaps none ever did, although Halévy says it must certainly have been הה, הם. Instead of the simple הו, sometimes ם, הם, ן, הן occur: במסאלהו = במסאלם (*Os*. I. 5) 'in his request,' ימת ארצם וקםהם ויםת הגרן (*Hal*. 478, 10) 'may his country (*lit*. earth), his people, and his town perish (*lit*. die).' This interesting form, which it is impossible to take for a plural suffix, must be considered as composed of הו prolonged by means of the particles ם and ן respectively serving as the indefinite and the definite article. The same occurs here and there in Hebrew, where למו, פימו occur for לו and for פיו. This is confirmed also in Phœnician; for which see Schlottmann in *Z. d. D. M. G.* 1870, p. 406, &c.

List of the Pronouns from Sabæan texts.

Demonstrative Pronouns.

Singular.	Plural.
ד *m*. דת *f*. this.	אל, אלת, אהלת these.
דן this.	אלן.
הא, הות that.	הן those.
הן that.	הם, המת those.
כ that.	

Interrogative Pronouns.

מן, בן who?	מה, (ב) what?

Relative Pronouns.

ד, דן he who, of, from. דת *f*. she who, of, from.
הו he of, he from.
אל he who.

Isolated Personal Pronouns.

הא he.	הם they.

Suffixed Personal Pronouns.

ה, הו; ס, סו; (ה, הם) ן, ם } his.	המי, הם } their.

Dual: המי.

Numerals, Measures, and Chronology.

The Sabæan like the Arabic numerals have a double form, the one being the simple radical word, and the other presenting, as in certain Arabic numbers, the addition of a ת in the masculine, whilst reserving the simple form for the feminine:—

1	אחד (Hal. 446, 3.)	אחת (Hal. 598, 2.)
		אחת (Hal. 667, 1-2)
		אחת (N. H. I.)
2	תני (Hal. 353, 4; Wr. 5.)	תנתי (Hal. 598, 5.)
		תתי (Hal. 667, 2.)

3	שלה̄ת (Hal. 50.)	ה̄לה̄.
	ה̄לה̄ת (Hal. 3, 4.)	ה̄לת (Fr. LI. תלת Fr. LIV.)
4	ארבעת (Hal. 412, 2.)	ארבע (Hal. 148, 10.)
	ארבעתן (Os. XXXI. 1, 2.)	ארבען.
5	(ה̄מסה.)	ה̄מס (Hal. 152, 6-7, 8-9.)
6	סדה̄ת (Hal. 192, 1.)	סדה̄ (Hal. 192, 1 ; 256, 2)
		סה̄ (H. G.)
7	(סבעה)	סבע (Hal. 199, 1.)
8	ה̄מנים (Hal. 51, 19.)	ה̄מן ? (Os. I. 8.)
9	תסעם (Hal. 648, 3-4.)	(תסע)
10	עשרת (Hal. 125, 14-15.)	עשר (Hal. 152, 5.)
17		סבע עשר (Hal. 199, 1.)
20	עשרי.	
	עשרנהן (Os. XXXI. 1-2.)	
30	ה̄לה̄י (Hal. 485, 3.)	
40	ארבעי (Hal. 48, 10 ; H. G.)	
	ארבעהי (Hal. 199, 1.)	
50	(ה̄מסי.)	
60	סדה̄י (Hal. 352, 3.)	
70	סבעי (Hal. 3, 4.)	
80	ה̄מני (Hal. 412, 2, 3 ; 661, 2.)	
	ה̄המני (Hal. 384, 3.)	
	ה̄המנהי (Hal. 466.)	
90	(תסעי.)	
100	מאת (Hal. 598, 4 ; 466.)	
	מאתם (Hal. 3, 4.)	
1000	אלף (Hal. 535, 1.)	
	אלפם (Hal. 49, 3, 4.)	
	אלפן (Hal. 526, 2.)	

The variety presented by the numerals in the above table arises chiefly from the addition of the terminations ם and ן. In the Minæan dialect the נ of ה̄נה̄י is elided, and the word becomes ה̄ה̄י, it appears, with the reduplication of the ת absolutely, as in the Hebrew שְׁתַּיִם for שְׁנְתַּיִם. The pronunciation אחה̄ for אחת seems to be a peculiarity of the Ḥadramaut dialect. The fluctuation between אחת and אחה̄ is observable in ordinary Sabæan, and the same occurs also in שלה̄, ה̄לה̄, ה̄לת (הלת); lastly סדה̄ is contracted to סה̄ in the inscription of Ḥiṣn-G'hurab, which is probably one of the least ancient texts.

There are but few examples of derived numerals; the radical numbers serve also as ordinals, *e.g.* בים ה̄מנים, 'on the eighth day.' In compound numbers an ל is added to the first numeral, thus:—דלה̄לה̄ת וסבעי וה̄מס מאתם (*Hal.* 3, 4), 'of (the year) 573;' דלארבעי וסה̄ מאתם ה̄רפתם, 'of the year 640' (Munzinger's copy, Ḥ. G.)

Of multiplicatives Halévy found only כלתי, which appears to him to mean 'two pairs' in כלתי צדפתי (*Hal.* 375, 2), 'two pairs of planks?' written defectively for כלאתי, which is suggested by the Hebrew כִּלְאַיִם. Among the fractions שלה̄ (*Hal.* 200, 2), 'one-third,' occurs in conformity with the Arabic ثُلْث. The phrase ה̄ני יד עשר (*Hal.* 667, 2) appears to mean 'two portions of ten,' because the word יד, strictly 'hand,' implies also 'part, portion,' and this locution proves to a certainty that the Sabæans used the decimal system in their measures of length, which will be mentioned further on.

Like all civilized nations of antiquity, the Sabæans made use of numeral figures, but their system of notation differs from that of the other Semitic nations. The figures are always placed between two ladder-like strokes larger than the other characters, to avoid confusion. As in some inscriptions the numbers are not only given in figures, but, for greater security, also in letters, they can be identified with tolerable facility. Up to 4 the numbers are represented only by perpendicular strokes, as in the Roman notation, and the large numbers are, as far as possible, represented by the initials of the words used to designate them in the written language.*

The inscriptions furnish the following precious but insufficient information concerning the measures and money current among the Sabæans:—Among them, as among other Semitic nations, the cubit appears to have been the unit of measurement: אמה (pl. אמת) Hebrew אַמָּה, *pl.* אַמּוֹת. Thus סבע עשר אמה (*Hal.* 199, 1), 17 cubits; סבע וארבעי אמה (*ib.*) 47 cubits; סדה̄ אמה (*Hal.* 256, 2), 6 cubits; שלה̄ אמה (*Hal.* 200, 2), one-third of a cubit; ה̄מס אמה (*Hal.* 413, 1; 417, 2), 5 cubits. Among the divisions of the cubit the finger is twice mentioned in the texts: אחת אצבעם (*Hal.* 667, 1-2), one finger; ה̄מני אצבע (*ib.* 661, 2), eight fingers. Then comes the קב, which was a measure of capacity among the Jews. This fact results from the following passage:—(מנ)פק אמת וה̄מס קבם (*Hal.* 215, 2), half a cubit and five *qab*. The foot appears to have been designated by the word שחם (= شاحط *int. pl.* שושם), from شحط 'recessit:' סדה̄י שחם (*Hal.* 352, 3) sixty feet (?). A sub-division of the foot occurs

* The whole system up to the number 1000 will be easily understood from the plate, page 26.

in the word אבר (*pl. int.* אאבר), apparently representing the Arabic ظفر, צפרן, 'nail,' in order to indicate the inch. The passage in which this measure occurs is סבע וארבעהי אאברם (*Hal.* 199, 1), 47 inches.

Among the weights used by the Sabæans only one can be recognized with any probability; it is רב in פרע מתננכן מקדהם דרב (*Hal.* 148, 7). It is possible that some current coin was designated by כלע *int. pl.* אכלע[ם], thus חמם אכלעם (*Hal.* 152, 8-9), 'five sela.' The word סלע means 'rock, stone,' and designates in the Rabbinical writings the weight of half a drachm or *zuza*, זוזא. Other names, apparently designating weights and measures, are of a still more questionable character. These are:—

1*st*. The אל, occurring in the phrase באחת אלם (*Hal.* 598, 2), 'for one azlm;'

2*nd*. The חפר(ם), which occurs in *Hal.* 148, 8-9, *ib.* 154, 18, and *ib.* 151, 10; and lastly,

3*rd*. The האלי, mentioned twice in the same inscription: חמם האלים (*Hal.* 152, 6, 7), 'five ḥaialaym,' and עשר האלים (*ib.* 152, 5), 'ten ḥaialaym.'

The words apparently indicating weights and measures are these:—

1. אמה cubit.	7. כלע (int. pl. אכלעם.)
2. אצבע[ם] finger.	8. אל[ם].
3. קב[ם] *qab*.	9. חפר[ם].
4. שחם (int. pl. שחם) foot?	10. האלי[ם].
5. אבר (int. pl. אאברם) nail, inch?	11. אר (*Hal.* 50, *Fr.* 9)?
6. רב.	12. נרם (*Os.* I. 8).

The Sabæan year began, it seems, towards the autumnal equinox, because the word חרף, which designates the year, means strictly the autumn, *i.e.* the rainy season, in opposition to the other half of the year, called דהאן, from the root דהא = דתא, 'to germinate, to produce plants,' during which the earth is covered with vegetation. The months are lunar, as may be concluded from the name ורח, 'month,' properly 'moon;' accordingly they must have been in the same position as the Muhammadans still are in our times, whose months rotate through every season, and do not serve to ascertain it. The names of the ten months discovered in the texts are as follows:—

[ורח ד]חרף (*Hal.* 3, 4).

[ורח ד]הלן (*H. G.* end), Munzinger's copy דהגן.

[ורח ד]פרע בנים (*H.* 51, 19, 20).

[ורח ד]אבהי (*ib.* 51, 10, 11).

[ורח ד]עלם (*ib.* 48, 11, 13).

[ורח ד]חצר (*H.* 188, 7).

[ורח] צבר נגות (*ib.* 5).

[ורח ד]כלאם (*ib.* 152, 15).

[ורח ד]הלית (*ib.* 16).

דמחצדם קדמתן (*ib.* 149, 14).

On the assumption that the names of the months actually corresponded with the seasons they etymologically designate, Halévy supposes that the month חרף must, according to its name, have fallen in autumn, and that חצר, designating greenness, began after the cessation of the rains, when everything becomes green. The expression דמחצדם קדמתם means, no doubt, 'harvest,' מחצד being derived from חצד = חצר Aramæan, 'to harvest;' and the first harvest is in the Wadi-Saba collected in March; from the form of this word the conclusion may be drawn that there was also another month bearing nearly the form דמחצדם תנית, 'month of the second harvest,' the latter taking place about three months afterwards. The name דפרע בנים means probably 'raising of buildings.' The months דאבהי and דהלית appear to be of mythological origin; דאבהי means 'of the fathers,' and suggests the month אב of the Hebrews; it was perhaps sacred to the deceased. The other name הלית seems to be composed of הל, 'force,' and of ית, the abbreviation of the divine name עתתר, the Astarte of the northern Semites. This is not extraordinary among a people like the Sabæans, who named certain days after celebrated personages, perhaps revered as demigods. For example:—

יום הע הרמתם (*Hal.* 50, 1, 2), "The day of Ha' Harmatm?"

ביום נף (*Ab.* I. 5), "On the day Naof."

ביומה יתעאל רים ובנם תבעכרב מלכי מען (*Hal.* 485, 5), 'On the day Yṭa'el Riyam and his son Tobba'-karib, kings of Ma'in.'

ביום מראסם וקהאל יתע ובנם אליפע ישר מלך מען (*Hal.* 504 3, 4), 'On the day of their masters Waqhael the saviour, and his son Eliafa the just, kings of Ma'in.'

יום דמרמלך ווהראל (*Hal.* 145, 6, 7; 146, 6, 7; 148, 12, 23), 'On the day of Ydhmarmalik and of Watrael.'

ביום ידמרמלך ובעתתר (*Hal.* 153, 8, 9), 'On the day of Ydhmarmalik and of Watrael.'

ביום ידמרמלך ובעתתר (*Hal.* 153, 8, 9), 'On the day of Ydhmarmalik and by A'ṭtar.'

ביום אבידע ויתעאל (*Hal.* 209, 2), 'On the day of Abyada' and of Yṭa'el.'

ביומה יתעאל צדק ובנם וקהאל יתע מלכי מענם (*Hal.* 522,

2), 'On the day of Yṭa'el the just, and of his son the saviour, kings of Ma'in.'

The Sabæan texts are never dated according to the year of a king. There are two different ways of fixing dates. The first and more recent relates to a previous time which had, in consequence of some memorable event, become the commencement of a new era. Hitherto only two inscriptions bearing traces of an era are known; namely, the third inscription of Halévy's collection, occurring also in Fresnel under the same number, and the inscription of Ḥiṣn G'hurâb. The first bears the phrase הההת...וסבעי והכים מאתם היו, '573 Hayw.' The opinion of Fresnel that the word היו means 'may you live,' and was merely added that the phrase should not terminate with the word מאתם 'hundred,' which resembles the word מת 'to die,' is too fantastic to be tenable; the only thing certain is that היו, written also היום, is a very frequent Sabæan name, and appears here to be that of the engraver. The beginning of this era may be approximatively fixed about 115 years before Christ. This date results from the inscription of Ḥiṣn G'hurâb, which is of the year 640 (ארבעי וכה מאתם הרפתם), and is the work of a prince escaped from the Ethiopians after their victory over the last Hemyarite king (see *Z. d. D. M. G.* XXVI. p. 436, the translation by Levy of this inscription). As, however, this last-mentioned event, according to the best chronologies, took place A.D. 525, it is clear that the era in question cannot be of later origin than 115 years before Christ. At that time the Sabæan empire was still in its power. A century afterwards the rumour of the great riches accumulated by the Sabæans had spread as far as Rome, and made such an impression as to tempt the cupidity of Augustus.

The Sabæans, like the Assyrio-Babylonians, instead of fixing dates by an era of long duration, generally preferred to determine them by the use of eponyms; the years were accordingly named after certain celebrated personages, probably kings and governors. It may be seen that in order to designate years the Sabæans used the same system as for indicating remarkable days. Our historical knowledge is so imperfect that these kinds of dates are closed letters to us; but it is possible that when the great ruins in Yemen are excavated, eponymic tablets, like those of the Assyrians, may be discovered. For the present this way of dating may be elucidated by quoting the following ten passages from the texts :—

1. בהרף עמכרב בן סמהכרב בן התפרם (*Os.* I. 9-11), 'In the year of A'mmikarib, son of Samhikarib, son of Hatfarm.'

2. בהרף סמהכרב בן תבעכרב בן פצחם (*Os.* X. 4, 5), 'In the year of Samhikarib, son of Tobba'kerib, son of Faḍḥm.'

3. בהרף ודאל בן יקהמלך כבר הלל (*Os.* XIII. 12, 13), 'In the year of Waddadel, son of Yaqaḥmalik Kebir Khalil (or the great, the well-beloved).'

4. בהרף סמהכרב בן תבעכרב בן הדמת (*Os.* XIV. 5, 6), 'In the year of Samhikarib, son of Tobba'kerib, son of Haḍhmat.'

5. ... בן והבאל יהת מלך סבא (*Os.* XXXII. 3) '... son of Wahbêl Yaḥat, king of Saba.'

6. בהרף נבטאל בן עמאמר (*Os.* XXVI. 9-10), 'In the year of Nabthaêl, son of A'mamir.''

7. דהרף...כרב בן נשאכרב בן פצחם (*Hal.* 48, 12, 13) 'Of the year of...Karib, son of Nishakurayb, son of Faḍḥm.'

8. ההרף בעתתר בן הדמת (*Hal.* 51, 10, 11), 'Of the year of Ba'ttar, son of Ḥadhmat.'

9. דהרף נשאכרב בן כבר הלל (*Hal.* 51, 19, 20), 'Of the year of Nishakarib, son of Kabir Khalil.'

10. בהרף סמהעלי בן אלשרח בן סמהעלי (*Ab.* I. 5-7), 'In the year of Samhia'li, son of Elasharh, son of Samhia'li.'

These dates are real eponyms, which do not necessarily refer to the reigning king; as is clearly proved from the inscription of Abyan, which was engraved during the reign of תבע שרח באל, Tobba' Shorahbil, and is nevertheless dated from the year of Samhia'li II.

Particles.

By particles are meant the words serving to determine the mutual relation of the members of a phrase, and also that of whole phrases. Some particles are nouns which have lost their original signification, by a process analogous to that which produced the names of the numerals; but others show the original nouns in a more or less mutilated form, suggesting the formation of the pronouns. The disbelief of Halévy in the existence of pronominal roots in the Semitic languages has already been mentioned, and he is still less disposed to admit an independent original for the monoliteral prepositions, *e.g.* ל׳, ב׳, כ׳, and the copulative ו, as has already been explained in the chapter on pronouns.

The Sabæan particles are either prefixes or isolated words; the first category comprises the particles ב, ד, כ, ל, מ(ב), among which ב, ל, מ(ב) accept the possessive suffixes.

בהו (*N. H.* VIII. *Os.* I. 7, &c.).	להו (*Fr.* LVI. 2 &c.).
בה (*Hal.* 48, 3)?	להמ (*Hal.* 51, 14).
בהמו (*Os.* XVII. 11-12).	מנה (*Hal* 681, 5).
במ (*Hal.* 466)?	בנהו (*Os.* XIII. 11).
בהן (*Hal.* 682, 8).	מהן (*Hal.* 412, 3).

As to the use of these particles: The preposition ב, joined either to nouns or to possessive pronouns, has the same meanings as in the other Semitic languages, *e.g.*—

1*st.* *In, at, on,* indicating the time, place, or the state of a thing or of an action. *e.g.* בגנא הגרן קרנו (*Hal.* DXX. 9), 'in the wall of the town of Qarnu;' ביום ידמרמלך ווהראל (*Hal.* 145, 6-7) 'on the day of Ydhmarmalik and of Watrael;' בסלם *Fr.* LVI. 2) 'in peace;' בנכמתם (*Crutt.* 1, 5) 'in, with agreement."

2*nd.* *By, with,* designating the person or thing by the aid whereof the act is done. In this sense ב is often used at the end of inscriptions in order to invoke important personages, notably divinities, *e.g.* בודם ובידעסמה (*Hal.* 144, 8-9), 'by the grace of Waddm and Yda'simhu.' Instead of the simple ב analogous passages show ברעם (some copies have ברעי), a word signifying 'grace, aid, assistance.'

3*rd.* *After, according to, e.g.* באמר חלפן (*Hal.* 149, 15-16), 'according to the order of Halfan.'

4*th.* *Against:* דשטין בהמו (*Os.* XVII. 12), '(every foe) who shall commit an act of hostility against them,' analogous to the later Hebrew locution שסה בו את הכלב, 'he set the dog against him.'

As a conjunction ב is joined either to the Infinitive or to the Imperfect of a verb; in the first case it appears to mean *when, e.g.* בפרע פרע עתת(ר), 'when he elevated the elevation to A'ttar,' or, 'making an offering to A'ṭtar.' The ב joined to the Imperfect serves to form a kind of subjunctive; there is only one example of it known ביקנם (*Hal.* 259, 7), 'that he be fined.'

The ד serving as a relative pronoun when joined to verbs (see *Pronouns*) acts as a preposition before nouns and is translated by *of, e.g.* דחרן (*Os.* I. 3-4, &c.), 'Almaqah of Harron,' כל אלאלת דבהרם (*Hal.* 478, 9), 'all the deities of the sea,' מלך סבא וידן (*Fr.* XX, 1), 'king of Saba and of Raidan.' The use of ד as a conjunction, meaning *so that*, is still more remarkable: דיבתקן ביתהמו וידללך קנידהמו (*Os.* X. 7), 'so that their house (village) was destroyed, and their property conquered.'

With reference to the particle כ the new texts offer interesting information, though they are somewhat obscure on account of their fragmentary state.

1*st.* There is no instance of the כ serving as a particle of comparison before proper or appellative nouns; in all the passages where a similar case occurs, the idea of comparison does not suit the text. Comparison appears to have been indicated in Sabæan by כם, as in Ethiopic; this, however, is not confirmed by the texts.

2*nd.* Joined to a verb the particle כ renders the idea of *when, after.* The inscription of Naqab el-Hajar presents the necessary examples: כתובהו נאתהו (*l.* 7), 'when he returned near his walls (house);' כהרגו מלך חמירם (*ib. l.* 9), 'after they had conquered the king of Himyar.'

3*rd.* The כ designates likewise the motive of an action, and answers to the Hebrew כי, 'for, because;' this meaning appears to be inherent in כסתמנעו, which is the first in the following difficult expression: כסתמנעו בהו כנבאו דן ארץ חבשת (*N. H. l.* 8), which Halévy proposes to translate as —'For those of the country of Ḥabashat (Abyssinians) had taken hold of him at their last invasion,' or, literally, 'For they had taken hold of him, when they made invasion, those of the earth of Ḥabashat."

4*th.* In conformity with the Hebrew כי, the Sabæan כ is used to designate the purpose of an action, and has the meaning of *in order that.* The following example, as has been observed by Osiander, is very decisive:— כיסען אנס פגר ביתהמו (*Os.* XVI. 5), 'In order that he may cause men and the inhabitants of their house to prosper.'

5*th.* But the last and most surprising use of the particle כ in Sabæan is that it indicates the accusative and even the dative. The examples are too abundant to allow of doubts about the accuracy of Halévy's copies. The following are the clearest passages:—סקני(ו) כעתתר דקבצם (*Hal.* 535, 1), 'They have dedicated to Attar of Qabadm,' in lieu of the usual formula: סקני עתתר (הקני). Likewise בן פרע סמדר כעתתר (*Hal.* 221, 2), and יב פרעתי פרע כבל אלאלתן (*Hal.* 192, 2), in contrast with the usual locution בפרע פרע עתתר (*Hal.* 426, 2). The dative is indicated in phrases such as החדת כעתתר דקבצם (*Hal.* 534, 2), 'He has renovated to the

honour of A'ṭtar,' and חדת נכרח (485, 1), 'he has renovated to the honour of Nakrah.' Examples could easily be multiplied to show this peculiarity, but the preceding ones are all taken from the Minæan dialect.

The use of the particle ל is less varied, but more frequent than the others. It occurs—

1*st.* As sign of the dative: לבני יהפרע (*Os.* v. 4), 'to the Beni Yahafra';' להו (*Fr.* LVI.), 'to him;' לאדמהו (*Os.* xx. 8), 'to his vassals (*lit.* men);' לאלמקה (*Fr.* LIV.), 'to the honour of Almaqqahu.'

2*nd.* To indicate the purpose, the motive: לעפי ביתן סלחן (*Fr.* LIV.), 'for the welfare of the house of Silḥin;' להות מזנן (*Os.* xviii. 7), 'on account of, in consideration of this tablet.'

As in the majority of Semitic languages, the ל is joined to the verb and makes a precative expressing a wish: *e.g.* ליפדהמו (*Os.* ix. 5), 'may he bless them,' strictly 'in order to bless them;' ול והא אלמקה מתר אנמרם (*ib.* vi. 6-8), 'may Almaqqahu continue to gratify Anmarm.'

When the ל of tendency precedes the completed verb the latter takes the ן of prolongation: ול יהאן (*Os.* xxvii. 9), ול הרין (*ib.* xx. 6), לחדרן (*H.* 147, 6); in the plural: ליטחופינן (*Os.* xxxv. 4). Sometimes, however, also the simple Imperfect occurs: ול דין (*Hal.* 259, 1), ול יהב (*ib.* L. 3), ול ידבהו (*Os.* iv. 11-12), ול יתהוו (*ib.* L. 10-11). In all these examples the precative sense is less strong, and we perhaps even have here a simple affirmation corresponding to the Arabic لَ. Unfortunately the passages from which these examples are taken do not happen to be clear enough to allow of discovering the precise shade of meaning in this particle.

The particle מ, abridged from מן = مِنْ, occurs in several passages: יהתאמר...מכרב סבא (*Fr.* XLVI.) 'Yta'mir...of the (cultivated) plain of Saba,' עדב מנה (*Hal.* 681, 5), 'it (the illness) retired from her, abandoned her;' ול יסחהן מדן (*Hal.* 412, 3) and with transition to ב: ובנה ללעל (*Os.* xiii. 11) 'and above that;' likewise in the preposition בעם, equivalent to the Hebrew מִעִם.

There is yet an interesting peculiarity to be noticed concerning the ב'ל particles. These particles seem, according to the analogy of the relative ד, to possess the faculty of combining with ן without changing their signification. Thus it may be seen that בן פרע (*Hal.* 221, 2) supersedes the usual formula בפרע (*Hal.* 226, 2, &c.); בן הצהמו (*Fr.* xi. 3), opposite to בהצהמו (*Os.* viii. 4), בן דהא והרף (*Crutt. San.* i. 17), 'in summer and in winter;' בן מדרכן (*Fr.* LIII. 2), which appears to mean 'in the sanctuary.' The last two examples, however, may be explained differently; in this בן the preposition בין, 'between,' with the *scriptio defectiva* may be concealed. At all events the obscurity of the passages quoted allows of no positive assertion. The passages wherein the compound לן appears to supersede the simple ל are still more obscure; a few of them are here submitted to the attention of Semitists: לן מזוד (*Fr.* xi. 3); לן גדותי (*ib.* L. 4); לן דהאול (*Os.* xviii. 1); it would naturally be more simple if this *n* were to be the prefix of the first person plural.

Among the isolated prepositions the following occur in the inscriptions:—

1*st.* עלי *upon, to;* this is identical with the Arabic على, and occurs in the following: דהטהר עלי הלכאמר (*Hal.* 49, 12), 'who carried help to (=اظهرعلى) Halikamir.' Also עלי כל אנסן (*Hal.* 152, 13, 14), 'upon all men.'

2*nd.* בן, מן *from, of: e.g.* מן מים קלם (*H.* 149, 10), 'of any malediction whatever;' מחרמן (*ib.* 152, 8), מן מדרכן (*ib.* 152, 8), 'from this sanctuary (?).' The form בן is more frequent: מתהתו בן מיקן (*Os.* xxvi. 9), 'he has preserved him from blows;' ול גינהמו בן הרי לקן וכיצבו (*Os.* xvii. 8-10), 'that he may conceal them from sickness, from malediction, and from witchcraft.'

3*rd.* עד *until, towards: e.g.* ואתו עד מריב (*Fr.* LVI. 2), 'and they came till Maryaba;' בן אשרם עד שקן (*Hal.* 535, 1), 'from the foundations till the roof (?).' This preposition is also spelt עדי, *e.g.* ובדת וצאת עדי מובען עיר בהרם (*Hal.* 682, 5, 6), 'and because she has gone out towards impure places.' This is Halévy's rendering of the phrase translated as follows in the *Z. d. D. M. G.*: 'and because she kept herself pure in impure places' (und weil sie sich rein hielt in unreinen Orten). In *Os.* xi. 7, 8 the word עדי seems to mean 'in that which concerns.' In the dialect of Ḥaḍramaut the locution הקאד appears to correspond to (בן) קעד (N. H. 1. 2). The inscription of Obne shows also אד שקרם (1. 5).

4*th.* *Between, among, amidst: e.g.* בן מחפדינהן (*H.* 535, 1), 'between their (two?) towers;' בין הרפנהו (*Os.* xiv. 4), 'amidst his sheep.'

5*th.* צרב appears to mean *in consideration, in exchange*: צרב שפתהמו (*Os.* i. 7) 'in consideration of their gift.'

The following are the compound prepositions, as far as Halévy has hitherto been enabled to establish them :—

1*st.* במם = Heb. מִמם *from, by : e.g.* במם אלמקה דהרן (*Os.* IV. 6-7), 'by Almaqqahu of Harran,' and with the suffix במסאל יתסאלן בנכהו (*Os.* XII. 5, 6), 'in the asking which he will ask of him.'

2*nd.* בעד = Heb. בְּעַד, *for, relating to, concerning : e.g.* בעד הדהת הדהת בבית בן קרינם (*Os.* XIII. 4, 5), 'for, on account of, the misfortunes (*lit.* happenings) which happened in the family of the Beni Quraynm.'

3*rd.* בהלף means probably *near to, e.g.* בהלף הגר מריב (*Os.* XXXV. 3, 4), 'near to the town of Maryaba;' בהלף מנהתם (*Os.* VIII. 10), 'near Manhatm.'

4*th.* בתחת = Arabic تحت, Heb. מִתַּחַת, *under, beneath;* of this only one example is known to Halévy : בתחת אמראהמו (*Hal.* 62, 10), 'under their masters.'

5*th.* כעד, *according to, in conformity* (?), occurs in the passage כעד הא בדהן (*Hal.* 49, 15), the sense of which is obscure.

Adverbs are rare in the texts : some are here appended :—

ללל occurs in the locution ובנה ללל (*Os.* XIII. 11), *yet more, moreover* (?).

בללם *in the night : e.g.* ובדת הבאת בללם (*Hal.* 682, 7, 8), 'and for what she has sinned in the night.'

גיר = Ar. غير, *without, e.g.* מיבן גיר בהרם (*Hal.* 682, 6-7), 'places without purity (impure places).' It takes also the prefix ב, *e.g.* בגיר צדקם (*Os.* XVII. 12).

לם = لم expresses negation : אל לם תעלמן (*Hal.* 682, 8, 9), 'that which she knows not.'

The conjunctions of the Sabæan language form a rich and varied category, displaying affinities with the northern Semitic idioms, especially the Aramæan group :—

ו This particle is just as much conjunctive as disjunctive : אל ועתתר (*Hal.* 144, 3-4), 'Al and A'ttar;' בני וחדת (*Hal.* 257, 1), 'constructed and renovated;' ותבר בעלדהמו (*Os.* X. 6, 7), 'but he (Almaqqahu) has destroyed their author.' The ו is also placed in the beginning of a sentence, *e.g.* ול דן דומר דמר (*Hal.* 259, 1), 'will be judged (punished) he who will commit havoc,' or 'verily he will be judged who,' &c.

פ marks the adjunction *and, also* (= אַף also) : כיפען אנס פנר ביתהמו (*Os.* XVI. 5, 6), 'that he may cause to prosper the men and (also) the inhabitants (strangers) of their house;' ואלמקה פשפת שמר במסאלהו (*Os.* XIII. 6-7), 'and Almaqqahu has also gratified Shammar according to his demand.' This is, no doubt, analogous to the Arabic conjunction ف.

או *or*, occurs in the unintelligible phrase בהאם או ופאם (*Hal.* 152, 2). It occurs often combined with פ, thus, *e.g.* כברם פאו צערם (*Os.* XXXV. 6), 'great or small ones;' בן מרתדם פאו דיקן (*Os.* IV. 14, 15), 'the Beni-Martadm or those who obey (them).'

הל has almost the same meaning with או, *or, be it.* Of this only one example is known to Halévy : הל מן יעבר כסם (*Hal.* 259, 2, 3), 'or he who will derange them.'

אד *when* (= اذ , اذا) : אד בענו יתל (*Hal.* 149, 4-5), 'when they made the journey (?) of Ytal.'

הין *while, during* = حين, *e.g.* הין דמהדדם קדמת (*Hal.* 149, 14, 15), 'during (the month called) Dhamahdadm-Qadmat (of the first harvest).'

ים or ים *on the day when, when :* ים הקדמהו ידמרמלך צבא אוסן (*Hal.* 154, 4, 6), 'on the day when Ydhmarmalik placed him at the head of the army of Awsan.' In many inscriptions the word ים is several times repeated at the beginning of phrases exhibiting various constructions which certainly required much time to be finished; hence it may be concluded that the word in question has also the sense of *then, afterwards, subsequently.* (*Comp. e.g. Hal.* 188, 520, &c.)

הגן *on account of, because, conformably to.* This conjunction is derived from the verb הגן, *to turn round;* its use is extremely varied and not very intelligible, but the following will partly elucidate it :—

1. הג alone appears to have the meaning of *in conformity with :* פל יהופין הג ולם בהו תעלם סעדלה (*Os.* IV. 16, 17), 'that he (the god) may accordingly be favourable in conformity with the indication given to Sa'dilah (*lit.* by which was indicated Sa'dilah).'

2. הג דת or הגן *because :* הג דת וקההמו במסאלם (*Os.* I. 4-5), 'because he has heard them in their request;' הגן וקההו במסאלהו (*Os.* VII. 2, 3), 'because he has heard him in his request.'

3. הגן כ the same : הגן כוקההו במסאלהו (*Os.* XVII. 3, 4), 'because he has heard him in his request.' This conjunction appears also to mean *in conformity to* in the passage הגן כהור בקדמי ד[ת] תנחין (*Hal.* 147, 8, 9), 'in conformity to what has preceded this decision (?).'

4. בהנ: This form occurs in the mutilated passage בהנ סטר (*Hal.* 349, 5), which is perhaps to be translated 'according to the writing.' The meaning of לחנ (*Hal.* 520, 22) is still more obscure.

The causal conjunctions here appended have their best analogies in the northern sister languages :—

1. בדת firstly means *on that account*, as באת in Hebrew : בדת הופיהמו אלמקה (*Os.* I. 5, 6), 'on that account that Almaqqahu may favour them,' then it takes the meaning of *because* and *in order that*, accordingly as the verb which follows it is in the Perfect or in the Imperfect. The following is a very instructive example :—

בדת הופדו במסאלהו

ובדת יהאן הופינהו במסאל יסתאלן בעמהו

'Because he favoured him in his request, and in order that he may continue to favour him in the request which he will have need to make.'

Instead of בדת often לדת occurs, especially in the phrase ול דת נעמת והנעמן (*Os.* VII. 11, VIII. 12, &c.), 'and in order that good may happen continually (*lit.* and in order that good should be, and that good be).'

2. בכן. The original sense of this particle appears to be *according, in conformity* : thus במסאלהו בכן הסאל בעמדהו (*Os.* XIII. 3, 4), '(he has heard him) in his request, in conformity to what he had asked from him.' As a conjunction the word בכן scarcely differs from בדת, and the inscriptions of Amrân furnish numerous examples of this Sabæan particle.

3. לקבלי *opposite to this, in regard to this* = Arabic قبل *before.*

The inscriptions present no example of any interjections.

List of the Particles.

Prepositions.

ב	בן, מן
ד	עלי
כ	עדי, עד
ל	בין
ב, מ	בעם
	בתחת
בעד	כעד
בהלף	
צרב	הקאד, בן (מן)־עד

Adverbs.

ללעל	עד
בללם	בעד
	לם

Conjunctions.

ו	הנ
פ	הגן
פאו, או	הנ דת
הל	בהנ
אד	הן כ
הן	דת, בדת
ים, יום	לדת
לקבלי	לקבל דת, לקבל ד

ARCHÆOLOGICAL NOTES.

BY M. J. WALHOUSE, LATE M.C.S.

(*Continued from p.* 13.)

II.—Folklore,—Snake-stones.

It is remarkable how ancient and widely-spread the notion appears to be of snakes bearing in their heads stones of beautiful or magical properties, the obtaining of which is a feat of the utmost difficulty and danger. The idea is doubtless of Eastern origin, and is generally connected with the belief in the guardianship of concealed treasure, and sleeplessness, and intensity of sight, that in popular imagination have always characterized the dragon—δράκων—the beholder, the creature that sees—a belief springing from the fascinating influence always ascribed, and apparently with truth, to the eyes of serpents. The snake of Persian tradition has a small stone, called *Mohrah*, in its head, by which it sees concealed treasure. In the Life of Apollonius Tyanæus there are some marvellous stories of huge Indian serpents, which are divided into those haunting marshes, plains, and mountains respectively; and the way in which the Indians destroy them is told as follows : "They spread a silken robe inwoven with golden letters before the entrance of the serpent's cave, and those letters, being magical, bring on sleep, so that the eyes of the serpent, although exceedingly hard (they are said to sound like brass when the creature moves—another instance of the idea of sleeplessness), are overcome, and then with powerful incantations they so allure the serpent as to be able to cast over it the magical robe, which induces sound sleep. Then, rushing on it, the Indians cut off its head with an axe, and take out certain small stones found therein. For the heads of the mountain-serpents are said to contain small stones very beautiful, and endowed with a peculiar lustre and wonderful virtues. Such a stone was in the ring that Gyges is said to have possessed." This account is most probably a wildly exag-

gerated version of the Indian snake-charming, and one of the earliest notices of it. The ring of Gyges, it will be remembered, conferred invisibility: beliefs respecting snakes usually have especial reference to the eyes, and at the present day, on the western coast at least, sore eyes are ascribed to the anger of serpents, and a snake is the worst omen a Brahman can behold. I have not been able to trace with certainty whether the notion of snakes bearing precious stones prevails in Southern India at the present day, but Babu Râj Chandra Sandel of Banâras tells us that in Bengal it is a popular belief that the cobra bears a diamond, "learned men imagining that as that poisonous reptile lives a long life, the effect of time matures its carbon to a diamond. Some people say it sometimes emits light, which has perhaps led them to believe this." As in some degree connected with this, I am tempted to add a strange bit of folklore from the Rev. G. Richter's *Manual of Coorg*, where (at p. 166) we are told that, according to Coorg belief, the cobra lives a thousand years. After passing the meridian of its long life, its body begins to shrink and brighten till it shines like silver, and measures three feet or less at the age of six or seven hundred years. Still later it shines like gold, and is only one foot in length. At last it shrinks to the size of a finger. Then some day it flies up high in the air, dies, and sinks upon the ground, where it disappears. The spot is called Nâka, and is marked by a little stone enclosure. Should any one unawares set foot upon it he will be attacked by incurable skin disease, and rot away by degrees. In Kanara if any one points at the sculptured serpent-stones so often seen under trees, it is believed the hand will rot. Returning to the subject of the tales of the stones borne in the head, though I have not been able to hear of the particular [illegible] diamonds or bright gems, the cobras are everywhere believed to bear on their heads the [illegible] snake-stones, which will allay the [illegible] venomous bite and extract the poison. When taken from [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] Kedâr [illegible] Lands [illegible]

the shape of a horse-bean, or sometimes pale and semi-transparent, made apparently of sandarach or false amber. Though adhering for a time to bites, they have no curative properties, as has been largely proved by experiments.

In the New World there are some remarkable parallels to the Indian legend of Apollonius, which might perhaps be pressed into the service of those who contend that the primitive American population were Turanians, who, starting from Central Asia or from India, reached even America at some unknown epoch, and being the earliest serpent-worshipping race, and first discoverers of gems and metals, originated the infinite variety of stories and superstitions that always in some way connect serpents with precious metals and precious stones. The American Indian tribes reverence the rattlesnake, and believe that somewhere in the mountains there is a secret valley inhabited by the chiefs of the rattlesnake tribe, which grow to the size of large trees, and bear on their foreheads brilliant gems that shine with dazzling splendour. They are 'called the kind old kings,' 'the bright old inhabitants,'—appellations evidently placatory, in the same sense as the cobra is always spoken of throughout Southern India as "the good snake." They know all things, and may be consulted if properly approached and besought. At the present day an animal called the Carbuncalo is popularly believed to exist in Peru; it appears only at night, and when pursued, a valve or trapdoor opens in its forehead, and an extraordinarily brilliant object, believed by the natives to be a precious stone, becomes visible, dispelling the darkness and dazzling the pursuers. This account is averred to be so far attested as to warrant a belief in the existence of an animal possessing some remarkable quality which serves as a pretext for the fable. In Cyprus and the adjacent islands and coasts, false precious stones are fabricated by Jews and said to have been taken out of the head of the [illegible]; they are worn as amulets to protect the wearers from the bite of venomous animals. So widespread and persistent is this ancient belief, which seems to have originated in India. It appears in England respecting the toad, which

"Ugly and venomous,
Wears yet a precious jewel in his head."

[illegible] p. 237.

III.—Folklore,—Corpse-Candles and Will-o'-the-Wisps.

Some thirty miles north of the favourite and fashionable station of Bangalore rises the great hill-fort of Nandidurg. Its summit being 1500 feet above the elevated Maisur plateau, and commanding varied and far-stretching prospects, and the many buildings comprised in the fort affording ample accommodation, it is often resorted to by health and holiday seekers. From its top a remarkable exhibition is sometimes seen, known to many as "the Nandidurg lights." Not having ever witnessed them myself, I will borrow an account that appeared in a Madras newspaper of last year. The correspondent writes that being on a visit to the fort, and looking at night from his windows, which commanded a view over all the country around, he was amazed and frightened at seeing "the whole expanse for miles and miles one blaze of lights, the appearance being as of a vast city lighted by gas,—hundred of thousands of lights extending for miles and miles, dancing and glittering in all directions, a weird, horrible, yet beautiful sight." On hurriedly asking a peon what was the meaning of it, he was told "it was the bodies of all those who were killed in battle at Nandi; they all come up at this time with lights in their hands." The opinion of the correspondent's host was that it was the people on the plains with lights collecting white ants after rain; and that though Sheikh Dáud declared the lights were corpse-candles, and every candle borne by a body killed in action, yet he believed it was the white ants. This strange exhibition is occasionally seen from the fort, and it is characteristic of Englishmen that, like the correspondent's host, they so often rest satisfied with explanations of unusual phenomena so obviously inadequate as that advanced. A German savant travelling there would soon unravel the mystery: but, though large English communities have long lived in the neighbourhood, no explanation seems to have been offered. It is not unlikely that some luminous insects may be the cause of this wonderful display, which is commonly seen after heavy rains, when some species of insects appear in vast myriads, and amongst them a species of mole-cricket, which I mention because in England the *ignis fatuus* has been, with some apparent probability, ascribed to the English mole-cricket (*Gryllotalpa vulgaris*). But the more immediate concern of this note is with the peon's idea that the lights seen by the newspaper correspondent were borne by the bodies of the slain in battle, and its analogy with the Welsh belief in corpse-candles. In Wales the latter are called *Canwyll gorf*, and the popular belief is that a short time before the death of a person a light is seen issuing from the sick-bed, or sometimes from his nostrils, and taking its course to the churchyard along the very track the funeral is afterwards to pursue. It is dangerous to stand in its way. Some who have been so foolhardy have been struck down, and been long in recovering, but none are hurt who do not stand in the way. Some who have been bold enough to lie down by the wayside when the corpse-candle passed, and look earnestly, have seen the resemblance of a skull carrying the candle, or sometimes a dark shadow, in shape of the person that is to die, carrying the candle between its forefingers, holding the light before its face. In some parts of India when a man has been killed by a tiger, his ghost is believed to sit on the tiger's head holding a light, by which it guides the beast to its prey. The cunning of old man-eaters, and the difficulty in killing them, are ascribed to this ghostly guidance. In a paper read before the Bengal Asiatic Society, Mr. W. Theobald relates that in Burmah it is believed that there is a class of wizards whose heads become dissociated from their bodies during the night, and wander about the jungle feeding on carrion, the bodies remaining at home; and the *ignis fatuus* is supposed to proceed from the mouth of one of the wandering heads. If a head be seized whilst so wandering, it screams to be released, and if detained more than twelve hours both head and body perish. This in one or two points rather resembles the Welsh belief.

Mr. Theobald further says that the *ignis fatuus* is very common in the flat alluvial country near the Rajmahal Hills, and is called *Bhutai*, from *Bhut*, a goblin; the prevailing belief is that it is borne by a ghost. The Rev. Mr. Caldwell, in his interesting account of the Tinnevelli Shanars and their devil-worship, has a sentence echoing the folk'ore of many nations:—"In the dark of the evening, devils have been observed in a burial or burning ground assuming various shapes one after another, as often as the eye of the observer is turned away, and have

often been known to ride across the country on invisible horses, or glide over marshy lands in the shape of a wandering flickering light." In Tamil the Will-o'-the-Wisp is called *pēy-neruppu* = devil-fire. I once saw one on wet jungly ground at the foot of hills, and was told what it was. It moved along in a manner much resembling the flight of an insect. In Manu, XII. 71, it is said that a Brâhman who omits his duty is changed into a demon called Ulkamukha, or with a mouth like a fire-brand, who devours what has been vomited. There appears, however, to be nothing in Eastern belief analogous to that which associated the Will-o'-the-Wisp with the tricksy goblin, 'that shrewd and knavish sprite called Robin Good-fellow,' who shows his lantern to

"Mislead night wanderers, laughing at their harm."

That pretty and practical fancy appears to have prevailed only in England. Only there did the mischief-loving Puck with his wispy fire delight to lure the belated wanderer into pools and bogs,

"And, leading us, makes us to stray
Long winter nights out of the way;
And when we stick in mire and clay
He doth with laughter leave us."

But these mysterious night-fires have always been associated with tombs and the dead. In Scandinavian legends the sepulchres of the heroes emit a kind of lambent flame, which was always visible at night, and served to guard the ashes of the dead; it was called *Hauga Elldr*, or the sepulchral fire. It may be a survival of this belief that originated the custom of a '*chapelle ardente*' at the lying-in-state after death of royal and very distinguished personages, when the darkened chamber is illuminated by a multitude of tapers and flambeaux. Throughout the East the Musalmâns place lights in little recesses made in their tombs, a custom said to be also followed by some of the wild mountain tribes. Such beliefs and usages would tend to connect strange fires seen by night with demons, ghosts, and the dead.

ACCOUNT OF KALHÂT, IN S. E. ARABIA.

BY MAJOR S. B. MILES, POLITICAL AGENT, MASKÂT.

About eighty miles to the south-east of Maskât is the ancient city of Kalhât, which, though long since fallen to ruins and deserted, was formerly the most important seaport town of Omân, and the principal emporium of her commerce. According to the traditions of the Arabs, Kalhât was partially destroyed by earthquake about four centuries ago, and from this time probably commenced its rapid decadence, while other causes, such as the filling up of the haven or creek, and the rise of Maskât in the hands of the Portuguese, completed its extinction as a commercial entrepôt.

Kalhât can lay claim to high antiquity, and is perhaps one of the most ancient seaports of Arabia. In the *Periplus of the Erythræan Sea* it is called Kalaios, and appears as a place of considerable importance, as it gave its name to the group of islands now known as the Deymaniyah group, about one hundred miles further up the Gulf of Omân. Pliny calls it Akila, but with regard to the identification of this name some confusion exists among commentators and geographers. Strabo confounded Akila with Okelis, a town at the Straits of Babelmandeb, and in this he has been followed by some. Pliny, however, whose knowledge of the eastern side of Arabia was superior to that of Strabo and Ptolemy, mentions Okelis separately and seems to place Akila on the east side; and both Hardouin and Forster, following this arrangement, have located it on the Omân coast, though Forster is, I think, mistaken when he identifies it with El Ceti (properly El Yeti), a spot ten miles south-east of Maskât. I have no doubt myself about Pliny's Akila being identical with Kalhât, the name being simply incorporated with the article *al*. There is no other point on the coast nearly so probable, and, besides the similarity of name, it is confirmed by Pliny's account of the place, which agrees well with our knowledge of Kalhât. He says:—

"We then come to the Sabaei, a nation of Skenitoi, with numerous islands, and the city of Akila, which is their mart, and from which persons embark for India." Now it is certain that Kalhât was for centuries the great rendezvous for trading vessels between India and the Persian Gulf; and as regards the people, it is to be noted, though perhaps it may be merely a coincidence, that the few inhabitants of Kalhât

are to this day the Beni Shaabaîn,—a small but distinct clan, and probably the remnant of some great tribe. Omân, however, having been from early times a province of Yemen, the people would, like the Yemenites, be called Sabæans from their religion, which, indeed, they retained until the introduction of Islam. In earlier times, before the opening of the navigation of the Red Sea route in the time of the Pharaohs of the nineteenth dynasty and in the infancy of maritime commerce, Kalhât was not improbably the seat of a Phœnician factory or trading station, as Omân was one of the principal routes by which the productions of the East were obtained by those enterprising merchants who, established all along the South Arabian and Omân coasts and in the Persian Gulf, had an almost entire monopoly of the Indian trade; and Kalhât, being the nearest port to India in Arabia, would be peculiarly well suited for their purpose.

From the time of Pliny to that of Marco Polo, a period of nearly thirteen centuries, we have, I believe, no mention of Kalhât by any European author, and we are dependent on Arab and Persian authorities for what we can gather regarding it. One of the first of these is Ibn Kelbi, who died in A.H. 206 [A.D. 821-22], and who, as quoted in an historical work discovered by Colonel E. C. Ross and translated by him in his *Annals of Oman*,* relates, in connection with the emigration of the Yemen tribes in consequence of the bursting of the great dam of Mareb, that the Azdites, under the leadership of Mâlik bin Fahm el Azdî, having arrived in Omân, settled at Kalhât, whence they succeeded in expelling the Persians from the country and establishing themselves therein. Marco Polo devotes a chapter to the city and gulf of Kalhât, in which he styles it a great and noble city, subject to the Mâlik of Hormuz. He says that "the haven is very large and good, frequented by numerous ships with goods from India, and that from this city the spices and other merchandize are distributed among the cities and towns of the interior." Ibn Batuta visited this port in A.D. 1328, about thirty years or so subsequent to Messer Marco, and thus describes the place†:— "The city of Kalhât stands on the shore; it has fine bazaars and one of the most beautiful mosques that you could see anywhere, the walls of which are covered with enamelled tiles of Kashan. The city is inhabited by merchants, who draw their support from Indian import trade. Although they are Arabs, they don't speak Arabic correctly. After every phrase they have a habit of adding the particle *no*. Thus they will say 'You are eating, no!' 'You are walking, no!' 'You are doing this or that, no!' Most of them are schismatics, but they cannot openly practise their tenets, for they are under the rule of Sulṭân Kutbuddîn Tehemten Mâlik of Hormuz, who is orthodox."

The notices of Kalhât, however, by native authors are in general very meagre, and add little to our knowledge of it. The fullest account of the place I have met with is in the itinerary of Ibn El Mojawir, who wrote in A.H. 625 (A.D. 1228), and which I here translate:— "The first who established themselves on the shore at Kalhât were some poor fishermen, who earned their bread through the bounty of God, and as their stay increased they found the locality suited them, and people collected there and multiplied. Now there was a Sheikh from among the Sheikhs of the Arabs who was at the head of this community of fishermen, and his name was Mâlik bin Fahm, and as he stood on the shore he became possessed with the desire of augmenting the place and the number of inhabitants. When, therefore, ships were observed sailing past, he used to tell his people 'kul hât,' meaning, call to the people to put in here, and from this the place was called Kalhât. It was related to me by Ahmad bin 'Ali bin Abdulla el Wasiti that it was called in ancient times Hatkâl. I asked why it was so called, and he said that when the tribe (meaning probably the Ibadhia schismatics) fled from the battle of Nahrwan, they kept calling to their slaves '*hât*,' that is, bring (the provisions). Now the provisions had been brought with them from El Irak, and as the food decreased, one of them said to his slave '*hât*' and the slave replied '*kal*,' that is, there is but little left. Hence the place was named Hâtkal, and in process of time the name changed with the revolution of affairs to Kalhât, and the population increased. Subsequently a stone wall was erected, and ships arrived there from every port, bringing merchan-

* *Jour. As. Soc. Beng.* vol. XLIII. (1874) pt. i. p. 112.

† Yule's *Marco Polo*, vol. II. p. 382.

dize of every kind, and it became a large and majestic city."

Account of the conquest of Kalhât by the Khwarezmians:—

"When Khwaja Razi ul dîn Kowam ul Mulk Abubekr el Zozeni became governor of the countries of Karman, Mekran, and Fars on behalf of the Sultân Ala ul dîn Mohammad bin Naks, he possessed himself of Kalhât by the sword, and it is said that Mâlik bin Fahm died in the time of Razi ul dîn Kowam ul Mulk. Now about that time Razi ul dîn Kowam ul Mulk found an opportunity to despatch ships to gain possession of Kalhât with all the dependencies of Omân, and he established therein his officers and lieutenants, and they used to collect the revenue and transit dues. He used to send silk there from Karman for sale, and after collecting the revenue of the town, to purchase with it Arab horses and have them brought over in batches of about five hundred. Of these horses the inferior ones were kept for his own stables, but the best were sent to Khwarezm as presents to the Sultân. When Razi ul dîn died in Karman, he left in Kalhât 61,000 maunds, or, as some say, 80,000 maunds of silk, besides about 500 horses, and with his death the country fell from the grasp of the Khwarezmians, with its horses and silk, in the year A.H. 615. After the death of the Sheik Mâlik bin Fahm bin Mâlik, fortifications of stone and mortar were built at Kalhât in the year 614" [A.D. 1217].

Description of Kalhât.

"Kalhât is a town situated on the shore of the sea and is surrounded by hills, and it is said that its appearance is similar to Aden. Its water is good and is brought from Meida, and there is a stream named Sukherât flowing from the hills between palms and gardens, the water of which is light and digestible, and sweet as the Euphrates. The tribe to which Kalhât belongs is a very small one."

The glory of Kalhât was on the wane, though it was still a considerable town, when visited by D'Albuquerque in A.D. 1507 on his way to Hormuz, and he gives the following description of the place at that time: "Calayet is a town as large as Santarem, not very populous, and with many old buildings almost in ruins, and, according to the information D'Albuquerque received from some Moors, was destroyed by Alexander, who conquered all the country. The sea strikes it, and the haven is very good, situated at the foot of high hills. On the inland side, somewhat apart from the town, there is a wall, descending from the top of the hill to the sea, erected by the inhabitants to keep out the Moors of the interior from coming to plunder. It belongs to a king called Benjabar, who has good cavalry. There are no trees around the city except a few palm trees near some wells, from which they get drinking-water. From the interior comes an abundance of wheat, barley, millet, and dates. The port is a great rendezvous for ships, which come thither to load horses and dates for India. The king of Ormuz despatched every year a suitable person as Goazil, who governed the country, administered justice, made war, &c. As regards the revenue, there was a eunuch or Cojeator whose duty was to collect taxes and remit them to the king. In all parts of the kingdom of Ormuz were placed these eunuchs, who govern the treasury of the state, and who receive great respect and obedience."

On his return from Hormuz, D'Albuquerque picked a quarrel with the Governor of Kalhât, notwithstanding his having offered submission to Portugal on the former visit, and having attacked the place, destroyed and burnt it. This was the last historical event connected with the town, which never rose again from the ashes. After a few years more it sank into utter insignificance, and its very name now has almost passed into oblivion.

The site of these interesting ruins is on the littoral declivity at the foot of the high and precipitous range of hills called Jebel Kalhât, and at the eastern termination of the mountainous district which lies between Maskât and El Sharkiyeh. The town covered a wide space, and the ground, which is very uneven, is everywhere strewn with the débris of houses and buildings, showing that the population must at one time have been very considerable. The foundations in many places are still observable, but there is not a dwelling of any description left standing, nor are there any signs of architectural grandeur anywhere to be seen. Issuing from the hills and dividing the town is a deep ravine called the Wady Issir, the mouth of which is very broad, and being entered by the sea, doubtless proved an excellent haven for bagalas and native craft in

old days. The only building that has hitherto escaped the general ruin around is a small domed tomb, about fifteen feet square, standing in the highest part of the town. It contained an inscription in Neskh characters in coloured stucco, fragments of which bestrew the ground; and the walls were lined with coloured tiles,—similar, probably, to those ornamenting the great mosque of this city, as described by Ibn Batuta. The dome is constructed in a somewhat primitive fashion, with bracketing work or pendentives. It is built entirely of unshaped stones and coral, as indeed were all the buildings in the city apparently, no hewn or shaped stones being visible anywhere. Near the tomb is a rectangular tank or reservoir, now filled with rubbish, with a broad arch over it, and probably intended as a storage tank for water. The line of fortifications by which the town was enclosed can still be traced without difficulty. On the south side the wall, flanked by three towers or bastions, ran with a slight bend from the sea to the abruptly rising hills, which formed a sufficient protection on that side. To the northwest the town was protected by two towers on a small eminence called El Sheikh, commanding that part of the town, and on this hill the governor of the city is said to have had his residence. Under this lies the present village of Kalhât, inhabited by the El Shaabaîn, a petty tribe of about two hundred souls, who live by fishing and doing a small trade in dates.

The Wady Issir, which seems the natural pass into the interior from Kalhât, is, however, so blocked up by huge boulders and fragments of limestone washed down from the lofty, precipitous walls above, that it is impassable for laden camels, and their place is here taken by asses; and I imagine, therefore, that the route by which the bulk of the produce and merchandize was carried to and fro between the town and the interior was round by Sûr, which is easily reached by sea and land, and which lies open to the inland districts of El Sharkiyeh and Jaalân. About two miles up the wady is Sukherât, where there is room for a little cultivation, and where a small but perennial mountain stream, bounding and cascading among the rocks and stones, once fed an aqueduct that supplied the city with pure water, and the traces of which are still visible along the right bank of the wady, though generally destroyed by the hand of time and the action of the torrent. The beginning of the aqueduct is marked by a square chunammed cistern, which, with part of the canal leading from it, is still in good preservation. Meida, also alluded to by Ibn El Mojawir, is merely a deep pool in the bed of the ravine about half a mile from the town, and was at best a precarious source of supply. There are said to have been one hundred and one wells within the walls of the city, but none of them now contain water. In former times vessels are traditioned to have ascended the creeks and anchored abreast of the town half a mile from the sea, where they would of course find perfect shelter from every wind; but these creeks, apparently by the scour of the torrent, have now become filled up with detritus and sand from above, and are too shallow for any but the smallest boats to enter them. This fact is alone sufficient to account for the total eclipse of Kalhât as a commercial port, and its place is now to some extent taken by the neighbouring and flourishing town of Sûr, which, with its deep and capacious creek, has become next to Maskât and Muttrah the greatest rendezvous for native shipping on the Omân coast.

SPECIMENS OF THE WEDDING SONGS OF THE MUNDA-KOLHS, FROM THE GERMAN OF THE REV. TH. JELLINGHAUS.

[Mr. Jellinghaus mentions that his translation is literal, and therefore but poorly represents the harmony of the original. The following is a literal rendering of Mr. Jellinghaus's German, made by a friend and rapidly glanced over by me—J. M. Mitchell.]

Speech of the bride, who is leaving her father's house, to her brother.

In one mother's womb we were sister and brother,
Drinking we have drunk a whole cask of milk,
Drinking we have drunk a whole cask of milk:
Thy lot, O brother, is the father's wood-house;
My lot, O brother, is the distant land.
The mother weeps her whole life long,
The father weeps six months,
The brother weeps during the (marriage) talking and eating,
The sister-in-law weeps a moment,
The fowls, calling out for me, already begin to smooth their combs again.

2. *Conversation between husband and wife about growing old.*

O thou, in grass-covered hut,
In the wood-house, my mate,
Like the flower thou art dried up,
Like the red flower thou art faded :
Is it from the earth's heat, my mate,
Or from the heaven's glow,
That thou like the flower art dried,
That my mate like the red flower is faded ?

The husband's answer.

It comes not from the earth's heat,
It comes not from the heaven's glow :—
Time goes on, my mate,
Age is drawing near ;
Time goes on, my mate,
Like a narrow footpath :
Age draws nigh, companion,
As on a broad highway.
As in a dull, damp upland, O mate,
Have we become dull, O mate ;
As in a confused waste vale, O companion,
Have we become confused ;
You are dull and I am dull, O mate,
We are both alike dull ;
You are confused and I am confused, O mate,
We are both alike confused.

3. *Alternate song at the wedding between bride and bridegroom.*

(Chiefly sung by the person who brings in the bride.)

Bride.—Come in, lad, come in
To the *kada*-tree's low shade,
To the fruit-tree's deep recess
Go in, lad, go in.
Bridegroom.—I will go in, I will go in,
Though I have not much gold.
For the *kada*-tree's low shade,
For the fruit-tree's deep recess.
Bride.—Is not the price of the wedding-money there ?
Then, my lad, go not about, loving, piping :
If thou hast not much money.
Then, my lad, my lad, go not about piping with your teeth :
Then say not to me "Come here,"
Then say not to me "Go with (me) ;"
My hair-top is loosed,
My upper covering is unbound.
Wilt thou care for me like the falcons,
Thou who sayest to me, "Come to me" ?
Wilt thou provide for me like the great falcons,
Thou who sayest to me "Go with me" ?
Bridegroom.—A village is there, and land is also there, my dearie ;
Wilt thou carry it away rolling it up like a mat ?
A village is there, and land is also there,
Wilt thou carry it away like wood on thy back ?
(The meaning is, Don't be so covetous.)
Thy mother's and father's house was like the possessor's of the village (*dicku*),—
Like water are they dried up ;
Thy uncles and cousins were like the wise men (*sadu*),—
They are extinguished like fire.
Thy father and mother are overgrown with thorns,
Thy relations are covered with stones :
Ah, weeping comes over me—
They are grown over with thorns ;
Sorrow rises up in my soul—
They are covered over with stones.

4. *Satirical song of the bride's relations.*

Our lassie, our lassie (*konea*),
Rub her and adorn her, our lassie.
Your young man is a crow young man, is a crow young man ;
Our rice, our rice is the white flower-rice,
Our rice, our rice is the white flower-rice ;
Our flesh is like the beautiful cotton-plant,
Our flesh is like the beautiful cotton-plant ;
Eat well, O guests,
Eat well, O guests,
And stuff it in with the bar of the oxen's house !

The tone and form of this song has in Mundari something very cheerful, droll, and harmonious.

5. *Drinking-song on the women who at the marriage provide the rice-brandy.*

Draw out, draw out
The *Lila sala* (rice) beer ;
Strain out, strain out
The *tali sala* old beer ;
Give some, O drawer-out,
Into the *masuri* leaf-vessel,
Share out the beer to me.
Well, now, O drawer-out,
Into the *tulari* leaf-vessel
Share out the beer to me.
She who draws it out is drunk, O aye,
She who shares it out is drunk, O aye.

6. *Satirical song of the sister to her brother in love.*

My brother had gone on the way to Doisa,*
My brother had gone on the street to Khukkra;
My brother has now stood up,
I have brought out the chair for my brother,
For my brother I have brought out the foot-stool of *pappra*-wood.
My brother has no desire for the chair of *gandu*-wood,
My brother has no pleasure in the footstool of *pappra*-wood;
My brother is in his soul in love with the Brâhmaṇ maiden,
My brother's life and desire goes out to the Santhal maiden.

7. *Another satirical song sung by the women on the arrival of the bridegroom.*

Here and there a river, a large one;
Yonder and here a river, a small one,
O how how he can spring over it!
Truly he must have dogs' feet,
And a backbone exactly like a dog's.

8. *Song of the relations of the bridegroom.*

Try, lad, try
Jungle-grass that shakes;
Try lad, try exactly,
Try foot and head;
Is the lower leaf on the tree
Already full of holes and old?
Look up; that is young:
Take it for thyself quickly.

(The meaning is, he should not take the elder sister, because she is already old.)

9. *Another satirical song about the bridegroom's hair.*

Look, pray, at the jungle grass,
Look, pray, at the shaggy grass:
It looks like bears' hair,
Look at the man shaggy as a bear.

10. *Counsel and instruction of the relations of the bridegroom to the bride on the married state.*

Warm work will it be for you, O bride,
Soundly will you sweat, O bride;
This way, that way, must the rice-pounder fly;
If you do it not, who will give you to eat?
If the father-in-law quarrels with you,
If the mother-in-law also calls you names,
Do not, lassie, do not, do not
On that account give up.

11. *Order for the dance.*

Come, lassie, let us go to the dance,
Only the stone remains lying on one spot;
Come, lassie, let us draw to the feast,
We will not live like (rooted) flowers.
When the life is out, the body will be burnt;
When the life is out, we shall be earth.

12. *Harvest-song.—Conversation between wife and husband; the wife speaks.*

We two, my dear fellow (*boio*),
We are bound together like twin trees;
We two, my dear fellow,
Are united like trees in an avenue.
We two, my dear fellow,
Shall forget the village lord,
And together plunge (into the dance);
We two, my dear fellow,
Shall forget the holy people,
And together fall into the line.
Early, when the cock crows,
Shall we care for hunger;
Afterwards, when the peacock invites us,
Shall we think of thirst.

The husband's answer.

You, O my wife, think of hunger;
You, O my partner, care for thirst;
In the morning when the cock crows,
Shall we think of work;
Later, when the peacock invites,
Shall we attend to business (out of the house—in the market-place, &c.).
For our children and our grandchildren,
For them will we care;
For our children and grandchildren,
For them will we care.

13. *Wail of an orphan.*

The upper *tola* (part of the village), oh! it is lonely;
The under *tola*, oh! it is desert:
O my mother, who is no more!
The upper *tola*, oh! it is lonely;
The lower *tola*, oh! it is desert;
O my father, who is no more!
Ah! if my mother still lived,
Ah! if my father still lived,
I would place myself on their bosom.
Ah! if my mother still lived,
Ah! if my father still lived,
I would lay myself on their breast.

* The old capital of Chutiâ Nâgpur.

Motherless! ah! I am deserted:
O my mother, who is no more!
Fatherless! oh! I am left alone:
O my father, who is no more!

To be motherless is a great sorrow:
To be fatherless, is it not deep darkness?
O my mother, who is no more!
O my father, who is no more!

To be now a servant, that is most painful;
To be a hireling is also very sad.
O my mother, who is no more!
O my father, who is no more!

This song is also very harmonious in Mundari.

14. *Warning about going home quickly.*

Run, girl, on the broad way;
Trip, girl, trip on the long footpath.
Run, girl, run, your mother's house is on fire;
Trip, girl, trip, in your father's house a hole is burnt.

If my mother's house is burning, then will I go;
If a hole is burnt in the father's house, then will I run.

BENGÂLI FOLKLORE—LEGENDS FROM DINÂJPUR.*

BY G. H. DAMANT, B.C.S., RANGPUR.

The Finding of the Dream.

There was once a king who had two queens, named Durânî and Suranî; he was very much distressed because neither of them had borne him a son, so he worshipped God and both conceived, but Surânî bore a son first, and when the ceremony of *sásti* was performed the name of Chandra was given him. After that Durânî bore her son, and at his *sásti* ceremony he was called Śiva Dâs. Now before Śiva Dâs was born, a soothsayer had come, and, after making magical calculations, had declared that the king would become blind if he saw the child who was in the womb of Duranî; so directly the child was born the king put Durânî and her son forth from the women's apartments, and made them live in a house which he had provided in another place, neither could he bear to hear her or her son's name mentioned.

When Śiva Dâs reached the age of ten or twelve years, both he and his mother suffered great hardships from want of food, for they lived by begging, and only obtained just enough to eat. Śiva Dâs was very much devoted to the worship of Śiva, and never ate or drank without first worshipping him. Śiva was very much pleased with him, and one day disguised himself as a *sanyâsi* and went to his house as a guest. As soon as Śiva Dâs saw him, he saluted him and wrapped his cloth round his throat and said with folded hands, "My lord Brâhman, this is a lucky day for me, since I have seen your honoured foot." He then went to his mother to make some arrangement for his guest's food, and asked her what they had in the house: she said, "Child, we have nothing at all; what you get by begging in one day is only enough for us two, mother and son, for one meal; it is not sufficient for two meals. Who suffers hardships like us?" Hearing this, Śiva Dâs began to cry, and to think what he could give his guest to eat. Durânî, seeing her son crying, went into the house and began to search amongst the pots and pans, till in one corner of the house, in a pot, she found a little broken rice, and thought that if she had seen it before, it would not have been left there,—it must have been overlooked. So she took about half a *ser* to the *sanyâsi* and said, "This is all I have, be kind enough to accept it:" so he took the rice and cooked and ate it, and Śiva Dâs and his mother ate what was left.

The *sanyâsi* was pleased with Śiva Dâs and said to him, "I will give you a sword which you must always keep with you; it has many good qualities: if you say to it, 'Sword given by Śiva, take me to such a place,' it will instantly fly with you there, and you will be victorious in battle, and as long as it remains with you you will never die." With these words he gave him the sword and went away, and Śiva Dâs always kept the sword by him.

In the meantime Surânî's son, Chandra, was about sixteen or seventeen years old, and could read and write very well. One night the king saw a very wonderful dream, and remained awake till next morning thinking about it. At one watch next day he was still in bed medi-

* Continued from Vol. III p. 343

tating on it, so his men-servants and maid-servants and the prince came to him with folded hands and invited him to rise, but he paid no attention to any of them, and still continued to think about the dream. Meanwhile the prime minister, divân, and other officers of state were waiting in court, and wondering why the king was so late in coming—they thought he must be angry with some of them: so the prime minister said he would go and call the king. He entered the palace and asked the king why he was so late in rising, and requested him to be good enough to tell him about what he was meditating. The king told him he was meditating on a very wonderful dream which he had seen in the night, and said, "I thought I saw a large two-storied house surrounded on all sides by all kinds of flowers. A very beautiful woman was lying inside it,—her beauty was such that it lighted up the whole house; at every breath she took while she slept, a flame like a flower issued from her nostril, and when she drew in her breath the flower of flame was again withdrawn. I have been thinking of this dream ever since, and it will be well for you if you can show it me, for if you do not I will put you to death." The prime minister replied that, since the king had seen the dream, it must exist somewhere, and he would take the prince and go in search of it, and meanwhile the king must rise and go to court. So the king rose and washed his hands and face and went to court, but the whole day he did nothing but talk about the dream, so that the business of the kingdom was entirely stopped. The king then appointed a day, and the prime minister and Chandra started to find the dream, taking with them abundance of provisions, elephants, horses, silver sticks, flags, weapons, and soldiers. They travelled for six months towards the south, when they came to a terrible jungle which they were unable to penetrate: it was full of Râkshasas, and there was no road in it. They set a great many labourers to work, but the more jungle they cut, the more there seemed to be left.

Meanwhile Durâni's son, Śiva Dâs, heard of the dream and asked his mother about it, and she told him all the king had seen, and how the prime minister and Chandra had gone in search of it. Śiva Dâs said that although the king could not bear to look on him, still he was his father, and if Chandra had gone to try and find the dream he would go too. Durânî replied, "My child, you are the only wealth I have in my poverty, if you go away I cannot bear to live alone without you: moreover, how can you support yourself? You cannot go." Śiva Dâs paid no attention to his mother's words, but determined that as he was the king's son he would go to him and obtain his consent to search for the dream. So he went to court, but, not having sufficient courage to approach the king, he sent a message through an attendant to say what his request was. When the king heard it he said, "Why has Durânî's son come to me? he may go if he likes: I shall not be sorry if he dies; he is no child of mine." Śiva Dâs was satisfied with that, and went to his mother to ask for her consent, and told her that his father had agreed to let him go; she would not at first consent, but at last gave him leave to go. So he took his sword and went into a field, and sat on the sword and said, "Sword given by Śiva, take me to the place where Chandra and the prime minister now are." The sword instantly lifted him up and took him to the place where they were, finishing a six-months' journey in one day. Śiva Dâs went to Chandra and saluted him, and asked whether he had succeeded in finding the dream; but he replied that they had come across the jungle, and, not finding a road through it, had been unable to discover anything concerning the dream, and that the jungle was full of Râkshasas, and the more they cut it the more it grew.

Śiva Dâs said he would go to the west of the jungle and see if there was any road or not. So he went a little way, but saw nothing but jungle on every side; he then cut a road with his sword till he came to the other side, but the jungle grew up behind him as fast as he cut it. All this time Chandra was in the same place, still clearing jungle. When Śiva Dâs came into the open country he could see no village or people, so he travelled on to the west for five days till he came to a village, which he entered, and inquired who was the king of the country and whether there was any bazâr. The people told him there was a great king there, and also a bazâr: so he went to the bazâr and bought a house, in which he lived, and after he had eaten he bought a shield and a necklace of beads and put on the dress of an

upcountry man. He then went to the king's palace, taking his sword and shield, and seeing the jemadàr in the courtyard he told him he was an upcountry man seeking for service, and that he would undertake whatever no one else could do. The jemadàr informed the king, and the latter ordered him to be brought before him. Śiva Dàs came very respectfully, and the king, being pleased with his appearance, ordered him to be appointed to keep guard in the courtyard.

So Śiva Dàs continued to eat and live there. Now the king had for a long time been subject to a disease which came on once or twice a month, and it attacked him just at this time and he became senseless. A great many doctors and physicians had formerly attended him, but none of them could cure the disease: so the prime minister, remembering that the new servant had undertaken to do what no one else could, sent for him to the king's presence and told him about the king's illness. Śiva Dâs inquired the nature of the disease, and the king told him that a sound of weeping was heard to the north, and when it reached his ears he was instantly attacked by the disease and became senseless. Śiva Dàs, on hearing this, waited till midnight, and then, taking his sword and shield, went twenty *kos* along the north road till he reached a high mountain, which he ascended, and on the top found a beautiful girl who was screaming and crying, but she was really a Râkshasa who had assumed the form of a woman, and when her crying reached the king's ears he became ill. Śiva Dàs asked why she was crying, and told her she must leave that place, and when she refused to go away he threatened to cut her in pieces; she grew angry at that, and assumed her own shape and came towards him, and they fought for a long time, but at last he cut off one of her arms, which was fifty cubits in length.

She ran away as soon as her arm was cut off, and the king's disease was stayed. Śiva Dâs thought he had better take the arm with him and show it in the palace, or no one would believe him: so he took it, and seating himself on his sword said, "Sword given by Śiva, take me and the arm of the Râkshasa to the king's palace." He was instantly lifted up and deposited in the king's courtyard. The next morning every one was astonished at the sight of the arm of the Râkshasa, and the king was very much pleased with Śiva Dàs, and, wishing to know more about him, inquired whose son he was and where he lived. Śiva Dàs gave a true account of himself, and the king gave him his daughter in marriage. Śiva Dàs remained there for a few days after his marriage, and then determined that he would proceed in search of the dream, so he took leave of the king and travelled along the road for a month, and then mounted his sword and flew over the sea to the country or the Râkshasas.

As he was approaching, two Râkshasas were bathing in the sea, and one of them said, "I smell the scent of a wondrous man." At that moment Śiva Dàs descended beside them, and they seized him and began to smell and lick his body. One of them said, "I shall eat man's flesh," the other said, "No, brother; what is the use of eating one man? he will not fill your belly; we will hold him to ransom and take him to the king, who will be pleased with us." So they agreed on this plan, and held him to ransom and took him to the king, and said, "See, we have brought this man from a long distance for you: be pleased to accept him." The Râkshasa king was excessively pleased to obtain Śiva Dâs, but, liking his appearance very much, he refrained from eating him, and said to his prime minister, "I do not wish to eat this son of man; he is very good-looking and must be some king's son, so I will not kill him, but will marry him to my daughter." The minister told the king to do as he pleased, and the matter was settled, and in a few days Śiva Dâs married the Râkshasa's daughter. Some time before the marriage, Śiva Dàs said to the king, "You have promised to marry me to your daughter, but suppose she should kill and eat me?" The king replied, "We are Râkshasas, it is true, but we do not kill our husbands and suffer the torture of widowhood; we could not commit such a sin." Śiva Dâs was reassured at hearing this, and spent some time happily with his Râkshasa wife, and as he was really fond of her he constantly remained with her.

One day he told the king about the dream which his father had seen, and how he had come to search for it, and asked if he knew where it was to be found. The king said he had heard that the dream really existed, but he did not know where it was to be found: he heard of it from an ascetic who lived in the forest three

days' journey to the south, and he could tell where and how it was to be found. Śiva Dâs inquired how he could approach the hermit, and the king told him that when the hermit went to the river-side to perform his devotions he must go to his hut and clean it thoroughly and remain in hiding near, and when the hermit returned and saw all his house cleaned he would wonder who had done it, and after considering a little time he would discover who it was and call him by name: he must then go and prostrate himself, and when he was questioned relate the whole story. Śiva took the advice of the Râkshasa, and went to the house of the sage, but found he was not at home, so he cleaned the house and remained concealed near. The sage returned and wondered who it was that had cleaned his house, and after considering a little time he discovered that it was a king's son named Śiva Dâs, so he called him by name, and Śiva Dâs came and stood before him and saluted him; the sage told him to sit down, and asked him why he had come. Śiva Dâs told him all about the dream he had come to seek, and said he had come to him as he heard he could give him some information about it. The sage said, "The dream is true, but very difficult to find; if you will remain here a few days, I will tell you how you can get it." Śiva Dâs remained there for some time, living on fruits and roots, and at last told the sage he wished to hear how the dream could be obtained. The sage replied, "There is a pond here, and on the north side of of it is a ghât and a temple of Śiva: on the night of the full-moon five nymphs from heaven, amongst whom is one named Tillottama, will come to bathe there; they will descend from their chariot and take off their clothes and put them on the bank of the tank and go into the water: you must take their clothes and remain concealed. The girl who has the mole on her nose is the one from whose nose the flower will come out." On the night of the full-moon the sage said, "Śiva Dâs, to-night you must go to the pond, for the nymphs will descend, and I will give you some holy water which you must take with you, or they will burn you to ashes: and you must go very carefully." Śiva Dâs took the holy water and went to the temple of Śiva on the bank of the pond. In the meantime the nymphs came down from heaven and went to bathe in the water. The whole place was lighted up with their beauty, and Śiva Dâs was so enraptured that he forgot to take the holy water, but took the clothes of all five and went and hid again. When the nymphs had finished bathing, they came to the ghâṭ and found that all their clothes had disappeared, so they wished that the man who had taken them might be reduced to ashes, and as Śiva Dâs had not the holy water of the sage with him he immediately became ashes.

When the sage saw it he repeated an incantation and restored him to life, telling him that he would have perished entirely had he not seen his ashes. So Śiva Dâs remained with the sage till the next full-moon, when the sage again gave him some holy water and fastened it in his dress, and told him to take the clothes of the nymphs and go and sit in the temple of Śiva; and when they saw that their clothes were gone they would curse him, but no harm would befall him; and when they asked him to give back their clothes he was to refuse, and they would urge him and promise that if he consented he should marry whomsoever he liked among them; and if he married the one who had a mole on her nose and was called Tillottama the dream would be obtained, and lastly he was not to mind her being very ugly, but to marry her all the same. Śiva Dâs gained confidence on hearing this, and went to the temple, and the nymphs came down and bathed as before, and he took their clothes away and went into the temple and clung to the idol. When the nymphs had ended bathing, they came up the ghâṭ and found their clothes gone, so they uttered the curse as before, but as Śiva Dâs had the holy water with him no harm happened to him.

The nymphs inquired who he was, and told him to give up their clothes, but he continued to refuse. Now they were naked and could not delay, because they were engaged to dance in Indra's court, so they promised that if he would restore their clothes he should marry the one he liked best among them. On hearing that, he gave back the clothes, and they came and stood in a row before him, telling him to choose the one he preferred, and all the time Tillottama was standing there, looking very ugly. Śiva Dâs looked at them, but was so bewildered that he could think of nothing; at last, however, as the sage had bidden him, he married Tillottama, although she looked so ugly, but the other nymphs said, "We are much the most beauti-

ful, and yet you have married her, although she looked so ugly: for shame, prince!"

Tillottama regained her former good looks, and she and Śiva Dâs went away and remained a little time together, and when she was starting for her own country she gave him a flute and told him she would come to him whenever he played it.

Śiva Dâs took the flute and returned to the house of the sage, and told him how he had found the dream. The sage told him not to delay there any longer, but to go back to his own country; nevertheless he stopped there a little time, till one day he thought that he had never put the dream to the test, and he wished to see it, and also to see whether the flute was true or not. Having determined on this, he played on the flute, and Tillottama instantly appeared before him and said, "You madman, have you no consideration for time? this is the time for me to dance in Indra's court." However she stayed with him a little time and then went away.

Next day Śiva Dâs thought that, now he had proved the flute to be true, he would like to see the dream, so one day at midnight he said to his sword, "Sword given by Śiva, take me to the place in heaven where Tillottama is sleeping:" so the sword took him to heaven, and he found Tillottama asleep, and the house was lighted up by her beauty as if by lightning, while the flower of fire kept coming out from her nose and retreating again.

Śiva Dâs was excessively delighted at the sight and seized the flower, and she woke up instantly, overcome with joy, and said, "Your death has come, for if you come face to face with any of the gods you will be reduced to ashes and will make me a widow: you must leave this place at once." So Śiva Dâs descended to earth and went back to the sage, and after he had taken leave of him went back to the country of the Râkshasas.

His wife and her mother were very glad to see him, and set food before him. The king of the Râkshasas had a young unmarried niece, whom Śiva Dâs married, and passed some time in great happiness, but at last thought he ought to return to his own country: so he went to the king and said he had found the dream and did not wish to make any further delay. The king said he had no objection to his going, so Śiva Dâs selected a lucky day for his journey and prepared to start. He and the Râkshasas packed up a great many things in a small compass, and he said he supposed they must travel by *pâlkî*, but the Râkshasa king said they never went in *pâlkis*, but travelled in the air. So saying, he gave his daughter a great many ornaments, and bade her and his son-in-law farewell. They all three travelled onwards in the sky till they reached the city of the king whom Śiva Dâs had served and whose daughter he had married. Śiva bought a house in the bazâr, and then went alone to the king, and remained in the palace for two days, and was treated with great respect, and then he told the king that he had found the dream and wished to go to his own country. The king replied that he might take his daughter and go; and he adorned her with jewellery and sent her with Śiva Dâs, and he and she and the two daughters of the Râkshasas all travelled along the sky together till they reached the place where Chandra, the son of Surânî, and the minister were trying to cut their way through the jungle.

Chandra asked if he had found the dream, and who the three women were, and Śiva Dâs said he had found it, and the women were his wives. So Chandra concluded that the dream was in the power of one of them, and he and the minister plotted together to kill Śiva Dâs by some stratagem, and take the three women to the king and tell him they had found the dream. Having determined on this, he one day invited Śiva Dâs to play at dice on the edge of a well. Now Śiva Dâs was a very intelligent man, and he suspected some design, so he said to his wives, "If Chandra should throw me into the well, you must take all your clothes and ornaments and throw them in after me and then go with Chandra, and if he attempts to misuse you, you must say that you have made a vow, and until that vow be accomplished you will not touch a man."

So they went to play at dice, and while they were playing one of them gave Śiva Dâs a push and threw him down the well. He had his sword and flute with him, so he merely said, "Sword given by Śiva, protect me," and immediately he spoke, although he had fallen halfway down the well, he rose in the air; but in the meantime his three wives had come and thrown their ornaments and clothes down

the well, so he took them with him. Chandra and the minister then took the three women and went to their own country, and Chandra tried to misuse them on the way, but they spoke as Śiva Dâs had told them, and he desisted.

The king was very glad to hear that the son of Surânî had returned with the dream, and ordered dancing and singing; he then invited a great many other kings to witness the disclosure of the dream. Now before Chandra had reached home, Śiva Dâs had come out of the well and gone to his own house, where he remained in secret. In the meantime Surânî thinking that Chandra had married the three wives greeted them like a mother, and sent a servant to call Durânî. When the servant told Durânî, she said, "I am only a poor woman, why should I go?" Śiva Dâs said, "Mother, it is better that you should go; no man has ever seen ornaments like those I have brought from the land of the Râkshasas, and no man can make them." So he made her wear them, and sent her to the king's palace. She found the bridegroom and the three brides there, but when the latter saw her wearing their own clothes and ornaments they made signs to each other that she was their mother-in-law, and had worn the ornaments as a proof of it, so they kept quite close to her and followed her wherever she went. Surânî wished happiness to the bridegroom and brides, but when she found they would not enter the house she began to abuse Durânî, calling her witch, meddler, burnt forehead, and saying, "You have come into my house and bewitched the three wives; you cannot bear to see the prosperity of others: die, unlucky wretch! This is the reason, too, the king has become blind." Durânî said to the three wives, "I am only a poor old woman, do not come with me, I have nothing to do with you." They replied, "You are our mother-in-law." Durânî said, "No, you must go now into the house of this other mother-in-law; see how she continues to abuse me!" So the girls left her and went into the house of Surânî. In the meantime the son of Surânî was about to show the dream to the king, and a great many other kings had assembled to witness it. The king said, "Chandra, our court is now crowded, show us the dream." So Chandra went into the house to the three wives and said, "Which of you knows about the dream? show it to me."

The girls said, "What is that? we know nothing of any dream." So Chandra fled away by the back door. The king, seeing he delayed to return, sent to look for him and found he had run away, and after hearing the whole story from the three wives he banished Surânî and her son from the palace, and summoned Śiva Dâs and said to him, "What do you know about the dream?" So Śiva Dâs related all his adventures from the beginning, and how he had found the dream. Then the king took him to his heart and was excessively pleased with him, and changed the name of Durânî to Surânî, and took her to live in his palace. Śiva Dâs asked his father to build him a two-storied house surrounded by beautiful flowers and adorned on the walls inside with carved work. So the king ordered the house to be begun at once and completed within a week, and then he said, "The house is ready, now show me the dream." But Śiva Dâs said, "Ask all the other kings as before." When they were all assembled, he chose a lucky moment and went into the house, and sat on a magnificent bed and began to play his flute; Tilottama instantly appeared, and they were both delighted to see each other again: her beauty lighted up the whole place, and after a little time the flower was seen coming out and entering her nose as before. Śiva Dâs called all the kings who were assembled to witness it, and when they saw it they all exclaimed, "What a wonderful sight we have seen!" and praised Śiva Dâs. When the king saw it, he gave up his kingdom to Śiva Dâs, who henceforward lived with his four wives in the greatest happiness.

THE AUTHOR OF THE PÁIALACHHÍ.

BY J. G. BÜHLER, PH. D.

In my first notice of the Deśîkosha entitled *Pâialachhî* (*Ind. Ant.* vol. II. p. 305) I had to leave it doubtful who its author was. I pointed out that according to Dharmasâgara's and other Jaina writers' Gurvâvalis Dhanapâla, a protégé of king Munja and King Bhaja, wrote a *Deśînâmamâlâ* in the year Vikrama 1029 at Ujjain, and that the *Pâialachhî* had been

composed in the same year and in the same place. If I was unwilling to declare myself for the identity of the two works, the reason was that I could not trace in my MS. some passages which Hemachandra, in his commentary on his own *Deśikosha*, ascribes to Dhanapâla.

I have, however, lately found a second copy of the *Pâialachhî*, which is more correct than the first. On looking over the concluding verses in this MS., I find that verse 279 contains a conundrum on the author's name, the solution of which is Dhaṇavâla, the Prakrit form of Dhanapâla.

The verse runs as follows:—

kaiṇo andhajaṇa kivâ kusalatti payâṇam antimâ vaṇṇâ |
nâmammi jassa kamaso teṇesâ viraiâ desî ||279||.

"By that poet this Deśî has been composed, in whose name the last syllables of the words 'anDHA. jaṆA kiVÂ kusaLA occur in their proper order, *i.e.* Dhaṇavâla.'"

"Andhajaṇa kivâ kusalatti" may be understood to mean "a fool or a clever man." The author probably means to convey the idea that a fool won't find out his name, but that a clever man will.

MISCELLANEA AND CORRESPONDENCE.

HINDUISM AND REVELATION.

In his Sixth Anniversary Address illustrating the existence in Hinduism of faint traces of the great truths of Revelation, the Rev. K. M. Banerjea thus writes of "the inscrutable Will of the Almighty that without shedding of blood there is no remission of sin. This too appears embedded in ancient Âryan traditions—in the *Śruti* or 'hearings' of our ancestors." That the great religious duty according to the precepts of ancient Brâhmanism consisted in the offering of sacrifices, is a notorious fact on which it is not necessary to say much. Next to the Jews, this religious duty was most assiduously observed by the Brâhmans. Names of priests, words for fire, for those on whose behalf the sacrifices were performed, for the materials with which they were performed, abound in language etymologically derived from words implying sacrifice. No literature contains so many vocables relating to sacrificial ceremonies as Sanskrit. Katyâyana says that heaven and all other happiness are the results of sacrificial ceremonies. And it was a stereotyped idea with the founders of Hinduism that animals were created for sacrifices. Nor were these in olden days considered mere offerings of meat to certain carnivorous deities, followed by the sacrificers themselves feasting on the same, as the practice of the present day represents the idea. The vicarious nature of the sacrifices appears to have been substantially comprehended by the promoters of the institution in India. The sacrificer was believed to redeem himself by means of the sacrifice. The animal sacrificed was itself called *the sacrifice*, because it was the ransom for the soul.

Not only was the sacrifice quite free from the idea of offering meat for the carnal gratification of any special deity, but the sacrificial ceremony, most assiduously performed according to an elaborate ritual, had no necessary reference whatever to any divine presence, certainly not the Supreme Divinity, for the Śankhyas and Mimamśaks, who denied such a Divinity, were even the more assiduous in the performance of these 'duties' because of their atheism. The overt ceremony was performed without any covert notion of a presiding deity, although theoretically some elemental or *creature divinity* was somehow connected with it. The ceremony was indeed considered a mysterious *opus operatum*—which, if only gone through according to rule, conferred the blessing expected. The ritual was performed—the theology was forgotten. And therefore the efficacy of the sacrifice was called a *mâyâ*—or a mysterious power. "We abolish, O Death! by the *mâyâ* or mysterious efficacy of sacrifice, all those bonds of thine which are for the destruction of mortals:" *Taitt. Âraṇyaka.*

Mr Bannerjea further finds among his Âryan ancestors recollections, however distorted, of various events in sacred history from the very creation of the world down to the dispersion of mankind—as (1) the recollection of the Spirit brooding on the surface of the waters in the story of the *egg* in the midst of chaos in which Brahma was produced,—(2) of the sentence pronounced on the great dragon the serpent called Satan, in the story of Nahusha similarly cursed for his pride and sacrilege to become a serpent creeping on his belly—the name itself corresponding to the word in Genesis which stood for that subtle enemy of God and man;—(3) of the righteousness in which man was originally created and his primitive longevity, in the story of the Satya Yuga—of the deluge itself in the story of Satyavrata and his ark resting on a mountain.

THE TOLLS OF GOAÏL HÂT (vol. III. p. 342).

The story of the Tolls of Goaïl Hât is also told about Junâgadh, but there it is the wife who collects them, calling herself Phuibâ.

C. E. G. C.

QUERY—"LADA LIPPEE."

SIR,—In a memoir of Dr. John Leyden, who accompanied the Mysore Survey at the beginning of the century as Surgeon and Naturalist, I lately met with the following passage :—

"He particularly distinguished himself by translating some inscriptions in an obsolete dialect of the Tamul language, and in an ancient character called the Lada Lippee or Verraggia, which no European had ever been able to decypher, and which was hardly known even to the most learned Indians, but which he found out by comparing together several different alphabets."

Can you or any of your readers supply information as to what the character referred to was, and where specimens of it are to be met with?

LEWIS RICE.

Bangalore, 9th December 1874.

Possibly the Vaṭṭeḻuttu (*Ind. Ant.* vol. I. p. 229; vol. III. p. 333) may be here meant.—ED.

NOTICES OF BOOKS.

PANCHATANTRA (Bombay Sanskrit Series), Edited with Notes, I. by F. Kielhorn, Ph. D., II.-V. by J. G. Bühler, PH.D.

About a quarter of a century ago, the Asiatic Society of Bengal, under the patronage of the East India Company, took in hand the publishing of valuable Sanskṛit works which had previously been accessible only to the few, and that often in an incomplete and inaccurate form. The thoroughness of the work was sufficiently guaranteed by the names of the scholars selected to carry it out, and we owe much to the labours of Ballantyne, Cowell, Hall, Röer, Râjendralâl Mitra, and others, the fruits of which are presented to us in the old series of the *Bibliothœca Indica*. Some books, however, are now out of print, and others—the *Lalita Vistara* for example—were never finished. Simultaneously with the retirement of the European editors from this country the series appears to have ceased. It was afterwards resumed, but not under the same auspices, or with the same happy results. It would be unfair to pass by unnoticed the very laudable efforts in the same direction made by the learned grammarian Professor Târânâtha Tarkavâchaspati and his worthy son, who have striven to bring the classics within the reach of the poorest. The number of works brought out of late years by these two scholars is amazing, but accuracy has, we regret to say, been often sacrificed in the desire to bring out a book rapidly. The editors of the Bombay Sanskṛit Series are endeavouring, it would seem, to take up the thread where it was dropped by the former labourers in Bengal, and to give us thoroughly accurate and trustworthy texts, with the addition of concise notes in English. How far their efforts have been successful we propose to examine, confining ourselves on the present occasion to Nos. I. III. and IV. of the series, which comprise the *Panchatantra*. We would remark, however, that whilst the native professor and his son have fallen into the Scylla of undue haste, the scholars here have been drawn into the Charybdis of excessive slowness. Five years ago, when No. VI. of the series was published, we were informed that the *Daśakumâracharita*, *Kâdambarî*, and *Mâlati Mâdhava* were in preparation, yet up to the present time Part I. of the first-mentioned is all that has appeared. Let us hope that the remainder are not about to share the fate of a valuable and voluminous work on Caste which was *in the press* in Bombay more than fifteen years ago, but has not yet been disgorged by that monster!

Very little need be said regarding the text of the *Panchatantra* which Drs. Kielhorn and Bühler have now secured for us. It is a thoroughly good one. Misprints have crept in here and there, chiefly in the latter part of the work, but perfect accuracy in Oriental printing seems at present unattainable. The notes, too, as a whole, are all that could be desired, and are truly *multum in parvo*. It were to be wished that those appended to the other volumes of the series had been drawn up on the same principle. A notable example of entirely opposite principles of annotating is furnished by the *Bhartṛihari* published this year. Regarding some of the notes now before us we must, however, join issue with the learned editors, and we will begin with those in No. I. (Tantras iv. and v.) On page 4, the alligator, giving a description of the preparations made by his wife for the reception of the monkey, describes her as प्रगुणितमणिमाणिक्या, which might be rendered "arrayed in pearls and rubies," or "having prepared pearls and rubies." Dr. Bühler, however, renders प्रगुणित by "splendid," which seems wholly unauthorized. The same word occurs in *Bâla Bhârata*, i. 5, 81: लक्ष्मीरिव स्वयमराजत राजपुत्री कर्मैचन

प्रगुणिता पुरुषोत्तमाय, where it evidently means "attired" or "got ready." In the form प्रगुणीकृत it is found also in Tantra ii. page 12, and means "spread out," "arranged." Passing on to page 52, where we are introduced to some young Brâhmaṇs who are lamenting their poverty, the following line occurs—अर्थोष्मणा विरहित: पुरुष: सएव बाह्य: क्षणेन भवतीति विचित्रमेतत्, "a man forsaken by wealth immediately becomes (is looked upon as) a stranger (or outcaste)," but, strange to say, the word बाह्य: has been translated "a corpse"! Possibly the learned annotator had in mind the word वाह्य: "to be carried away," and concluded that the poverty-stricken wretch was only fit to be taken away to the burning-ground! We are inclined to think that the words मूर्च्छना and तान on p. 63 are mistranslated, but this is a difficult point. The music of India and Europe are so dissimilar that it is hard to say what terms in the one are exactly represented by those of the other. Turning now to No. III. (Tantras ii. and iii.) we find on page 17 the expression निधानोष्मणा rendered "with the help of the fire imparted by the treasure," but more correctly it should be "by means of the warmth of the treasure." Again, instead of the note on page 50, line 15, we would suggest the words "in order that we may fix upon a plan and the means of carrying it out." On page 66, the following verse occurs :—

वापीकूपतडागानां देवालयकुजन्मनाम्
उत्सर्गात्परत: स्वाम्यमपिकर्तुं न शक्यते.

कुजन्म is translated "slaves," but we should like some authority for it. Its literal meaning is "low-born," but such a one is not necessarily a slave, and we have never met with a passage in which the word required that interpretation. In the *Bhâgavata Purâṇa*, IV. 4, 22, it is used in its literal sense as an epithet of देह. In the passage quoted above, however, it would be infinitely better to derive the word from कु, the ground, the whole compound thus meaning "ground-produced," *i.e.* "a tree." The vocable कुज, a tree, is met with in the *Kirâtârjunîya*, XV. 18, and कुजन्म is merely another form of it, on the same principle as अग्रज and अग्रजन्म. If rendered "ponds, wells, tanks, temples, and *trees*," the passage presents a more homogeneous whole than it does if "slaves" are introduced.

We proceed now to No. IV. (Tantra i.), which was edited by Dr. Kielhorn. There are many difficult and doubtful passages in this Tantra, which have generally been elucidated, though we cannot but demur to some of the explanations offered. What authority is there, for instance, for translating व्यवहार (page 16, line 9) by "appellation;" or महतोनुरोधात् (page 18, line 21) by "after great consideration," when it evidently means "as a special favour"? We cannot uphold either "one who is a stranger to noble conduct (*but*) possesses manifold wealth" as the interpretation of the compound दूरोदारचरितचित्रविभवं, which really means "having wonderful dignity on account of his very magnanimous actions." दूर is here equivalent to अति, and is used adverbially. It is used in a similar sense in *Bâla Bhârata*. i. 4, 183. Then too दृष्टप्रत्यय: (page 38, line 14) means "convinced by what he had seen," rather than "one who has seen conviction"! On page 45, line 12, the annotator suggests that संकुल should there be considered a noun. There is not the slightest need, however, of so taking it. The word तत्र in the sentence is equivalent to तस्मिन् (देवायतने), and the compounds which follow are adjectives qualifying it. The meaning of the word in question will thus be "filled with" or "thronged by." Doubtless the meaning *wick* admirably suits the word गुण on page 57, line 10, but some authority should have been cited for it. It is not countenanced by Amara, Medini, or any other dictionary consulted by us. Could the wick be rightly termed शुभ्र, however? Those submerged in the oil of a regular *diwá* are anything but bright! It would be almost better not to carry the analogy beyond the first line, and so confine the गुणै: to the king. पथ्याशिन् (page 74, line 21) does not mean "one who requires some nourishing food," but "one who is going through a course of diet;" similarly क्षुत्प्रतिरोध (on the next page) is improperly translated "the suppression of hunger, *i.e.* the inability to satisfy one's hunger." It means rather "the check (to your recovery) caused by hunger." The lion was being dieted after an illness, and the want of his usual diet would retard his recovery. We will close with one more instance, taken from page 76. We find there this obscure sentence, गतं चानृण्यं भर्तृपिण्डस्य, which Dr. Kielhorn renders "you are not guilty of his majesty's पिण्ड, *i.e.* you are not guilty of his death." This is scarcely satisfactory, and we suggest instead, "you have done your duty as regards our master's person." These, then, are the chief points on which we differ from the editors, and they are as nothing in comparison of those of agreement.

THE HISTORY OF INDIA from the earliest ages, by J. Talboys Wheeler · Vol III.—Hindû, Buddhist, Brahmanical Revival. (London. Trubner & Co. 1874.)

"The present volume," says the author, "opens

with retrospects of the Vedic and Brahmanic ages by the light of the materials already brought under review in the two former volumes. It then brings every other available authority, excepting that of the Musalmân historians, to bear upon the general subject." And after enumerating as the chief authorities the Buddhist writings, the travels of Fahian and Hiwen Thsang, the Hindu Drama, Râjput traditions, Marco Polo and other travellers, and Faria y Sousa's History, he continues that these "have all been laid under contribution for every variety of information, and have been further illustrated by the experience derived during fifteen years' official residence in India and Burma. In this manner," he adds, "the attempt has been made to throw every light upon the history, the religion, and the civilization of the people of India before the coming of the English upon the scene."

Such a work as here indicated would be hailed by every Oriental student with delight. But, unfortunately, Mr. Wheeler seems to have no better conception of the magnitude of such a task than he has of "every available authority" on the subject. Hence his three expensive volumes already published come very far short, not only of his promise, but of what has already been achieved by his predecessors. Mrs. Manning's two volumes on *Ancient and Mediæval India* are far more trustworthy and valuable to the popular reader than Mr. Wheeler's three. He has not availed himself of every authority, nor even of the best of them; and of Hiwen Thsang's works, he does not appear to have consulted directly the translation by Stanislas Julien, but only a translation from the French of the brief *résumé* given by M. Barthélemy St. Hilaire. Of Megasthenes, he is acquainted only with the fragments in Strabo and Arrian, which he quotes in the English translations of Falconer and Rooke. The *Śatruñjaya Mâhâtmyam* he refers to (p. 281) "for pious legends of Śilâditya, and public disputations between Buddhists and Jains"—an idea of the contents of the book which the author could never have entertained had he consulted the work itself, or even looked into the well-known German analysis of it by Prof Weber. The *Lalita Vistara* and *Râja Taranginî* he does not even name; nor is any work cited—oriental or classical—of which there is not an English translation;—not even that invaluable cyclopædia of Indian history and antiquities—Lassen's *Indische Alterthumskunde*.

In his remarks and generalizations Mr. Wheeler is singularly unhappy:—"few impartial observers," he thinks, "will deny the fact that to all appearance the people of India are drifting slowly towards the religion of the prophet of Arabia, rather than towards that Christianity which is freely offered, but which they are not prepared to accept." What could have led the author to make so rash a statement in face of the latest population returns, which show that the Muhammadans are increasing in a slower ratio than even the Hindus, while the Christians have fully doubled in ten years?

Again, commenting on the change from animal sacrifices to those of rice and butter, he remarks that the latter "was thus associated with the materialistic religion of the non-Vedic population. This fact," he goes on to say, "throws a new light upon the legend of Cain and Abel...The flesh-sacrifice was accepted; but the vegetable offering was rejected. So far it would seem that the story was intended to enforce sacerdotal ideas. But offerings of grain were especially associated with a materialistic religion, as in the Greek worship of Demeter; and this form of idolatry was condemned in the strongest terms by the Hebrew prophets. Hence the offering of Cain was rejected." We confess our utter inability to follow this logic: and we think a more careful reading of his Bible might help Mr. Wheeler to see that it was the characters of the sacrificers that primarily had to do with the acceptance of their offerings. But he is not particular about catching precise shades of meaning or expression; thus (p. 125) he says—"In Buddhism there is the tree of wisdom, which possibly may bear a resemblance to the tree of knowledge of good and evil:"—in Genesis we read of "the tree of THE knowledge of good and evil;"—and he quite misconstrues the expressions in *Hos.* vi. 6; *Micah*, vi. 6, 7; *Isaiah*, i. 10-14, into unqualified denunciations of sacrifices!

His ideas regarding the origin of the Brâhmans are neither very clear nor well supported. "The Vedic Âryans," he says, "who colonized the Panjâb in a remote antiquity, were worshippers of the spirits or elements of the universe as gods and goddesses, and invoked those deities in old Sanskrit verses known as Vedic Hymns. At some subsequent period the Brâhmans appeared upon the scene." Then "the Vedic Âryans had neither temples, idols, nor rigid caste distinctions. But the Brâhmans, on the contrary, appear to have encouraged the construction of temples, and to have set up images or idols." Again—"the Aryan religion may possibly have been a development of the ancient worship of the *genii loci*,—the spirits of the hills, forests, glens, and streams. To this day many of the hill-tribes in Eastern India. . still practise this simple worship" Are these hill-tribes Aryans? Śiva, he considers, "was the most ancient and most mystic" deity in "the Brahmanical pantheon," while "in that remote age which

may have preceded an Âryan invasion, the Brâhmans were probably the priests of a phallic deity named Brahma, from whom they may have derived their distinctive name." "Again, the Indian home of the Vedic Âryans was in the Panjâb, to the westward of the river Saraswatî. The Indian home of the Brâhmans was apparently in Hindustân, and extended from the Saraswatî eastward to the banks of the Ganges in the neighbourhood of the ancient city of Kanouj." Further, "the Brâhmans had undoubtedly made their way into the Panjâb, whilst the Vedic Âryans were mere colonists in the land. But the Rishis composed satirical hymns against the Brâhmans." What will the Brâhmans themselves say to this and other similar assertions of the author's?

The origin of Satî, Mr. Wheeler considers as a "Skythian usage modified by Âryan culture." "The Skythian Satî was modified by the Âryan worship of the fire and the sun. Agni, or fire, was the purifying deity. She was not only the domestic goddess of the household, but the divine messenger that carried the sacrifice to the gods; the purifying flame that bore away the widow and her lord to the mansions of the sun." Now we very much doubt the Skyths ever having influenced the inner life of another race to any such extent: was *satî* not a political institution to get rid of the widows, whose plots still disturb native states?

He returns to the details of the former two volumes, and again drags the weary reader over the stories of Râma and Krishna, leaving him no wiser than before, except that "the whole narrative" of the exile of Râma "may be dismissed as apocryphal; as a mythical invention of comparatively modern date, intended as an introduction to the tradition of another and later Râma," who carried on a war with Râvana, whose subjects, "there is reason to believe, represent the Buddhists." But Mr. Wheeler is fond of relegating people whom he knows little of to the Buddhists. He says elsewhere (p. 428) "there is reason to suspect that St. Thomas was a Buddhist Srâman who had perished in the age of Brahmanical persecution." Chera Perumal, of whom Faria y Sousa mentions that he is said to have retired to the Church of St. Thomas and died at Melapur, "in all probability" also "turned a Buddhist monk in his old age." Even Manu was a Buddhist (p. 82)

Though a gifted writer, Mr. Wheeler does sometimes write in a style that is unnaturally inflated; and the employment of similes like "the Indus and its tributaries" appearing "on the map like the sacred candlestick with seven branches" is tasteless as it is pedantic. He speaks also (p. 165) of Mayâ becoming "incarnate in a dream with a small white elephant!" "The Kathæi," he says (p. 172), "have been identified with the Chatties of Kattaywar in Guzerat!!!" The serpents mentioned by Megasthenes, with membranous wings like bats, whose moisture will putrefy the skin,—"are nothing more," he says, "than the common house lizards, and certainly their moisture will cause acute inflammation." Plithana and Tagara are "two important marts *on* the western coast." In the name of Zarmanochegas, who burnt himself at Athens in the time of Augustus, the word "Chegas," he says, "has been identified with Sheik;" but he never says who made this or any other of the identifications he notices.

He makes Śankar Âchârya a Lingâyat (p. 364), and does not seem to have heard that there are Digambara Jains (p. 361). Sometimes Brahma, Vishnu, and Śiva, he tells his readers, are "separately" worshipped "as the creator, the preserver, and the destroyer of the universe, under the name of the Trimurti." The Smartta sect wear the linga (p. 393): and possibly the era of Paraśurâma (A.D. 825) corresponds to the era of Râma's war with Râvana (p. 423).

When he comes to points of chronology Mr. Wheeler tosses about without helm. First Aśoka lives in the age of the rebuilding of the Jewish temple,—that is, we suppose, in the fifth century B.C. He is so like Sandrokottos that the two may be one and the same (pp. 232, 487); then he ascended the throne B.C. 325,—quite forgetful that in the great edict Aśoka mentions Antiochus Ptolemaios, Antigonos, Magas, and Alexander, who lived nearly seventy years later, or in 258 B.C.

We had noted many more such rash or erroneous statements in this volume; but these may suffice to show with what care its assertions must be received. The author is a good *précis*-writer, and, with the text of Tod's *Rajasthan*, Fahian's, Fytche's, or Marco Polo's *Travels*, Faria y Sousa's *History*, or Bigandet's *Legend of Gaudama* before him, he can produce a readable and interesting *résumé*: but his reading is too limited, his power of observation too superficial, and his logical faculty too untrained, to enable him to generalize with accuracy or to investigate with approximate certainty: he is more of the sciolist than of the investigator, and wants that accuracy without which even such a book as this is not only wanting in what ought to constitute its chief value, but is positively pernicious. The scholar will detect its faults, but it is addressed to the popular reader, who has not the special knowledge to enable him to sift what is matter of history from the misconceptions of the author. To those who can do this, however, the volume will afford pleasant and interesting reading.

NOTES ON THE CENTRAL TÂLUKÂS OF THE ṬHÂṆÂ COLLECTORATE.

BY W. F. SINCLAIR, Bo. C.S.

PROBABLY no capital city in the world is so closely surrounded by wild and uncivilized country as Bombay. I have, both in the Ṭhâṇâ and Kulâbâ districts, heard the fort guns in places which (for any sign of civilization they showed) might have been in the deepest recesses of the Sâtpûrâs, and among people as wild, perhaps, as any in the Presidency. The difficulties of provision and transport through most part of the North Koṅkan are what one might expect in the remotest backwoods. For these reasons, probably, less than we might expect is known about some places not wanting in interest in the country lying between the Bassein hills, the N. E. extension of the G. I. P. Railway, and the southern boundary of the State of Jawâr, and comprised in the British tâlukâs of Bhivaṇḍî and Wâre, to which the following notes chiefly relate.

Early in the 14th century a freebooting Kolî named Jayappa Nâyak Mukhne founded the kingdom of Jawâr; and so favourable was the country then, as now, to predatory enterprise, that in 1341 the Court of Dehli recognized his son, by the title of Nem Shâh, as Râja of a territory extending from the Damangaṅgâ nearly to the Ûlâs or Bor Ghâṭ river, and from the Sahyâdrî range to within a few miles of the sea, and allowed him to exercise in its name the Faujdârî of Bhivaṇḍî.* From that day to this it does not appear that the Emperors ever exercised permanent authority in these parts otherwise than through this mountain robber and his descendants; nor can I discover that the Kings of Ahmadnagar, the nearest of the Dekhanî Musalmân states, ever brought the Jawâr territory into subjection. But with the rise of the Marâṭhâ power came a struggle of diamond cut diamond. The Âṅgriâ family pushed so far north, especially in the neighbourhood of the fine navigable estuary of Kâlyâṇ, that we find lands held under their sanads ten miles N. E. of Bhivaṇḍî; and with the increasing power of the Peshwâs times got worse and worse for the Râjas of Jawâr; till in or "about the year 1782 Mâdhavrâo Nârâyaṇ Peshwâ imposed an arrangement on the Râja by which he was allowed to retain territory to the annual value of from Rs. 15,000 to Rs. 20,000 only."† It would also appear, from ruins and tradition, that the Portuguese possessed at one time much of the southern part of Bhivaṇḍî, and on at least one occasion advanced as far inland as Gunj, in the Wâre Tâlukâ. Everywhere along the creeks are the ruins of small Portuguese towers, and sometimes wells; and at Kâmbe, a mile N. W. of Bhivaṇḍî, is a small square fort with two bastions at opposite corners, well placed so as to command on the one side the Lakivli Creek, and on the other that of Bhivaṇḍî, which is the estuary of the Kâṁwâri river. It is said to be Portuguese; but I had no time to examine it in search of inscriptions. A hamlet two miles off is called Firangpâḍa.

The Musalmâns are numerically very strong in all this country—a curious circumstance considering how little political power they have ever possessed in it. But these are not, like the Musalmâns of the Dekhan, descended mostly from military adventurers. By race and habit pacific and industrious, they are thriving traders and cultivators; and, though many are pâṭîls, the temporary service of Government is not much sought after by them as compared with the Dekhanîs, who seem to think it the only labour worthy of them. They seem to have, for Muhammadans, some taste for education, and stand alone among all castes of these tâlukâs in their abstention from drunkenness, the besetting vice of the Koṅkanîs.

At Bhivaṇḍî they have one or two pretty mosques, of modern date; a fine 'Idgah, date unknown; and a beautiful tomb which enshrines the remains of a certain Husain Shâh, commonly called the Divân Shâh, of whom they tell that he was Vazîr of Bîjâpur, but retired into religious life in this place, and that after his death the then Shâh of Bîjâpur built the tomb.‡

I have not seen the inside of the building, as I could not enter it in boots without offending the reverential feelings of the Musalmâns, or

* *Rough Notes connected with the petty estate of Jawâr, in the Thânâ Collectorate*, by S. Marriott, Esq., Collector of the North Koṅkan. Submitted to Government in 1823: Bombay Government Records No. XXVI. New Series, p. 15.

† *Ibid.*

‡ This, from the dates, is improbable.

take them off without hurting my own; but it is said to contain two Persian and two Arabic inscriptions, of which I append copies to this paper. There is a good tank beside the tomb, and a short way south of it a small but deep and good well, with a Persian and a Marâthî inscription, of which also I append copies, estampages being unobtainable either here or in the tomb. I found no Hindu buildings or remains of any importance near Bhivaṇḍi, nor any at all at the next camps to the N. E. at Parghe on the Agra road, and to the N. at Nanditne. But to the west of the latter is the fort of Ghautârâ, which may, for aûght I know, contain something to repay an obviously very toilsome ascent; and at the village of Wâḍowlî, half a mile N E. of Nanditne, I measured a *pimpal*-tree (*Ficus religiosa*) 46 feet 9 inches in girth. This is the second largest tree that I have measured in Western India, the largest being an African Baobab (*Adansonia digitata*, Marâthî *Gorakh Chinch*) at Junnar, with a circumference of 47 feet, and a hollow in it big enough to stable a pony in. The third is a common tamarind (*Tamarindus Indica*) measuring 45, which stands near a village on the right bank of the Árûnavatî river, about a mile above the town of Sirpur, in Khândesh. The *pimpal*, however, is beyond comparison the handsomest tree of the three, and is justly held in high veneration by the inhabitants of the village, which, as it shows no sign of unsoundness or decay, it may continue to overshadow for many generations to come. Four miles north of Nanditne is the town of Dughâd, famous for the defeat of the Marâthâs by Colonel Hartley.* From Dughâd, riding over the battlefield and through the pass in rear of it, it is four miles to Aklolî, on the Tansâ river, where commences the group of hot springs known generally as those of Wazrâbâi, cursorily alluded to by Colonel Sykes under the name of "Vizrabhaee."† These springs occur in or near the bed of the Tansâ river, every here and there along about four miles of its course, which here lies over a common reddish trap pierced by occasional dykes of intensely hard and homogeneous black basalt. I had no thermometer, but, with the aid of one improvised of an egg, ascertained that none of the springs approach boiling-point in temperature; and into most of them natives jump at once, though there are one or two which it is thought prudent to approach by first entering one of lower temperature. The water is tasteless; and the strong smell of rotten eggs and gun-washings, which pervades the neighbourhood of the springs, arises, I think, less from it than from the bubbles of gas which rise through it, being certainly strongest when and where these are most numerous. The natives believe much in the power of these springs for the purification from deadly sin and cutaneous diseases. Those at Aklolî are clustered round a temple of Mahâdeva called Râmeśwar (from which name one might perhaps infer that it was originally a place of Vaishṇava, and not of Śaiva, worship). The temple itself is not very remarkable or ancient. It has two or three good cisterns filled by the hot springs; and about a hundred yards lower down are half a dozen others in the bank and bed of the river. A little way north-east of the temple, in a pretty spot on the river-bank, is the nameless tomb of a European officer, of whom no one knows anything but that "he was a Captain Frâs Sâheb (query Frost or Ferrers), who came here with his wife and children about fifty years ago to have the benefit of the hot waters, and died here. Then the Madam Sâheb chose this spot, and buried him in it and went away."

About half a mile down the river from Râmeśwar, in the village of Waḍowlî, are the springs of Wazreśwar or Wazrâbâi proper, which are in the bed of the Tansâ, and exactly similar to the last-mentioned or lower Râmeśwar group. On the side of a spur of the Ghautârâ range stands the temple of Wazrâbâî herself; "Our Lady of the Falchion" the Brâhmaṇs here say her name means,—interpreting *wazrâ* to mean "a very sharp short sword," though I should have been inclined to derive it from *vajra* (Sanskṛit, a thunderbolt).

This lady is a Yoginî who became incarnate in this neighbourhood to destroy Daityas, and formerly resided at Gunj, seven miles to the north, but broke up house there under circumstances hereafter to be mentioned. There is very little to be learnt about her from the people around, and though there is a *Mâhâtmya* or chronicle recording some particulars about her and the river Waitûrnâ, it is not kept here, but by her *upâdhyâ* or hereditary priest, who

* Grant Duff, *Hist. of the Marâthâs*, vol. II. pp. 426-428.

† *Geol. Papers of Western India*, p. 108.

lives comfortably on his pay at Kuvâd, some twelve miles away. There are six inâm villages belonging to this temple, the proceeds of which are mostly expended on absentee dignitaries of this sort. I really think that when state property is alienated for the support of religion, it would be worth while for the state to see that it is so applied; the temple here, a fine one though modern, is not half kept up; and as the worship of Wazreśwar consists to a great extent in washing in good hot water, it is deserving of support on sanitary grounds. The Gaikvâḍ has recently added to the temple a large *maṇḍap* of timber, with a tiled roof embellished, among other things, with a picture-gallery mainly recruited from the backs of French comfit-boxes, of which the chief and most conspicuous work of art is a portrait of Mabel Grey in a riding-habit. The goddess herself is a rude stone female figure, holding in her right hand the short Roman-looking sword from which she derives her name.

West of Waḍowlî is Gaṇeśpurî, which contains the lowest group of hot springs: the temperature of these is higher than at either Râmeśwar or Wazrâbâi, but still not up to boiling-point; and there is no other difference. There is here a temple of Mahâdeva, with cisterns like those at Râmeśwar. This temple is said to have been built by Râmâjî Mahâdeva Bîvalkar, Sar-Subedâr of Kâlyâṇ under the last Peshwâ, and looks much as if it had been. But there are two stones lying in front of it which evidently once formed part of a much older building. The one appears to have surmounted a window or small door, and is covered with a very finely and deeply carved foliage pattern surrounding a sitting figure, probably of Vishṇu, about four inches high. The other is a bracket* formed of a naked female figure of much grace and truth, in the position of the lady on the heraldic Irish harp. She has a curious sort of *chignon*, quite different from the coiled pigtail of the modern Hindu beauty, but exactly resembling those of some female figures at Ambarnâth. I am disposed, however, to surmise that she is not exactly a contemporary of theirs. For, in the first place, the brackets at Ambarnâth are all monstrous or conventional figures; secondly, though the Gaṇeśpurî lady would be quite in the fashion among those of Ambarnâth in the matter of coiffure, they are all highly adorned, and she in the garb of nature; and while she is just such a sonsy lass as may have been bathing in the sacred spring under the eyes of the sculptor, they are all deformed to that slim-waisted, huge-breasted figure dear to the heart of modern Hindu artists and poets.

From Waḍowlî a pass called the Gunj Khind leads to Gunj, in the Wâre Tâlukâ. It is barely passable to light carts; but there are two good passes further east—those of Dongaste and Sâprundâ. At Gunj there is a small tank, well supplied by springs, which apparently was in former days faced with stone walls and good ghâṭs, and surrounded by a group of Hindu temples of more than ordinary number and sanctity. But "when the *Firangî lok* came, the gods all ran away." Wazrâbâi escaped through the hills to her present abode. Parasûrâma was apparently short-winded, for he only got about half a mile up the mountain close by, and another temple has since been raised to him at the spot where he pulled up. Kâlkâ Bhâwânî plunged into the foundation of her own temple,† which, being perhaps protected by her subterraneous presence, remains in better preservation than the others. It is a small and very solid building with a shrine and *maṇḍap*, the latter partly supported by pillars carved with figures of wrestlers, fighting elephants, &c., rude enough, but a good deal better than modern Hindu sculpture in these parts. "Hemâḍ Pant built it"—of course. Of the other temples only the platforms remain *in situ*, with part of the superstructure scattered around in ruin. Near the ruin south of the tank is an upright slab, on which is carved an incident similar to that mentioned by Herodotus as having occurred before his visit to a place in Egypt when "γυναικί τραγος εμισγετο αναφανδον." The carving is very rude, and has been, I suspect, the work of a recent artist upon a paving-stone not originally intended for the purpose. It is worshipped with much devotion and red paint by

* It is deeply pierced above, and served apparently to support a flagstaff, or part of the woodwork of a well. (Or probably a *toran* or flying bracket under a lintel. —Ed.)

† Compare the legend of Wâlukeśwar, *Ind. Ant.* vol. III. p. 248, and that of this same goddess (if I recollect right) at Chaul, where, on the approach of the Musalmâns, she sprang into a tank beside her temple. The tank and temple, the latter a dome rather like a Musalmân tomb, "are alive at this day to bear witness," and rank among the triple lions of Chaul—360 temples, 360 tanks, and 360 shoals in the river.

the people of Gunj; but they could, or would, tell me nothing about it. I failed altogether in finding any inscription among the ruined temples, or on a fine well between them and the village.

From Gunj it is about eight miles to Gâtes, a favourite camp in a beautiful grove of mango and jack trees on the bank of the Waiturnâ; and from there it is three more to Wâre, formerly the royal residence of the Jawâr Râjas. Nothing remains of them but a few tombs completely dismantled by the Waḍâris;* a mosque and temple of Mârutî—both in ruins; and a good tank, the stone facings of which have been pretty well trampled into the mud by the village buffaloes. Marching back from Wâre to Bhivaṇḍî by the shortest route, nothing worth recording is to be seen except a dam formed across the Tansâ river at Dighâshî by a basaltic dyke, which any one not well acquainted with the trap formations would have difficulty in believing not to be an artificial barrier "built by the hands of giants, for godlike kings of old." It might be made the foundation of a good masonry dam easily enough, and the formation of the land is suitable for an irrigation scheme; but the agriculture of the Koṅkan has not got up to irrigation-point yet—at least on this scale.†

But on marching from Bhivaṇḍi eastwards my inquiries were rewarded by two discoveries of some importance. I had been told by Mr. Mâdhavrâo Anant Gupte, Inâmdâr of Badhâna, and holder of one of the Âṅgriâ sanads already mentioned, that "there was a temple on the top of a hill in the jungle of Lonâd, which he had not himself visited, but understood to be of great antiquity and sanctity, and a place of yearly pilgrimage:" and being at Lonâd on duty, I made inquiries, upon which the villagers showed me a fine but ruined temple of Mahâdeva in the village, which appeared to have been founded by somebody who knew how both to build and carve, and afterwards continued or repaired in a period of considerable decadence of both arts. I had not at the time seen Ambarnâth, but on visiting that temple I saw at once that it was identical in style with the older part of the temple of Lonâd. So upon the 3rd of January I started off back to Lonâd, determined to hunt up the temple "in the jungle," and supposing that it might prove to be another member of the same family. The villagers were ready enough to come; and after about twenty minutes' riding and climbing, we came, not to a Śaiva structural temple, but to, as I think, a Buddhist *vihâra* which I have every reason to believe has hitherto escaped European discovery. It is in a hill which forms one side of a glen above Lonâd, facing S. by W. and consists of the following portions:—First, an outer verandah 19 yards long by 3 wide and high. A good deal of the rock in front has tumbled down, but it does not appear ever to have been supported by pillars, nor could I see among the débris any remnants of chisel-work or sculpture. About this, however, one could not be certain without clearing away the fragments—a work of considerable labour, and not to be accomplished without pick and crow. At the left end of this verandah is a small cistern of good water, said to ebb and flow with the tide in the Kâlyâṇ creek, about 175 feet by aneroid below this level. It certainly did appear to have recently shrunk a couple of inches at the period of my visit, about one third of ebb-tide; but it would require a day's residence on the spot to certify this phenomenon, and a good many to explain it.‡ Opposite the well is a large group of figures in high relief. They seem to represent a king surrounded by his court; there is nothing monstrous or unnatural, and very little even of ornament, in the sculpture. The principal figures are life-size, four feet high as they sit.

At the back of this verandah is a frieze sculptured in lower relief, a foot deep, and running the whole length of the cave. There are figures on it of pretty nearly everything that an Indian artist could think of, from a charging elephant to a woman on a bed, executed with much skill and spirit. This verandah is separated from an inner one 14 yards × 3 × 3 by four pillars and two pilasters. The pillars are all three feet square; the two centre ones have a curious capital like a fluted hourglass. The outer ones and pilasters are plain, having only a sort of leaf at the corners—common enough at Ajantâ, Bhamer, &c.—and a circle on each side. The circle on

* *Ind. Ant.* vol. III pp 185 and 307.

† Mr Terry found at Ambarnâth the remains of a very large canal, whoever built it.

‡ On subsequent investigation I found it was all nonsense

the pilaster next the well has something carved in it like a medallion, but I could not make out what, and suspect that this was added by a later hand—the simple circle suits so much better with the severe style of the pillars.

This inner verandah opens by three doors into the great hall. The centre door is moulded and has two pilasters, and two stools in front which seem to represent a basket or jar carried upon some one's head, the hands clasping the edge to keep it steady. The outlines of three tiny Chaitya arches are lightly chiselled over it, as an ornament. It is $7\frac{1}{2}$ feet high, and 4 feet 7 inches wide. The side doors are plainer, but have small standing figures at each side. The left one is 6 feet 10 inches high at present, and 3 feet 8 inches wide. The right one 7 feet 9 in. by 3 ft. 10 in.

The inner Hall is 14 yards long by 7 wide, and about 10 or 11 feet high. A cell or shrine has been hewn pretty deep into the centre of the innermost wall, but left quite rough; and two smaller ones have been commenced right and left of it. In the shrine and inner verandah are placed rude modern images of the present tenant, a "Gâṁ devî" called Khandeśwar. She is a Yoginî, and first cousin to Wazreśwar both in nature and name (*khanḍa* = a sword). There is one rough block of stone in the inner hall (uncertain what it represents if anything); and a liṅga in the outer verandah. A little higher up the hillside to the left are two or three small cells, unfinished. The closest search, with a large grass fire burning in the hall and shrine, failed to show any inscriptions, nor was there any ancient image. The sculptured figures, I think, are decorative, and not meant to be worshipped. There is a small cross-legged figure under a *pimpal*-tree in the village between the Śaiva temple and a small tank; but he does not give me the idea of Buddha. These temples are so easy of access from Bombay that it is to be hoped some effort will be made to photograph or mould the figures in the outer verandah: I should think either process would be easy, from the position of the sculptures.*

The following are the inscriptions above alluded to, in the tomb of Husain Shâh at Bhivanḍî :—

On the east side.

چون زمین شد جلوه‌گر زین گنبذ عالیجناب
آسمان بهر نثارش طائف آمد چون حباب
یافت تاریخ تمام با نئي آن قطب دین
نور میتابد مدام از حسن قبه آفتاب

١١١١ (A.D.) 1699

On the south side.

قبة الشرف سمعنا اسمها
قال قطب الدين باني هكذا
روس العجائب اسمها تاريخها
السعادة والمنى من بابها

١١١٣

On the west side.

گنبذ سلطان دین چون برزمین شد سربلند
جنت از غیرت نهفتم آسمان شد رقصمند
گفت تاریخ تمامش بانئی آن قطب الدین
قبهٔ حسن حسیني نور در عالم فگند

١١١٦

On the north side.

منادالله نادانا بغيب
مقام للحسين بجد قطب
بتاريخ عجيب بل غريب
كبية اقدس بداء لحب

١١١٨ (A.D.) 1706

بناي

On the well ; west side.

سید قطب‌الدین محمد خان بهادر سنه ١١٨٦ هجري
مقدس

کو آبنام دوده باوري

हिदुद बावडी सयद कुतबुद्दीन महमदखान बाहादुर यानीं बांधली शके १६८४ नंदननाम संवत्सरे सन ११८१ फसलीना रोजि नगा० बाबले पाथरवट.

Sayad Kutbu'd'n Muhammad Khân Bahâdur built this milk-well in Śhake 1684; Fasli 1181. (A.D. 1762) Naik Bábale Patharwat.†

* I have since completed a very full set of notes of these sculptures for the *Indian Antiquary*.

† Name of the stone-cutter.

OF BHARTṚIHARI'S NĪTI ŚATAKAM.

BY PROF. C. H. TAWNEY, M.A., CALCUTTA.

(Continued from p. 4.)

*On Wealth.**

Down to the lowest pit with rank, and gifts that all admire;
Hurl virtue headlong from the steep, burn pedigrees with fire;
On valour let the bolt descend: for wealth alone we pray,
Without which noble qualities are vile as mouldy hay.

With mind and senses unimpaired,
In act and voice the same,
He moves among us like a ghost,
Wealth's warmth has left his frame.

The man of means is eloquent,
Brave, handsome, noble, wise:
All qualities with gold are sent,
And vanish when it flies.

The king by evil counsel falls,
By worldliness the saint,
Bráhmans by want of sacred lore,
Bad friends good manners taint:

Indulgence spoils a son, and he
Upon his race brings shame,
Continual absence poisons love,
Neglect cools friendship's flame:

Carelessness ruins husbandry,
Wrong saps a nation's health,
Wine chases modesty, unthrift
And largess squander wealth.

Three courses open lie to wealth, to give, enjoy, or lose:
Who shrinketh from the former two, perforce the third doth choose.

Less in size the polished jewel, but its rays far brighter gleam,
Who regrets the dwindling sandbanks when boon autumn swells the stream?
Glorious we hold the victor, though his life-blood gild the plain,
Such the generous soul's undoing, that which seemeth loss is gain.

Lo! the same man who longs for a handful of meal
As a treasure of infinite worth,
When his hunger is sated, esteems not a straw
All the riches and glories of earth;
Hence this moral we draw—in this transient world
Nothing's trifling or great in itself,
'Tis the mind that projects its own hues on the mass,
Now 'tis gold, now 'tis counted but pelf.

King, if thou wish the earth to yield to thee the milk of wealth,
Cherish its offspring, let thy care be for thy people's health.
For if thou watch to do them good with seldom-sleeping eyes,
Thy realms with golden fruits shall bloom like trees of Paradise.

Grasping and bountiful, cruel and kind,
Savage and merciful, watchful and blind,
Truthful and treacherous, policy's art
Changes its shape as an actress her part.

Fame, might, the power to give and spend,
To nourish Bráhmans, help a friend,
These blessings are a courtier's lot;
What boots his toil who gains them not?

Fate writes upon thy brow at birth the limits of thy store,
In barren wilds, on Meru's peak, 'tis neither less nor more;
Then cringe thou not to wealthy men, but let thy looks be free,
A pitcher from a pool is filled, as well as from the sea.

Well spake the *chátak*† to the cloud,
"By thee alone we live,
This all men know, then why require
Our prayers before thou give?"

* These stanzas have no heading in the Bombay edition, but they refer generally to wealth and its uses and abuses. On p. 3 [illegible] the following lines were omitted by [illegible]:—

What will serve to put out fire, umbrellas 'gainst the heat,
A sharp hook guides the elephant, the ox and ass [illegible] beat
Disease we cure with doctor's stuff, the serpent's bite with charms,
Against the fool, the worst of ills, nature provides no arms.

† A bird that lives upon rain-drops.

O *châtak*, listen but a while, and to my speech give ear—
Not all alike the clouds that on the face of heaven appear,
Some fertilize the earth with showers, some fruitless thunders hurl:
This lesson learn—a suppliant speech is wasted on the churl.

*Next follows the praise of the wicked man.**

A cruel mind intent on strife,
Envying his neighbour's gold and wife,
Hating the virtuous and his kin,
Denotes and brands the man of sin.

What though the scoundrel learned be, avoid him, cut him dead:
Men shudder at the snake that wears a jewel in his head.

The modest man's accounted dull, the pure a prudish knave,
Th' austere a sourfaced hypocrite, the meek a heartless slave,
The orator is tedious, the ascetic but a fool,
The dignified is haughty, stolid and obtuse the cool,
The hero savage; thus the bad do all things good despise,
Each virtue with its kindred vice is tainted in their eyes.

Treachery divideth households,
Avarice is a world of vice,
Truth is nobler far than penance,
Purity than sacrifice,
Charity's the first of virtues,
Dignity doth most adorn,
Knowledge triumphs unassisted,
Better death than public scorn.

The moon when dimmed by daylight, and a maid whose charms have fled,
A lake with faded lotuses, a good man ill bested,
A speechless mouth, a grasping king, a scoundrel in his train,
Are seven thorns that fret my soul with never-ending pain.

I would not be the kinsman of a monarch prone to ire,
Not e'en the sacrificing priest unharmed can touch the fire.

Not e'en a wonder-working saint
Can hope to please the great,
The silent man is said to sulk,
The eloquent to prate,
Patience is held but cowardice,
Impatience disrespect,
Officiousness is impudence,
And modesty neglect.

Those do not lead an easy life who fall into the power
Of one in whom the seed of vice matures in perfect flower,
Who with a herd of fawning rogues delights to engird his throne,
Whose lawless will no bonds of faith nor ties of blood doth own.

The kindness of the bad at first
Is great, and then doth wane;
The good man's love, at th' outset small,
Slowly doth bulk attain,
Such difference between these two
In nature doth abide,
As 'twixt the shadow of the morn
And that of eventide.

Hunters entrap the harmless deer,
Fishers the finny brood,
So bad men causeless interfere
To persecute the good.

(*Here ends the praise of the wicked man.*)

THE DVAIÂSHARÂYA.

The *Dvaiâsharâya* is one of the few historical works that have been left us by Hindu writers. It appears to have been begun by the celebrated Hemâchârya, the great Jaina scholar of Gujarât in the reigns of Siddharâja and Kumârapâla, the latter of whom died about A.D. 1174. It was so called because it was intended to serve the double object of teaching Sanskrit grammar and relating the story of the Solanki kings of Anhilawâḍâ Paṭṭan: this double task being attempted in verses which must be read alternately to bring out either sense.

* In the original *dwyanapraśansâ*. The praise is so faint as almost to be tantamount to *nindâ*.

Lakshmî Tilak Kavi made a *tika* or commentary on, and corrected it, as we are told by Leśâjâya Tilak Gaṇî, a Jaina monk, who completed the work as we now have it at Pralhâdan Pattan—probably, as K. Forbes conjectures, Pâhlanpur (though possibly Pâtan)—at the Divâli in the Saṁvat of Vikram 1312, or A.D. 1255. The narrative portion of the work does not even assume to be a connected relation: it is rather a series of anecdotes; but the information afforded by it and the *Prabandha Chintâmaṇi*, in reference to customs, manners, institutions, and modes of thought, may be regarded as a correct reflection of the times when these works were written: and a curious picture is thus presented of superstition and moral effeteness beyond hope of reformation from within, even after the warning lesson taught by the scimitars of the Ghaznivide host in 1026,—though that invasion had probably no small influence in developing such characters as Bhima Deva I. and Siddharâja. But though such princes might delay for a time, they could not save their people from the fate their grovelling subjection to a superstitious priesthood, with its debasing results, had earned for them,—a fate finally inflicted by the merciless Ala-ud-din in 1297 A.D.

The following is an outline of the narrative portion of the *Dvyâśrayâ*:—

The First Sarga.

There is a city named Anahillapura, that is as it were the *svastika* of the earth, the abode of Nyaya Dharma and Lakshmî, by reason of which the whole world is beautified. Beautiful are its women, and the kings that have ruled there have been handsome and strong, obedient to parents and gurus, and possessed besides of sons. Excellent arrangements are made in that city by the king for the support of scholars studying Vidya. Religion flourishes in it, and the people are opulent and have abundant occupation. It is surrounded by beautiful gardens full of trees of varied kinds. Debt is unknown in the city. Many *munis* are there, and such as perform austerities. Svarga is as near to them as are the courts in front of their houses, and therefore the city too is called the 'pure.' The king's servants are clever and intelligent. All its women are practisers of *Sati-dharma*, therefore the age is continually called the Satyuga. Beside the city flow Sarasvatî's clear waters, rendering pure the earth and the air: here live Brahmaṇs equal to Vaśishtha or Viśvamitra, who could produce warriors from the fire-pit.

Mularâja† was the first of the Solanki race in this city. He was the benefactor of the world, full of all good qualities and generous-minded. All kings worshipped him as the sun is worshipped. He gained the title of the "enthraller of the universe," for the subjects of all lands came to his country and found a happy residence. To Brâhmaṇs he gave great gifts: his enemies, like Dhedâs, begged outside the town from fear of him. When this Raja went out on *digvijaya* he subdued the Raja of North Kośala Deśa: half the inimical kings he slew, the other half he forced to submit. The wives of his enemies, that, like frogs in a well, had never in their lives seen anything beyond their own houses, were seized by Bhillas as they wandered in forests, and were carried by them to the city to be sold as slaves.‡ This Raja often performed *yajna*: he caused the *Vedas* and other books to be collected. He slept not in the day-time, and was often awake at night for the protection of his subjects.

The Second Sarga.

To Mularâja once on a time Somanatha Mahadeva said in a dream: "O thou who wert born of the Châlukya race, be prepared to fight with Grâharipu and other Daityas who wish to destroy Prabhâsa Tîrtha, by my splendour shalt thou overcome these Daityas." When he awoke, Mularâja was delighted at the recollection of what Mahadeva had said to him. In the morning the Raja entered the *mahâmaṇḍapa* (court) with his chief ministers Jambak and Jehal the Rana of Kheralu,§ that he might tell them what Mahâdeva had said. But at that moment several crown-bearing princes presented themselves according to custom, so that Mularâja was not able to speak.

* The substance of the first five Sargas has already been given by Mr. K. Forbes in his *Râs Mâlâ*, vol. I. pp. 52-59.

† Mularaja was the son of Raji and grandson of Bhuvanâditya, of Kalyân, by Lîlâ Devî, the daughter of the king of Anhilapur, and was adopted by Samant Singh, the last Chavada prince. Mularaja succeeded his uncle Samant Singh about A.D. 942. Conf. Forbes's *Râs Mâlâ*, vol. I. p. 65; Gladwin's *Ayeen Akbery*, vol. II. pp. 74ff.; Sir W. Elliot, *Jour. R. As. Soc.*, vol. IV. p. 1; Tod's *Western India*, p. 150.

‡ Conf. *Râs Mâlâ*, vol. I. 52.

§ A town to the east of Siddhapur.

but took his seat on the throne. Afterwards, when opportunity occurred, the Râja told Jambak and Jehal his thought of destroying Grâharipu and the other injurers of Śiva's *tîrtha* at Prabhâsa Kshetra. "Grâharipu,*" said he, "was made of consequence by me, but, as if born in an inauspicious hour, he has grown shameless and slays the people performing penances; therefore, as a man who has been entrusted by another with authority should not be killed, I put it to you both whether, looking at it in this way, this one should not be killed? Say, therefore, what is your joint opinion: should he be destroyed or not? O Jambak, slayer of enemies, who art like Vrihaspati, and O Jehal, who art wise as Śukra, tell, therefore, at once what is fit to be done." Jehal answered,—"Grâharipu, who is an Abhîr (or shepherd) by caste, is very tyrannical: therefore the order given you by Śivaji for his destruction is right. I think you should act even so. Grâharipu, being ruler of Saurâshṭra Deśa, kills the pilgrims going to Prabhâsa, and casts their flesh and bones entire into the way, so that though people wish to go to that *tîrtha*, no one can do so from this terror; and the seat of royalty in Sorath Deśa, which, from the splendour of Śrî Krishṇa, till now deserved praise, has become soiled by the tyranny of Râja Grâharipu. This is the cause of anger. Grâharipu lives at Vâmanasthalî†—the city rendered splendid by the flags of Hanumân and Garuḍa, and in Durgâpalî and other places he permits to dwell thieves; and in his strength this Râja dwells at Vâmanasthalî without fear. He is like to Râvaṇa, and therefore the devout cannot live there; like an arrow he causes pain in the breasts of the religious. He slays the armies of his enemies and is victorious; he eats the flesh of animals and drinks spirituous liquor; and in the fight he feeds the Bhutas and Piśâchas and all their crew with the blood of enemies. He despises Brâhmaṇs; this lord of the west, Grâharipu, has caused many Râjas of the south and of the north to flee leaving their chariots; therefore now he regards no one, nor thinks of any, but looks loftily as he walks, as if he meditated the conquest of Svarga. The earth is afflicted from the weight of his sins; and the men of skill in his kingdom, from associating with such an evil one, practise their skill in constructing all sorts of weapons, from which it is impossible to escape,—in discriminating between religious and irreligious practices they do not exercise themselves. Grâharipu is young and lusty, and full of desire: therefore, slaying his enemies, he carries off their wives to his female apartments. In military force he is strong, so that all Râjas have to yield to him. Like Yama, Grâharipu is huge in person, and in temper too he is like Yama,—he seems disposed to devour the whole world or to seize upon Paradise. This Grâharipu causes great calamity, plundering people passing along the roads, and destroying great forts and places of safety among the mountains. He can pass and repass the ocean also: therefore, as when Destiny is enraged with the world, people have no means left of escape. He is very wealthy: the Râja of Sindh Deśa he seized, compelling him to pay a fine of elephants and horses; and many Râjas has he subdued. Were he to make war on Yama, I believe his only means of escape would be submission. This Mlechha hunts in Revatâchal,‡ and slays the deer at Prabhâsa,§ which should not be slain. He eats the flesh of cows, which should not be eaten, and commits other tyrannical acts. Wise men say that any Râja who has the power of punishing this tyrant and does not, becomes guilty of his sins; therefore if you do not destroy him, yours will be the sin. If you assemble not an army and expel him, his strength will day by day increase, till at last he will be unconquerable by you, and, on the contrary, will overcome you.||

"O Râja, though now you could take him if you chose, yet still you keep on a sort of good terms with him. But he is a deceiver, unworthy to be trusted. Besides, Mahâdeva has ordered you, O Râja, in a dream at night; and it is the practice of the Châlukya race to punish such tyrants: therefore consider this. O Râja, Śivaji has given to you the command, because

* ग्राह—*water-animals*, and रिपु—*enemy*:—The enemy of the water-animals a title rather than a name. Conf. Tod's *Rajasthan*, vol. II pp. 147, 151: Forbes's *Râs Mâlâ*, vol. I. pp. 53, 58. Probably the Râ Dayat of tradition, or his son Naughan, is here meant. The latter was reared by an Ahir named Devat. But Amarji Ranchodji Diwân's chronology places Naughan 130 or 140 years before Mularâja's time, and yet makes his son Khengâr, the contemporary of Siddharâja, in the 12th century!

† The modern Vanthali or Banthali, eight miles from Junâgaḍh, where the ruins of the palace of Vâman Râja are pointed out: conf. vol. III. p. 180.

‡ Girnâr and the surrounding hills. § Paṭṭan Somanâth.

|| Conf. *Râs Mâlâ*, vol. I. pp. 53-4.

there is no other than you able to destroy him: therefore summon an army, and, as this vile one cannot be destroyed by an army alone, seek for some other resource also, and prepare munitions of war. It is fit to kill Grâharipu, who exacts new taxes from some people, plunders the property of others, slays others. The Râja who can punish murderers and does not, is a murderer himself: be assured of this and relinquish sloth. As Indra slew Jambusar, as Vishṇu slew Mâdhava Daitya, as Śiva slew Tripurâsura, so you must slay this Grâharipu that afflicts the world."

Thus spake Jehal. On hearing this, the Râja asked Jambak, making a sign to him with the eye, whether or not it were proper to slay Grâharipu and the rest. He answered thus:—

"This Vâmaṇasthalî, where Grâharipu lives, is seven *kos* from the Ujjayantâdri* mountain and twenty from the ocean, and he has built another fort† one *kos* from the mountain and four (? 24) *kos* from the ocean;‡ and this Grâharipu closes not his eyes even at night, so that he may not be easily conquered. And you think of sending an army to conquer him: that is as if one were to attempt cutting down a great tree with a grass-cutter's sickle. Your army could not encamp within even a hundred *kos* of Grâharipu's city, and when he surrounds your army, then you cannot even render assistance. If, therefore, you wish to conquer this Grâharipu, you must not only send an army, but you must go yourself: then will he be conquered. Moreover, Lâkhâ, the lord of Kachhdeśa, is so great a friend of Grâharipu's that one would think they were brothers: and other Râjas too are his assistants, Turk and Mlechha, that cause fear to the world; and Lâkhâ too is a great Râja that cannot be overcome by any. Kachhdeśa is thirty-two *kos* from Sorathdeśa, so that that son of Phulâ Mahârâja, Lâkhâ, is not far off from Grâharipu, and there are many other Râjas to aid these two inimical ones; be not confident, therefore, that the leader of your army, going alone, will seize and bring him.

"O Râja, the enemy that has the aid of mountains, or of Mewâs (forest), or of the ocean cannot be overcome; and this Grâharipu has the command of the mountains, forest, and the ocean—all three: therefore it is difficult, and there is none on the earth or in the sky beside yourself who can subdue him. O Master, the moment you begin to advance against Grâharipu and the other warriors of the Abhîr race, that moment their wives, hearing it, will begin to lament, because your exploits are as famous as Arjuna's."§

When he heard these words, great was the thirst in the mind of Mularâja to do battle. Like a flower was his person with joy: looking at his two hands he stood up and came forth from the court chamber, followed by all the chieftains that were seated there.

The Third Sarga.

Afterwards Mularâja prepared for *vijayayátra*: meanwhile the *Sard Ritu* (Divâli) too returned. At that season a good crop was raised. The village lords took a share of it from the cultivators, for it is they who have a claim upon the cultivators; and the Râja took his share from these lords of the villages, because the Râja's claim is upon the village lords.

When the rains begin, the *hansa*, rising, flies off to the Manasârovara; and after the rains the *hansa* returns to the Gaṅgâ and the other rivers; and the *Sard Ritu* having come, so it happened. At that time the rice crop was ready, and the cultivators' wives, guarding it, sang songs in the fields, causing to look very beautiful the country. Then, from the day of *Navarátrí*, the Râja seated Brâhmaṇs in the temples of the Devas to make the *párâyaṇa* of the *Veda* and the *Chandî Pát*. Setting up the waterpot, the Brâhmaṇs fasted for nine days, sleeping on the ground instead of their beds at night, and abstaining from intercourse with their wives. On the ninth day they made a feast,—on the day of the Dasarâ they anointed the head of the Râja with water from the jar they had set up. At this time it is customary to begin to teach children the *Vedas* and other Vidya, because this is the month of Sarasvatî. It is the custom to hold a great festival to Indra from Ashâd Suddh 8th to 15th, and to raise great flags upon the temples. The cowherds at this season drink milk and coarse sugar. The young women in the small villages sport, bantering

* Or *Ujjayantâdri*. Mount Girnâr.
† The Uparkot of Junâgaḍh.
‡ Probably referring to Junâgaḍh.
§ *Râs Mâlâ*, vol. I. p. 55.

each other, and boys play at *geḍî deḍ*.* Now the water in the rivers and tanks becomes clear, and the sky is freed from clouds; the flowers of the lotus and *bâporiû* are in full bloom, and the poets compare them in their similes to women's lips. Because their husbands go abroad for their livelihood at this time, and they are separated from them, many women are in great grief. Now† people perform the *śrâddh* of their deceased parents and ancestors. Now the rice crop ripens, and, by way of compliment, people send a few *śers* of rice and *dâl* to the Râja's Minister. In the *Sard Ritu*, when the sun is in the *Śivâti nakshatra*, if rain fall and drops of it enter the oyster's mouth, they become pearls.‡ Vows that people have made, performing penance, commence in the rainy season, and last from Ashâd Śuddh 11th to Kârtik Śuddh 11th. Kârtik Śuddh 1st is called Bali Râja's day, because on that day Vâmanji gave king Bali the kingdom of Pâtala: therefore whoever spends that day happily will have a prosperous twelvemonth, and whoever spends it unhappily will have an unhappy year (so says the *Bhâvishya Purâṇa*): therefore on that day§ people dress themselves in fine clothes and ornaments, eat good dinners, and go to visit their friends; and it is the great day for eating *pân*, so that even poor people must have *pân* on that day: the *vahu* (daughter-in-law) touches the feet of the *sâsu* (her mother-in-law), and the *sâsu* blesses the *vahu*. Vishṇu sleeps on the sea of milk from Ashâd Śuddh 11th for four months, until Kârtik Śuddh 11th, when he arises. On Ashâd Śuddh 10th (the *Dasarâ*), people go into the fields to look for omens: this is called *sîmlaṅghan*. In the *Sard Ritu* the sâmbar and other deer shed their horns, and bulls are in *mûst*.

At such a time Mularâja set out on his expedition; the drums and the *nobat* were beat: the *śaṅkhs* sounded for a prosperous omen, and the Brâhmaṇs began to read the *Vedas*. When, after waiting the fortunate time, Mularâja assumed his arms and mounted in hope of victory, the noise of musical instruments made known his setting forth even to Indra. The Râjas that followed Mularâja also came, ready to go to Sorath to slay Grâharipu the Daitya. The *Gor* (household-priest) caused the worship of the horse, elephant, &c. to be performed: the Râja himself worshipped. Astrologers skilled from their youth in *jyotishyaśâstra* set up stakes nine fingers high in the sunshine, and began to measure the time to determine the *muhurta*. Then the Râja caused the stickholder to advance: a line of soldiers stood armed at the door: the musical instruments sounded; the Râja and his chieftains made presents as religious gifts to Brâhmaṇs and to the recorders of fame.|| For forty *kos* along the road that Mularâja travelled, the people of the neighbouring villages, the city women, left off their house-work, left their children crying, to come and see the cavalcade; for as Indra among Devas, was Mularâja among men in beauty, qualities, and strength. As the procession went on, great was the throng in the city; in the press many a pearl necklace was broken, many a flower scattered, and the women sprinkled *âkshat*¶ on the Râja till it seemed to strew the ground. The unbroken *âkshat* was a good omen. Other women brought flowers, fruit, and cocoanuts, sandal, curds, *darbha*-grass, loaded in vessels. When the cavalcade set forth, there was not a woman in all the city but was dressed in scarlet, and glittering with ornaments, and her person anointed, lest any bad omen should appear. For good luck, before the procession started from the palace for the city-gate, the whole way was sprinkled with *kaṅku* (reddened) water. As they set out, the horses began to neigh, from which favourable portent every one augured speedy success. As the king started, the Gor stepped forward and marked upon his forehead the *tilak*, pronouncing the words 'Prosperity (*kalyâṇa*), prosperity.' *Sathyas** made of pearls were placed beside the throne of the Râja. Beside him the singers sang, the servants waved *châmaras* and fans (*vînjhaṇs*) over his head. Blessing him, the astrologers said, "May you be victorious! may you be victorious!—may your enemy go to the south, to the city of Yama!" When he mounted, the Râja paid obeisance to

* गेडी —'the hockey-stick,' and देडा —'the ball'

† *Bhâdrapad vad* or *Śrâddh paksh*.

‡ See Renaudot, p. 97.

§ This day is called *Jhârṇî*, that is *Juhârṇî*—the day of salutation.

|| Chârans, Bhâts, &c.

¶ From अ 'not,' and क्षत 'broken,' because composed of whole rice and other grains.

* Crosses or *svastikas*, a common sign of rejoicing among Hindus, made on festal occasions on the thresholds, &c. of most houses; it is also the usual female signature. It is a favourite Bauddha symbol, and the *chinha* or cognizance of Supârśwa, the seventh Tirthaṅkara of the Jainas.—*Râs Mâlâ*, vol. I. pp. 56-7.

the Isht Deva. He rode upon an elephant huge as a mountain. On mounting, the first object the Râja beheld was a jar filled with water—a great omen of good. The eunuch on the Râja's left hand kept crying, "In a moment will I throw down the house of Grâharipu, and you shall with ease overthrow his castle." As the procession passed through the bazâr, the people cast flowers, fruit, *akshat*, &c. in the way before the Râja.

Mularâja's deceased father, Râja, had two brothers, Bija and Dandaka,* both deceased;—their sons did not serve Mularâja.]

Where the army of Mularâja halted, traders plied their callings as in their shops in the city, and thus they pursued their way to the river Jambumâlî.

The Fourth Sarga.

A servant of Grâharipu's came where Mularâja was encamped on the Jambumâlî river and said—"O Râja, why have you come hither? My name is Dranâsa, Grâharipu has sent me to inquire." (He had come, however, of his own accord) "Have the Brâhmaṇs invited you, making false complaints that they suffer injury? My Râja does harm to no one without cause: what they say is false. What enemy have you in this country? my Râja is your friend. Is it to hunt on the Jambumâlî river or in the mountains that you have come? When the Yadavas came to this country they used liquor, so there is no sin in using liquor in this land: is that why you have come? Or is it because Râja Lâkhâ of Jartradeśa (? Jatwâḍâ) and his soldiers annoy you that you have come hither to take counsel with my prince? Or have you come merely out of friendship to visit Grâharipu? Or is it to see Somanâtha Mahâdeva, or to perform pilgrimage at Sañkhodhâr in Sorath? If any of these be the reason, why have you brought so large an army? Besides, you have no quarrel with Grâharipu, nor can there live who quarrel with him. I see anger in your eyes and you make no reply. I will go and make this known to my Râja at once."

The Râja answered him—"You are bold that speak thus in my presence: men like you are few among the liquor-drinkers of Sorath. What friendship can I have with Grâharipu, who annoys Brâhmaṇs and obstructs pilgrims? He is worthy to be destroyed: he carries off other men's wives: he destroys Prabhâsa Tîrtha and plunders the country. He is rejoiced when he has slain with the sword those in the act of performing sacrifices. By hunting there, he has defiled the great place of pilgrimage—Girnâr, famous throughout the world. With such a Mlechha how can I be friendly? Go to Grâharipu and tell him to meet me on the borders of Sorath with his army."

Grâharipu hearing this, joyfully prepared for battle: the kings in alliance with him, and those he had subdued, also made ready armies at his command. With him were many Mewâsi Bhîllas. His friend Lâkhâ too, with his army. The sons of Grâharipu's wife Nîlî and his other wives got ready. The warriors wore iron armour. As he set forth, many evil portents encountered Grâharipu, and *Pretas, Piśâchas*, &c., that drink human blood, followed his army. His wife wrote in the Yavana language† to her sons who dwelt at the Bhâdar river—famous in Sorath—to call them to the war. Grâharipu advanced with his army to the Jambumâlî river. The Sindhu Râja, whose kingdom was on the shores of the ocean, brought an army and with it occupied the south. Lâkhâ, the Râja of Kachh, sent for the *joshis* and inquired of them: they predicted his death in the conflict, but he set forth desiring to die in battle and attain to Svarga. Lâkhâ cries 'Shame to him whose youthful deeds no one has witnessed! The days of my life are counted; how shall I know their span?' When **Mularâja** saw the enemy arrived he prepared his army.

The Fifth Sarga.

The Râja of Śilaprastha, who was with Mularâja, twanged his bow: the twelve kinds of music began to sound. Mularâja and his younger brother Gañgâmaha, Râja of Gañgâdhar, with his friend Revatîmitra Râja, prepared for the fight. With Mularâja were Bhîllas: there were many Râjas with him, and, regarding Grâharipu's army as weak, they determined to give battle at once. There was a Mârwâḍ Râja‡ in Mularâja's service, followed by Mârwâḍîs wearing

* Tod's *Travels in Western India*, p. 166.

† Probably Sindhi, or perhaps Persian.

‡ Siyoji, the son of Sejh Râthod the ancestor of the houses of Jodhpur and Îdar.—*Râs Mâlâ*, vol. I. p. 60.

long locks of hair on their unshaven heads. The armies discharged arrows at each other; the Daityas, seizing arms in their hands, roared like thunder-clouds: of some the spears were broken; some, though covered with armour and bearing shields, were struck with panic and tried to hide themselves. Some of the Daityas began to offer *balidân* to Durgâ and the other deities, of warlike weapons, and to worship them. To conquer their enemies, some Daityas began to call on Mṛityu Devî with incantations. Then Mularâja's Gujarâti warriors, who were skilful in the use of weapons, began to display their expertness exceedingly. A river of the blood of warriors flowed; and many, abandoning life in so great a *tîrtha*, became dwellers in Svarga. On the side of Mularâja a Râja of Kâśideśa fought well; Râjas from the north of Arbuda were in Mularâja's army, their warriors were very valiant: therefore his army being drawn up in the form of *chakravyuha** and *gârudavyuha*, the Abu people fought with the enemy on the banks of the Jambumâlî separate from these orders of battle. The Âbu Râja took a banner of victory: he was looked up to by the Râja of Śrîmâlat†:—he of the Pramâra race slew many warriors. Grâharipu had with him a lâkh of Mlechhas. Many of his army were cut to pieces: they began to assume the forms of all the classes of Bhûtas. Mularâja struck Grâharipu from his elephant and made him prisoner. Then did great rage seize Lâkhâ, and he rushed upon Mularâja: at length he offered to pay him a ransom of elephants and horses for the release of Grâharipu; but Mularâja said a cow-killer such as Grâharipu was not to be released. Mularâja and Lâkhâ then fought with arrows, till at last Mularâja struck Lâkhâ with a spear and slew him.‡ Treading down the Jhâḍeja Râja, Mularâja set his foot on his throat.

The mother of Lâkhâ, beholding the body of her son, his long moustache stirred by the wind, heaped curses on his destroyer:—'By the spider-poison (*lutâ*)§ may his race perish!'

At that time a number of men of Sorath, dressed as women, taking Grâharipu's children with them, went to Mularâja and began to beg of him saying, "Our husband has made us this present." Then they were released, and from that day the people of Kachh wear a scarf like a *saṛhi* for the fame of Mularâja, and the Sorath people too retained a distinctive mark.

With great delight Mularâja went to the *tîrtha* at Prabhâsa with Brâhmaṇs. He worshipped the *linga* at Somanâtha, and then returned home with a hundred and eight elephants and his army.—(*To be continued.*)

ON DR. LORINSER'S BHAGAVAD GÎTÂ AND CHRISTIAN WRITINGS.

BY J. MUIR, D.C.L., LL.D., PH.D., EDINBURGH.

I.

In the *Indian Antiquary*, vol. II. pp. 283-296 (October 1873), is a paper on the Traces of Christian Writings and Ideas in the *Bhagavad Gîtâ*, translated from the appendix to Dr. Lorinser's German version of that work. As the question whether the ideas and doctrines of the Indian poem are derived from, or have been influenced by, the New or the Old Testament, is one of great interest and importance in reference to the science of religions, I give below a translation of the latter part of an article by Professor Windisch of Heidelberg on Dr. Lorinser's book, which appeared in the *Literarisches Centralblatt* for 15th October 1870, followed by some remarks with which Professor Weber and Dr. Böhtlingk have favoured me on the subject of the dependence or independence of Indian writers on Christian or other foreign sources for any of their ideas. Professor Windisch says:—

"We have not as yet spoken of the object which the book before us has properly in view. This is nothing less than to show that all the nobler thoughts in the *Bhagavad Gîtâ* are derived from Christianity, or from the 'primæval revelation.' It is impossible here to examine minutely Dr. Lorinser's process of proof,

* See *Ind. Ant.* vol. I. p. 276, note.

† Bhilmâla—his tributary.

‡ Lâkhâ is also said to have been slain by Śiyoji at Atkot. Other accounts say he was slain by Bija Solaṅki, Mularâja's uncle; and one states that Dhawal Wâghela took the clothes from Lâkhâ's body (after he was slain by Śiyoji), and going to Pattan with them said *he* had slain Lâkhâ, and received from Mularâja in reward Wâv Therâd and seventy villages, in S. 1201 = A.D. 1144,—nearly 200 years after Mularâja's accession.

§ That is, 'by leprosy.'

since it is based upon a large number of particular passages. According to the judgment of the author of this notice, however, the proof has not yet been adduced that in the *Bhagavad Gítá* we have a piece of Christianity translated into the form of Indian conceptions.

"To refer to at least, some general points of view, Dr. Lorinser's failure to make use of Indian commentaries has had, first of all, for its result, that he could not always apprehend the Indian thoughts in an Indian spirit. Secondly, Dr. Lorinser has paid no attention to the proper Yoga literature, and in particular to Patanjali's *Sútras* with their commentaries: for an inquiry should first have been instituted into the relation in which the philosophical doctrines contained in the *Bhagavad Gítá* stand to this principal work of the Yoga philosophy. Considering its poetical character, the *Yogavásishtharámáyaṇa* might also present many important points of comparison. The immediate introduction of the Bible into the explanation of the *Bhagavad Gítá* is, therefore, at least premature. Besides, the particular Biblical passages themselves are with too great confidence designated by Dr. Lorinser as the sources of the Indian thought or expression. It cannot be denied that he has actually adduced some surprising parallel passages; but the most of the texts which he has cited can at the utmost claim our consideration only after it has been proved in another way that the *Bhagavad Gítá* and the Bible stand in a near relation to each other. If the author should think to rely upon the multitude of the passages which he has quoted, it should be recollected that a hundred uncertain references prove no more than a single one of the same character.* Has Dr. Lorinser noticed that the comparison of the human soul with a team of horses (adduced by him in p. 60, note 59) from the *Katha Upanishad*, corresponds with remarkable exactness to the beautiful myth in Plato's *Phædrus?* This might be regarded as one of the most interesting examples of accidental correspondence. For the rest, it is much to be questioned whether Professor Weber, to whom the author repeatedly appeals, shares his conviction. For Professor Weber's assumption that Christian teachers and doctrines arrived at an early period in India, and that in particular the worship of Kṛishṇa, and the legends relative to him, were formed under the influence of Christianity, is very widely different from Dr. Lorinser's conviction, according to which the composer of the *Bhagavad Gítá* must have learnt at least the *New Testament* directly by heart. This is the conclusion at which every one would arrive who believingly reads the lists put together in the Appendix† of—i. passages which vary in expression but agree in sense (60 in number); ii. passages in which a characteristic expression of the *New Testament* occurs in a different sense (23); iii. passages in which sense and expression correspond (16). Even the ideas of the Church Fathers are supposed not to have been unknown to the poet (see, *e. g.* p. 82, note 56; p. 179, note 6; p. 207, note 27, &c.‡ So much the more surprising is it, therefore, when Dr. Lorinser himself (p. 211, note 51) finds it necessary to refer to the sharp contrast in which Christianity and the Indian conceptions stand to each other in regard to the doctrine of the human soul, and when he further (p. 117, note 1§) cannot avoid ascribing to the poet an acquaintance, though a very defective acquaintance, with Christianity. It is impossible to combine Dr. Lorinser's ideas into one general picture. Finally, as regards the thoughts in which Dr. Lorinser perceives traces of the 'primæval revelation' or 'primeval tradition' (see, *e. g.* pp. 45, 122, 231, 259), he should first have investigated whether they can be pointed out in the *Veda*. Had he done this, he would probably have discovered that the contrary is the case.

"The book before us plainly shows how much the text and the explanation of the *Bhagavad Gítá* stand in need of a thorough revision on the part of scholars who are familiar with this branch of study. The view of which Dr. Lorinser is a representative must be subjected to a closer examination than was here practicable."

In the preceding notice reference is made to the opinions of Prof. Weber on the influence exercised by Christianity upon Indian religious ideas: I am indebted to Prof. Weber, with whom I have communicated on the subject of

* This assertion requires some qualification.—Ed.
† *Ind. Ant.* vol. II. p. 283-294. Prof. Weber urges his conclusion too strongly.—Ed.
‡ *Ind. Ant. ante*, p. 287.
§ Conf. *Ind. Ant.* vol. II. p. 291.

Dr. Lorinser's book, for an indication of his views regarding it. He refers me to a brief mention of the work in question in a note to an article republished in his *Indische Streifen*, vol. II. p. 288, where he speaks of Dr. Lorinser's remarkable endeavour to point out in the *Bhagavad Gítá* coincidences with and references to (*Anklänge und Bezietrungen*) the New Testament, and states that although he regards this attempt of Dr. Lorinser's to be overdone, he is not in principle opposed to the idea which that writer maintains, but regards it as fully entitled to a fair consideration, as the date of the *Bhagavad Gítá* is not at all settled, and therefore presents no obstacle to the assumption of Christian influences, if these can be otherwise proved. He adds that he regards Wilson's theory that the *bhakti* of the later Hindu sects is essentially a Christian doctrine, as according well with all that we know already about the Śvetadvîpa, the Kṛishṇajanmâshṭamî, &c. As regards the age of the *Mahábhárata*, Prof. Weber thinks that it should be borne in mind that in the very passages which treat of the war between the Kauravas and Pâṇḍavas, and which therefore appear to be the oldest parts of that vast epic collection, not only is direct mention made of the Yavanas, Śakas, Pahlavas, and the wars with them (see Prof. Wilson's *Academical Prelections on Indian Literature*, p. 178), but further that the Yavanâdhipa Bhagadatta appears there as an old friend of the father of Yudhishṭhira (see *Indische Studien*, V. 152). He concludes that all these passages must be posterior to Alexander the Great, and still continues to regard his calculation that this most original part of the poem was written between the time of Alexander and that of Dio Chrysostom (see *Ac. Prel.* p. 176) as the most probable.

I am not aware in which, if in any, of his writings Professor Wilson may have expressed the opinion that the Indian tenet of *bhakti* is essentially Christian. I find no express statement to this effect in his *Sketch of the Religious Sects of the Hindus*, though he there says that "the doctrine of the efficacy of *bhakti* seems to have been an important innovation upon the primitive system of the Hindu religion."

On the same general subject Dr. Böhtlingk has favoured me with the following expression of his opinion. He writes: "Neither in the *Mahábhárata* nor in later writers have I found any utterances of moral or religious import which could with any probability be referred back to any foreign source. In this department the Indians have themselves reflected so much, and presented their thoughts in such elegant forms, that with their riches they might easily supply the rest of the world. The ethics and the religion of different peoples are not so different from one another that here and there coincidences should not be expected to be found between them. The line of the *Kaṭha Upanishad,—sasyam iva martyaḥ pachyate sasyam ivájáyate punaḥ*" (like corn a mortal ripens, like corn he is produced again) "sounds as if from the New Testament, but is not therefore borrowed."

I should be glad to find that this subject attracted the attention of any correspondents whose previous studies have qualified them to discuss and elucidate it.

Edinburgh, November 5th, 1874.

II.

Dr. Lorinser considers that many of the ideas and expressions of the *Bhagavad Gítá* are derived from Christianity.

There is, no doubt, a general resemblance between the manner in which Kṛishṇa asserts his own divine nature, enjoins devotion to his person, and sets forth the blessings which will result to his votaries from such worship, on the one hand, and, on the other, the strain in which the founder of Christianity is represented in the Gospels, and especially in the fourth, as speaking of himself and his claims, and the redemption which will follow on their faithful recognition. At the same time, the *Bhagavad Gítá* contains much that is exclusively Indian in its character, and which finds no counterpart in the *New Testament* doctrine. A few of the texts in the Indian poem also present a resemblance more or less close to some in the Bible. Perhaps the most striking is the declaration of the *Bhagavad Gítá*, ix. 29, "They who devoutly worship me are in me, and I in them," as compared with *John* vi. 56, "He that eateth my flesh and drinketh my blood dwelleth in me, and I in him." But it will be observed that the condition of oneness with the speaker is different in each case; and that it is that oneness with him only that is common to the two texts. (See, however, *John* xvii. 21-23, where the same reference to the condition of the oneness is not found.)

In the *Rigveda* some passages occur which in part convey the same or a similar idea. Thus in ii. 11. 12, it is said: *tve Indra apy abhûma viprâḥ*, "O Indra, we sages have been in thee:" and in x. 142. 1, *Ayam Agne jaritâ tve abhûd api sahasaḥ sûno nahy anyad asty âpyam*, "This worshipper, O Agni, hath been in thee: O son of strength, he has no other kinship;" and in viii. 47. 8, *Yushme devâh api smasi yudhyantaḥ iva varmasu*, "We, O gods, are in you as if fighting in coats of mail." Prof. Roth assigns to the words *api smasi* in the last passage the sense of "being in any thing," being closely connected with. To the similar phrases *apy abhûma* and *abhûd api* in the other two texts he ascribes the 'sense of "having a share in,' which is, no doubt, the meaning in some passages where the compound verb occurs. In any case close connection is intended. And in viii. 81. 32, the worshipper says to Indra, *tvam asmâkaṁ tava smasi*, "thou art ours, and we thine."

The following are some instances in which I think Dr. Lorinser's renderings are erroneous:—

Ind. Ant. vol. II. p. 288: "He is far from darkness" (viii. 9).

p. 289: "Light of lights, far from darkness is his name" (xiii. 17).

"God is light, and in him is no darkness at all" (1 *John* i. 5).

The words here translated "far from darkness" (*tamasaḥ parastât*) would be better rendered by "beyond the darkness." They are not peculiar to this passage, but occur also in the *Muṇḍa Upanishad*, ii. 2. 6, and *Mahâbhârata*, v. 1712. The words *tamasas pari*, meaning "above, or beyond, the darkness," occur also in *Rigveda* i. 50. 10: "Gazing towards the upper light beyond the darkness, we have ascended to the highest luminary, Sûrya, a god among the gods." In the line of the *Bhagavad Gîtâ*, the words *tamasah parastât* are immediately preceded by *âditya-varṇam*," "the sun-coloured," "beyond the darkness." The Indian writer had thus no need to borrow this epithet from the Bible. It may be remarked, besides, that the verse viii. 9 contains many other epithets of Krishṇa as the supreme deity.

p. 291: "But if I were not constantly engaged *in work*, unwearied . . . . these worlds would perish *if I did not work my work*" (iii. 23, 24).

"My Father worketh hitherto, and I work" (*John* v. 17).

This is quoted as one of the "passages which contain a characteristic expression of the *New Testament* with a different application;" but as the author translates it the application seems to be nearly the same, as he renders the words *utsîdeyur ime lokâḥ*, "these worlds would perish," or "would sink" (*versinken*); whereas the whole context (vv. 21ff.) points to the influence exercised by the example of an eminent man on the people around him, and leads to the conclusion that the words should be rendered "these men would be discouraged," or led into error, if I did not perform good works as an example for their imitation. In Râmânuja's commentary the words are paraphrased *sarve śishṭalokâḥ*, &c.: "all good people." The sentiment expressed in v. 21 is also to be found in *Râmâyaṇa* ii. 109. 9 (Bombay ed.).

p. 291: "I who am the highest *way*" (vii. 18).

"I am the *way* . . . No man cometh unto the Father but by me." (*John* xiv. 6.)

"I am the way" (*John* xiv. 6). I am the first and the last" (*Rev.* i. 17).

p. 292: "*Dead in me*" (x. 9).

"Ye are dead, and your life is hid with Christ in God" (*Col.* iii. 3).

The phrase here rendered "dead in me" is *mad-gata-prâṇâḥ*. It is explained by Râmânuja as *mad-gata-jîvitâḥ | mayâ vinâ âtma-dhâraṇam alabhamânâḥ ity arthaḥ |* "Having your life gone to me. The sense is, not obtaining a support for your soul or self without me." The participle *gata*, followed by *prâṇa* (*gata-prâṇa*) undoubtedly means "dead," *i.e.* one whose breath is gone, just as *gatâsu* (*i.e. gata* + *asu*) does. But with a word preceding it *gata* means "gone to;" thus *hrid-gata* means "gone to, or abiding in, the heart." The compound before us therefore signifies "whose breath rests in, or depends on, me." It is preceded by *mach chittâḥ*, "having your hearts in me." Lorinser quotes Mr. Cockburn Thomson as supporting the sense he gives, but it is not adopted by Schlegel or Burnouf.

p. 293: "I am the way, beginning, and end" ix. 18; (the German of the two last words should be rendered "origin and dissolution)."

The word here translated "way" is in both passages *gati*. This I regard as incorrect. *Gati* means "going," and so, no doubt, stands for "path," but here, as in many other passages

of the Indian writings, it certainly signifies "the place reached by going," "resort," "refuge." Râmânuja explains *gati* in the second passage thus: *gati—Śakra-loka-prabhṛiti prâpyasthânam*, *i.e.* "the abode which is to be attained in (or by) the heaven of Indra."

It is further to be observed that whilst Jesus designates himself as "the way, the truth, and the life," Kṛishṇa, in one of the verses referred to, calls himself only the "unequalled abode or resort;" and in the other "the resort, the sustainer, the lord, the witness, the abode, the refuge, the friend, the source, the dissolution, the stay, the receptacle, the undecaying seed;" so that, in any case, the resemblance would be but partial, while some of the ideas in the *Bhagavad Gîtâ* are foreign to the *New Testament.* Most of the verses cited from that poem by Dr. Lorinser as parallel to texts in the Bible appear to me either to exhibit no very close resemblance to the latter, or to be such as might naturally have occurred to the Indian writer, and to offer therefore only an accidental similarity. Dr. Lorinser considers (see the note in *Ind. Ant.* vol. II. p. 286, and in p. 56 of the German original) that two Sanskṛit words denoting faithful and reverential religious devotion (*śraddhâ* and *bhakti*), which often occur in the *Bhagavad Gîtâ*, do not convey original Indian conceptions, but are borrowed from Christianity. This may or may not be true of *bhakti*; but *śraddhâ* (together with its cognates, participial and verbal) is found even in the hymns of the *Rigveda* in the sense of belief in the existence and action of a Deity, at least, if not also of devotion to his service. In pp. 103 ff. of the fifth volume of my *Original Sanskṛit Texts* a number of passages are cited and translated in which the word occurs, together with a great variety of other expressions, in which the worshipper's trust in and affectionate regard for the god Indra are indicated. He is called a friend and brother; his friendship and guidance are said to be sweet; he is spoken of as a father, and the most fatherly of fathers, and as being both a father and a mother; he is the helper of the poor, and has a love for mortals. In other texts adduced in the same volume from those ancient compositions, there may be found (intermingled no doubt with many ideas of a different and much less elevated character) the most lofty conceptions of the power, omniscience, and righteousness of the same god, or of other deities,—conceptions which, I apprehend, are quite sufficient to show that, however the question regarding the introduction of Christian doctrines and sentiments into Indian writers in later times may be determined, the people of Hindustân were not deficient in high and devout religious sentiment from the earliest ages.*

* Part of this article is a reprint from pages v—vii of the preface to the author's *Religious and Moral Sentiments freely translated from Indian Writers* (pamph. Edin. 1874.).—Ed.

Dr. BÜHLER ON THE CELEBRATED BHAṆḌÂR OF SANSKṚIT MSS. AT JESSALMIR.

Translated from the Transactions of the Berlin Academy, March 1874,

BY SHANKAR PÂṆḌURANG PAṆḌIT, M.A., DEPUTY COLLECTOR, SURAT.

Prof. Weber presented a short letter from Prof. G. Bühler, dated Bikanir, 14th February, on the subject of the collection of MSS. in the Temple-Library in Jessalmir. †

In J e s s a l m i r, which was founded about the middle of the twelfth century, after the destruction of L o d o r v a, the old capital of the Bhaṭti Râjpûts, there is a large colony of Jains. According to tradition the forefathers of these people came from L o d o r v a along with the Râjpûts, and from thence brought with them to J e s s a l m i r a most holy image of P a r a s n â t h (*Pârśvanâtha*). For this image a temple was built in the fifteenth century under the pontificate of J i n a B h a d r a s û r i, to which were gradually added six other temples dedicated to different *Tîrthankaras.* Through this temple and the wealth of the Jain community, which has spread its trade and banking business over the whole of Râjpûtâna, Mâlva, and Central India, J e s s a l m i r has obtained a high fame as one of the principal seats of the Jain faith. Especially, however, is the renown of the Bhâṇḍâr or Library everywhere celebrated, which, according to the statements of the Gujarâtis, surpasses all similar Bhâṇḍârs in the world. It was therefore one of the chief objects of my journey to obtain admittance to this Bhâṇḍâr,

† See Dr. Bühler's letter of the 29th January in the *Indian Antiquary*, vol. III. p. 89 (March 1874).—Ed.

and to make its contents accessible to science. After some trouble I succeeded in solving the mystery, and it turns out that the magnitude of the Bhâṇḍâr has been very much exaggerated, but its contents are nevertheless of great value. According to an old list, which was prepared about 90 years ago by a Yati, the *Brihajjñâna-kośa* contained then 422 different works. It is clear, however, from what I observed, that the list is made with great carelessness, and the number of books which existed at that time amounted to from 450 to 460. These MSS. are mostly written on palmyra leaves, and go back to a very ancient date. At present there is only a remnant of what was at one time a splendid collection. The Bhâṇḍâr still contains about 40 *pothîs* or bundles of well-preserved palmyra MSS., a very great mass of loose and broken palmyra leaves, four or five small boxes full of paper MSS., and a few dozen bundles of paper leaves torn and disordered. The completely preserved palmyra MSS. which are all written with a pen, not with a stylus, contain very few Jain works. Of these there are only a *Dharmottaravritti*, a *Kamalaśîlatarka*, a *Pratyekabuddhacharita*, a *Viśeshâvaśyaka*, and a few fragments of Sûtras, as well as a great part of Hemachandra's grammar (*Adhy.* I—V.), and a commentary on the *Anekârthasaṅgraha*, which, like the commentaries on almost all the works of Hemachandra, is composed by the author himself. The title of the latter work is *Anekârthakairavakaumudî*. Its discovery is so far important as the genuineness of the *anekârthakośa*, hitherto doubted, is thereby placed beyond question.

The remaining palmyra MSS. contain Brahmanical books belonging to the *Kâvya-*, *Alaṅkâra-*, *Nyâya-*, and *Chhandas-śâstras*. Of the great *Kâvyas* there are the *Raghuvaṁśa* as well as the *Naishadhîya*, the latter of which has also an old and very rare *ṭîkâ* by Vidyâdhara. (Conf. also *Catalogue of Sanskrit MSS. from Gujarât*, No II. p. 90, No. 121.) Then there is also a *Bhaṭṭikâvya* with the *ṭîkâ* of Jayamaṅgala.*

Besides we found the following larger new works: the *Vikramâṅkacharita* by Bilhaṇa or Vilhaṇa, the *[illegible]* by Upendra-Hâripâla, the *Chakrapâṇikâvya* by Bhaṭṭa Lakshmîdhara. Among these the *Vikramâṅkacharita* is of the greatest importance. It is a historical work, that gives the history of Someśvara I, surnamed Ahavamalla, Someśvara II. or Bhuvanaikamalla,† and of Vikramâdityadeva, surnamed Tribhuvanamalla.‡ All the three are well known to have reigned in the 11th century at Kalyâṇakaṭaka in the Dekhan, and to have belonged to the family of the Châlukyas, commonly known as Solankis. Bilhaṇa also relates his own history at pretty considerable length, and says that Vikramâdityadeva made him his Vidyâpati. He wrote the work, as it appears, in his old age, but still under the reign of Vikramâditya, and consequently gives only a part of the history of that prince. The work is divided into 18 *sargas*, and contains 2515 *ślokas*. Bilhaṇa has taken the *Raghuvaṁśa* for his model, and changes his metre in almost every *sarga*. He says that he writes in the Vaidarbha style, but he uses very high language. His hyperboles greatly mar the effect of his poetry. Nevertheless there are some passages that are really poetic and correspond to our tastes. Besides accounts of Vikrama's many warlike expeditions, already known to us through many inscriptions, there are many other notices that are highly interesting. Thus we learn that Someśvara II. was the elder brother of Vikrama, and was dethroned by the latter. Bilhaṇa describes Someśvara as a madman, who bore a deadly hatred towards his more talented brother, and who, after his flight from Kalyâṇa, sought to destroy him. It was with difficulty, and only at the express command of the family god Śiva, that Vikrama resolved to fight against his brother. In the battle he was victorious, and he took Someśvara prisoner. Another interesting passage is the description of a *Svayaṁvara*, which was held by the daughter of the Karahâṭapati, and in which she chose Vikrama as her consort. Bilhaṇa, while describing his own history, regrets that he should not have been able to visit Bhoja of Dhârâ. The [illegible] of Bhoja and Munja is

* Is this the name of its author? [illegible] many of the commentators [illegible] the commentary under the name of J[illegible] [illegible] ngalakâra.—S. P. P.

† [illegible] p. 141.—Ed.

‡ [illegible] p. 278.—Ed.

praised. While I refer to Bhoja, it may be mentioned that we have received from a Brâhman a *Karaṇa* of Bhoja which is dated in the Śaka year 964 (A.D. 1042), as also that the Jessalmir Bhâṇḍâr contains a fragment of a romance by the great Pramâra prince, entitled *Śṛingâramanjarîkathânaka*.

As the *Vikramânkacharita* appeared to be so very important, I resolved to copy it myself; and this undertaking, as well as a full revision of it, was finished in seven days, through the friendly assistance of Dr. Jacobi, my companion.* The MS. is excellent, corrected throughout, and annotated. It bears no date, but according to a subscription it was purchased in Saṁvat 1343 through Khetmall and Jethsingh.

The *Gauḍavadhasâra* is a Prâkṛit poem of considerable extent; it celebrates a king Yaśovarman. The MS. contains also a commentary and a Sanskrit *Chhâyâ*. The work is not divided into sargas, but into *kulakas*.

The *Chakrapâṇikâvya*, which celebrates Vishṇu, is not of great length, and probably dates from the 11th century.

The Bhâṇḍâr further contains four *nâṭakas*, viz. the *Prabodhachandrodaya*, the *Mudrârâkshasa*, the *Veṇîsaṁhâra*, and the *Anargharâghava*, the last of which is furnished with a commentary. The prose works are represented by Subandhu's *Vâsavadattâ*.

The *Alaṅkâra* is represented by very important works. Of works that are already known there is Daṇḍin's *Kâvyâdarśa* in a copy dated Saṁvat 1161 (A.D. 1105). There is also the *Kâvyaprakâśa* of Mammaṭa, with a commentary by Someśvara which I believe is new. Besides there is the *Udbhaṭâlaṅkâra*, the *Alaṅkâraśâstra* of Vâmanâcharya and a *ṭîkâ* on a portion of the *Rudraṭâlaṅkâra*, as also an *Alaṅkâradarpaṇa* (134 *ślokas*) in Prâkṛit. The first three authors are cited by Mammaṭa. A MS. of the *Udbhaṭâlaṅkâra* is dated Saṁvat 1160 (A.D. 1104), the oldest MS. of the collection. For *Chhandaḥ*, there is, besides Hemachandra's *Chhandânuśâsana*, Jayadeva's long-sought work with a *ṭîkâ* by *Harshaṭa*. The *nyâya*-works are numerous and mostly new. A complete copy of the *Kandalî* is interesting. The Sânkhya philosophy is represented by the *Aniruddhabhâshya*, the *Saptati*, and the *Tattvakaumudî*.

Among the paper MSS. is a very beautiful collection of the Jaina Sûtras from the 15th century. It contains little that is new, at least to me.

The chief value of the Library lies in the palmyra MSS., the neatness and the high antiquity of which make it most desirable that all the known works should be accurately collated through Paṇḍits. All these MSS., with the exception of the *Raghuvâṁśa*, belong to the 12th and 13th centuries.

From Bikanir† I have brought with me an almost complete *Nâṭyaśâstrâ* of Bharata, the *Setubandha*, the complete commentary on the *Śatapatha Brâhmaṇa*, the *Prâtiśâkhya* of the *Atharvaveda*, together with a kindred *Panchapaṭalikâ* and about a dozen other novelties. I have besides made a very considerable purchase of Jaina MSS. Bhatnir has given very little. The beautiful palmyra MSS. which Cunningham mentions were absolutely untraceable. For chess I have found a new work, the *mânasollâsa* of the Châlukya prince Somadeva, which describes‡ all the pleasures of Indian princes, and chess among them.

* *Vide* vol. III. pp. 89, 90.

† Added during the correction of the press from a more recent letter, Allahabad, 26th March.

‡ To this obviously belongs the fragment 794*h* in Chambers. See my Catalogue of Sanskrit MSS. of the Royal Biblioth. here, pp. 172-173; the chapter on chess is wanting there.—Weber.

CORRESPONDENCE AND MISCELLANEA.

SNAKE-WORSHIP.

At this place, a large village in the part of Kâthiâwâḍ under Dhandhuka, is a thânak of Charmâlia, a local name for the *Nâga*. It was not here when I encamped at this village last year. I am told the history of it is as follows:—

A woman in the neighbouring village of Alâu mortally wounded a cobra, and then, for fear of the Dhâṅdhal Kâṭhîs (who are the worshippers in particular of the cobra, the other branches preferring the Sun), got him conveyed on a cot to a field outside Khas, where he was found by the people in a dying state, but with hopes of reviving him they carried him to the place where the shrine now is, and spread sand for him, and put a canopy over him to shield him from the sun.

but in two days he died. Then they bethought themselves of worshipping him. But others objected that unless he rose from the dead he could not be held to be a god to be worshipped. So they waited and were duly rewarded. For, they tell me, from a hole hard by came forth a fine *nâga* exactly like the deceased, and when it was said he must have a consort, two *nâgas* followed him out in succession. Then they began to collect money to build the present shrine, which is still unfinished, not having a roof over it. It resembles a wide squat chimney, and contains, besides a live cobra wrapped in a blue cloth, a red-daubed stone said to resemble the hood of a cobra, which appears to be the actual object of worship, and a small pan for fire. This inner shrine is being encircled by four stone walls which are at present only breast-high. On its south-west corner was lying an earthen representation of the hood, coloured red, and much more like the original than the stone in the inner shrine. This shrine, though new, appears to be of great virtue, to judge from the number of strings which are hung on a horizontal rod above it, being—like a large heap of cocoanuts in one corner—the votive offerings of persons who have been cured of some pain, not necessarily snake-bite, on vowing to visit the shrine, and tying one of these strings round the place affected in token thereof.

C. E. G. Crawford.

Camp, Khas, 31st January 1875.

KÂLIDÂSA AND ŚRÎ HARSHA.

In my article on Kâlidâsa, Śrî Harsha, and Chand (*Ind. Ant.* vol. III. p. 81), I referred to a verse quoted by Śrî Harsha from Kâlidâsa, and inferred from it the chronological priority of the latter to the former. With regard to this, Mr. B. Nârâyana Iyangâr, writing from Shimogâ, has been kind enough to draw my attention, in a private letter, to the circumstance mentioned by Paṇḍit Îśvar Chandra Vidyâsâgar, in his *Sanskrit Language and Literature*, that the following lines, which occur in the *Kumâra Sambhava* of Kâlidâsa, also occur in the *Śiva Purâṇa*,—

तदिच्छामो* विभो स्रष्टुं सेनान्यं तस्य शान्तये ||

कर्मबन्धच्छिदं धर्मं भवस्येव मुमुक्षवः || *Kumâra.* II. 51.

यमोऽपि विलिखन्भूमिं दण्डेनास्तमितत्विषा || *Kumâra.* II. 23.

विषवृक्षोऽपि संवर्ध्य स्वयं छेत्तुमसाम्प्रतम् || *Kumâra.* II. 55.

Mr. Nârâyana Iyangâr states that these [illegible] in the 11th chapter of the Uttara Khaṇḍa of the *Śiva Purâṇa*.

I have not seen Paṇḍit Vidyâsâgar's *Discourse*, which is in Bengali. But Mr. Nârâyana Iyangâr has kindly sent me a translation of the Paṇḍit's remarks on these coincidences. He appears to hold that the *Śiva Purâṇa* probably borrowed these lines from Kâlidâsa, and not *vice versâ*. He bases this opinion principally on the style of the lines, as compared with other parts of the *Purâṇa*. He adds also: "I conceive that a considerable portion of what are known by the name of *Purâṇas* are not old (*prâchîna*). Unless, therefore, implicit confidence can be placed on the *Purâṇas*, it is difficult to believe that the *Śiva Purâṇa* is older than Vikramâditya's† time." And he proceeds to point out further that stanza 39 of the fourth canto of the *Kumâra Sambhava* also occurs in the *Yogavâsishṭha*.

Now in the discussion of the questions to which these coincidences give rise, it would be of importance to know the context in which the lines quoted occur in the *Śiva Purâṇa*. Especially is it so with regard to the last two lines; for in each of them we have only one half of a stanza, and what the other is in the *Śiva Purâṇa* does not appear. But having obtained a copy of this *Śiva Purâṇa*, I am in a position to point to another circumstance of moment in the inquiry. Not one of the lines above quoted is to be found in this copy,—which belongs to the library of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society. Unluckily, I have as yet failed to procure another copy. But the absence of the lines even in this one is enough to cast suspicion on their genuineness. It will be observed, too, from the extracts to be given presently, that this copy contains lines corresponding to some of those quoted above, and to the same effect. And this affords some guarantee that the other lines have not been omitted in this copy by inadvertence or the like.

The last line of the 9th chapter of the *Śiva Purâṇa*, which, if any, ought to contain the lines above set out, says ‡ ते सर्वे च मिलित्वा तं ब्रह्माणं शरणं श्रिताः and the 10th chapter opens thus:—

|| ते सर्वे च तदा गत्वा ब्रह्माणं शरणं गताः ||

|| नमस्कृत्य गतास्तत्र नम्रीभूता ऋषीश्वराः ||

|| तान्विषण्णान्सुरान्दृष्ट्वा ब्रह्मोवाच पितामहः ||

|| यूयमत्र कथं प्राप्ताः किं दुःखं भवतामिह ||

|| तदहं स्फोटयाम्यद्य यदि साध्यं भवेन्मम ||

|| इत्येतद्वचनं श्रुत्वा ब्रह्मणः परमर्षयः ||

|| देवाः सानुचराः सर्वे वचनं चेदमब्रुवन् ||

* So in Mr. B. N. Iyangar's letter. Our [illegible] of the *Kumâra* [illegible] इच्छामो.

Paṇḍit Vidyâsâgar seems from this to maintain that Kâlidâsa flourished in the time of Vikramâditya.

‡ It may be mentioned that in the following lines some obvious corrections have been made.

देवा ऊचुः ॥ भवतः किमविज्ञातं यद्दुःखं समुपस्थितम् ॥

॥ तारकाद्दुःखमुत्पन्नं भवद्दत्तवरात्परात् ॥

॥ इत्येतद्वचनं श्रुत्वा ब्रह्मा वचनमब्रवीत् ॥

॥ मत्तो नैव वधो योग्यो मत्तो वृद्धिंगतस्य च ॥

It will be observed that the lines under discussion must occur, if anywhere, somewhere between the first and the last of the lines here given. But they do not occur there, nor indeed in the whole of the section of the *Śiva Purâṇa* treating of the story of the Demon Târaka. It will be observed, too, that the last line of those just cited expresses identically the same idea as that contained in the line from *Kumâra* II. 55. If we look to other parts of this chapter, we find that while there are no lines identical with any in the *Kumâra Sambhava*, there are several expressing similar ideas in other words. Thus compare the following :—

Śiva Purâṇa.

॥ द्वयोरपि भवाञ्श्रेष्ठः सर्वगः सर्वशक्तिमान् ॥

॥ वज्रं च निष्फलं स्याद्धि त्वं तु नैव कदाच न ॥

Kumâra Sambhava.

॥ वज्रं तपोवीर्यमहत्सु कुण्ठं ॥

॥ त्वं सर्वतोगामि च साधकं च ॥

And these others, where the point is brought out in an exactly similar way in both. Kâma says in the *Siva Purâṇa* :—

॥ अन्येषां गणना नास्ति पातयामि हरं यदि ॥

And Indra replies :—

॥ यत्कार्यं मनसोद्दिष्टं तत्कार्यं कथितं त्वया ॥

Now in the *Kumâra Sambhava*, too, Kâma says—

॥ कुर्यां हरस्यापि पिनाकपाणेर्धैर्यच्युतिं के मम धन्विनोन्ये ॥

And then Indra answers :—

॥ आशंसता बाणगतिं वृषाङ्के कार्यं त्वया नः प्रतिपन्नकल्पम् ॥

Examples of this description might be multiplied, but these are enough for the present purpose.

Unfortunately I am unable to compare another copy of the *Purâṇa* with this one, but it is an old MS., bearing a date which is unluckily not *quite* clear, but which, I think, is most probably Saṁvat 1716, and which, if correct, would make it more than two centuries old.

The result is that when, in the paper alluded to above, I spoke of Śrî Harsha as quoting the line विषवृक्षोऽपि संवर्ध्य स्वयं छेत्तुमसाम्प्रतम् from Kâlidâsa, I did not say anything that need yet be withdrawn. For it is at least questionable whether that line does really occur in the genuine text of the *Śiva Purâṇa*. I may add that as to this line in particular, the evidence at present available is stronger than that as to the other lines cited at the beginning of this paper.

KÂŚINÂTH TRIMBAK TELANG.

THE RING FINGER.

To the Editor of the "Indian Antiquary."

SIR,—In a paper prepared for the London International Congress of Orientalists of 1874, Professor Hunfalvy pointed out that "in every one of the ten Turanian languages,—from Finland in the west to Manchuria, the northern portion of the Chinese Empire, in the east,—the ring-finger is known as *the finger without a name ;*" and the *Pall Mall Budget* further points out that in the Dravidian languages the word for this finger in one of similar meaning, viz. '*anâmikâ,*' *the nameless thing*, adopted from the Sanskrit and derived from '*nâman,*' *a name*, with the privative, '*a*' prefixed. No tenable explanation has as yet been suggested as to the reason for such a term being applied to the ring-finger.

The following verse on the subject,—one of those traditionary verses which, like that which enumerates the names of the "nine gems" of literature who flourished at the court of the emperor Vikramâditya, are known to all but cannot be traced to an authentic source,—is current among the Paṇḍits of this part of the country.

The little finger is called in Sanskṛit '*kanishṭhikâ.*' One name in Sanskṛit for the finger next to the little finger, on either hand indifferently, is '*upakanishṭhikâ,*' and the verse in question is always quoted as purporting to furnish the required explanation as to how the term '*anâmikâ*' came to be substituted for and preferred to '*upakanishṭhikâ.*'

It is almost needless to point out that the construction of the verse itself shows that this is not the case ; for, the enumerator of the poets did not give the name of '*anâmikâ*' to the ring-finger because, after Kâlidâsa whose name fell to the little finger as being the name of the greatest of all poets, there was no poet whose name was worthy to be mentioned and to be allotted to the next finger ; but, in consequence of his so being unable to allot the name of a poet to the ring-finger, the name of '*anâmikâ,*' which had *previously* been given to that finger, thereupon *became a term possessed of a significant meaning.*

The verse, however, is of interest as showing that long ago curiosity was felt by the natives of this country as to the explanation of the name of "the finger without a name."

To understand the verse, the native method of counting on the fingers must be borne in mind. The hands are held up with the palms towards the face, and the little finger, usually if not always of the left hand first, is bent down, then the next finger, and so on to the thumb, and then with the right hand in a similar way :—

पुरा कवीनां गणनाप्रसङ्गे

कनिष्ठिकाधिष्ठितकालिदासः ।

अद्यापि तत्तुल्यकवेरभावा-
दनामिका सार्थवती बभूव ||

"When formerly the poets were being enumerated. Kâlidâsa was made to preside over the little finger; and, because, even in the present day there is no poet equal to him, the (name of) '*anâmikâ*' became possessed of a significant meaning."

In Professor Monier Williams' *Sanskrit Dictionary* '*anâmikâ*,' *the ring-finger*, is given as a derivative from '*nâman*,' *a name*. Bearing in mind, however, the peculiar difficulty, alluded to in the extract referred to above, of bending the third finger of either hand, I would submit for consideration the possibility of the etymology being rather '*nâmaka*, fem. *nâmikâ*,' with the negative '*a*,' from '*nam*,' *bend*, like '*kâraka*, *kârikâ*,' from '*kri*;' '*pâchaka*, *pâchikâ*,' from '*pach*;' '*dâyaka*, *dâyikâ*,' from '*dâ*;' &c. A Vedic word '*anâmin*,' *unbending*, is given in the dictionary.

J. F. FLEET, Bo. C.S.

Camp Miraj, *3rd Feb.* 1875.

THE GURKHÂS.

The Gurkhâ is of Tibetan origin, but his pure Tatar blood has mingled with that of Hindu colonists, who helped to found principalities in Nepâl under Râjput chiefs. One of these was Gurkhâ, an insignificant State lying west of the Triśul-Gañgâ. In 1765 Prithi Nârâyaṇ, the then ruler of this small territory, began to supply his retainers with European firearms, and to drill them after the English fashion. Prithi soon proved a formidable antagonist to the neighbouring princes of Kâtmandu, Lâlitapatan, and Bhatgaon, in Nepâl Proper. He ultimately overpowered them, and the year 1767 saw him master of the whole country, whose inhabitants received the designation of their conquerors. The latter advanced rapidly westward, till, twenty-three years later, the fall of Almora made them masters of all the districts east of the Râmgañgâ. To use an Orientalism, a rock soon appeared in this river of success, the Emperor of China, in his capacity of defender of the Buddhist faith, sending seventy thousand men into Nepâl to avenge the plundering of the sacred Lama's temples. The Chinese marched up to the very gates of Kâtmandu, and its defenders were glad to get rid of their Mongol visitors by paying a tribute to Pekin, besides disgorging plunder. Garhwâl, however, still belonged to the beaten Nepalese, and in 1803 the Dûn also acknowledged their supremacy. The famous earthquake of that year, vulgarly regarded as announcing the British advent in the Upper Doâb, was also considered as heralding the Gurkhâ conquest, Colonel Burn marching into Sahâranpur only a few days before the men of Kâtmandu occupied Dehra. At first the Gurkhâs ruled with a rod of iron, and the once fertile Dûn seemed likely soon to become a wilderness, the inhabitants emigrating, and cultivation disappearing rapidly. An improvement, however, was inaugurated in 1810, which may be ascribed to the determined character of the Gurkhâ governors, who, though personally prone to oppression, did not suffer their subordinates to molest the people. A band of marauding Sikhs had the temerity to set the new government at defiance, and, as of old, sacked a village, lifting the cattle and enslaving the women. Two hundred Nepalese followed in pursuit, and every man, woman, and child owning the Sikh name was massacred in cold blood, except a few of the handsomest females, whose beauty purchased them their life. Slavery flourished throughout the Dûn till we rescued its people from the Nepalese thraldom. Defaulters in cases where sentence of fine had been passed invariably expiated their fault in a lifelong bondage, together with their families. Parents sold their children, uncles their nephews, and elder brothers their younger sisters. The number of Garhwâlîs sold by auction during the brief period of Gurkhâ supremacy has been estimated at so high a figure as 200,000, the prices ranging from ten to a hundred and fifty rupees a head, while a camel fetched seventy five, and a common horse three hundred.—*Friend of India*, Aug. 20, 1874.

THE TEMPLE AT KANARAK.

The Rev. T. Bailey, in the beginning of 1873, attended the large festival at Kanarak. It was twelve years since he had seen the famous temple there, and he was struck with the changes time had made. Many of the figures have fallen down, and the growth in the interstices of the stones is much more luxuriant. At the present rate of decay, a very few years will suffice to obliterate much of what has been esteemed the glory of ancient Hindu art, but which in reality surpasses in indecency anything to be seen probably in any other part of the world. About 200 yards from the temple lies the huge stone with the celebrated sculptures of the Nava Graha, or nine Brahmanical planets, upon it: these latter also are disfigured, and will soon be obliterated, by the custom of the people smearing vermilion on whatever they deem to be sacred. The failure of the Government either to remove the stone bodily, or to cut off the slab with the sculptures upon it, is distinctly ascribed by the natives in all the region to the miraculous interposition of the god.—*Friend of India*, 10th Dec. 1874.

THE URAUNS.

The Urauns have hitherto, for the sake of convenience, been classed with the Kolhs, but we find that they are not connected with the Kolarian tribes who took possession of Chutiâ Nâgpur; they show by their language and their own traditions that they are cognates of the Drâviḍian race, and a branch tribe of the Rajmahâl hill-people. They are the last of those aboriginal tribes who sought shelter in the forests of the Nâgpur plateau, and they have now been on the spot more than 1700 years. It is evident that during such a period many of their original habits have either been lost or modified by constant contact with the Mundas and the Âryan conquerors, who have been "lording it" over them ever since the confederate government of the Kolhs had to give way to the mon. archical constitution forced upon them by the ancestors of the Nâgavaṅśis. It is therefore not at all surprising to find their language stocked with Hindi and Munda words, and to see them celebrate the Munda festivals and execute the dances and many of the songs of the latter. They are somewhat inferior in physique to the Mundas, but their limbs are more pliable and enduring and full of vigour. An Uraun thinks it quite natural to dance the whole night on the Akhra (dancing-place) and to go to his work at once on leaving it in the morning. They are of an exceedingly cheerful disposition and as truthful as the Kolhs. There is only one drawback to this amiable picture of the Urauns, and that is their insatiable thirst. Drunkenness is the national vice of the tribe. Everybody drinks, and formerly it was not at all an uncommon thing to find a whole village completely drunk; now-a-days they repair in groups of two or three to the grogshops, established in every respectable Uraun village, as early as eight o'clock A.M., in order to take their morning cup.—*Friend of India*, 10th Dec. 1874.

BOOK NOTICES.

RECORDS OF THE PAST: being English Translations of the Assyrian and Egyptian Monuments. Published under the sanction of the Society of Biblical Archæology. Vol. I. Assyrian Texts, Vol. II. Egyptian Texts.

These little volumes of translations are of very great antiquarian interest, from the remote antiquity of the texts they translate, as well as their unique character. The volumes are brought out under the general editorship of Dr. S. Birch, but the translations are "printed as received, and each translator is only responsible for his own portion of the work;" and to make the volumes "as popular as possible, and make the information as simple as it can be given, the translations are only accompanied by such notes as are absolutely required to explain intelligibly a few of the more obscure passages." We could have wished that the notes had been far more numerous, and that the editor had added references from one paper to another and tried to obtain more uniformity of spelling: *e.g.* Mr. Sayce has 'Carchemish' at p. 14 (vol. I.), and 'Istar and 'Nin-cigal' (p. 135); while Mr. H. Fox Talbot has at p. 53 'Karkamish,' and 'Ishtar' and 'Nin-ki-gal' (p. 144).

The principal translators in the first volume are Rev. A. H. Sayce, H. Fox Talbot, George Smith, and Sir H. Rawlinson; and, as might be expected, the work of each is a model for the translators of ancient inscriptions: each line of the original is translated by itself, but so expressed that we read on line after line without much feeling the great difficulty which the translator has thus had to grapple with.

The Assyrian volume consists of inscriptions of Rimmon-Nirari, Khammurabi, Samas-Rimmon, two cylinders and the private Will of Sennacherib, Annals of Assurbanipal, the Behistun Inscription, Exorcisms, Private Contract Tablets, Legend of Ishtar, and Astronomical Tables. Of the Exorcisms, which are all very much alike, we may quote one—"(On) the sick man by means of sacrifices may perfect health shine like bronze; may the Sun-god give this man life; may Merodach, the eldest Son of the deep, (give him) strength, prosperity, (and) health: may the king of heaven preserve, may the king of earth preserve."

The Legend of Ishtar, the goddess of Love, descending to Hades is curious, though the narrative does not state the object of her descent. We quote Mr. H. Fox Talbot's version *in extenso*:—

"*Column* I. 1 To the land of Hades, the region of (. . . .) 2 Ishtar, daughter of the Moon-god San, turned her mind, 3 and the daughter of San fixed her mind [*to go there*]: 4 to the House of Eternity: the dwelling of the god *Irkalla*: 5 to the House men enter—but cannot depart from: 6 to the Road men go—but cannot return. 7 The abode of darkness and famine, 8 where Earth is their food: their nourishment Clay: 9 light is not seen: in darkness they dwell: 10 ghosts, like birds, flutter their wings there; 11 on the door and gate-posts the dust lies undisturbed.

"12 When Ishtar arrived at the gate of Hades, 13 to the keeper of the gate a word she spoke: 14 'O keeper of the entrance! open thy gate! 15 'Open

thy gate! again, that I may enter! [16] If thou openest not thy gate, and I enter not, [17] I will assault the door: I will break down the gate: [18] I will attack the entrance: I will split open the portals. [19] I will raise the dead to be the devourers of the living! [20] Upon the living the dead shall prey!'* [21] Then the Porter opened his mouth and spoke, [22] and said to the great Ishtar, [23] Stay, Lady! do not shake down the door! I [24] will go, and tell this to the Queen Nin-ki-gal.'† [25] The Porter entered, and said to Nin-ki-gal, [26] 'These curses thy sister Ishtar utters,[‡] [27] blaspheming thee with great curses' [. . .].

"[28] When Nin-ki-gal heard this, [. . . . .] [29] she grew pale, like a flower that is cut off; [30] she trembled, like the stem of a reed: [31] 'I will cure her rage,' she said: 'I will cure her fury: [32] these curses I will repay to her! [33] Light up consuming flames! light up blazing straw! [34] Let her doom be with the husbands who deserted their wives! [35] Let her doom be with the wives who from their husbands' sides departed! [36] Let her doom be with youths who led dishonoured lives! [37] Go, Porter, open the gate for her, [38] but strip her, like others at other times.' [39] The Porter went and opened the gate. [40] 'Enter Lady of Tiggaba city!'§ It is permitted! [41] May the sovereign of Hades rejoice at thy presence!' ‖ [42] 'The first gate admitted her, and stopped her: there was taken off the great Crown from her head. [43] 'Keeper! do not take off from me the great Crown from my head!' [44] 'Excuse it, Lady! for the Queen of the land commands its removal.'

" [45] The second gate admitted her, and stopped her: there were taken off the earrings of her ears. [46] 'Keeper! do not take off from me the earrings of my ears!' [47] 'Excuse it, Lady! for the Queen of the land commands their removal!'

" [48] The third gate admitted her, and stopped her: there were taken off the precious stones from her head. [49] 'Keeper! do not take off from me the precious stones from my head!' [50] 'Excuse it, Lady! for the Queen of the land commands their removal!'

" [51] The fourth gate admitted her, and stopped her: there were taken off the small lovely gems from her forehead. [52] 'Keeper! do not take off from me the small lovely gems from my forehead!' [53] 'Excuse it, Lady! for the Queen of the land commands their removal!'

" [54] The fifth gate admitted her, and stopped her: there was taken off the central girdle of her waist. [55] 'Keeper! do not take off from me the central girdle from my waist!' [56] 'Excuse it, Lady! for the Queen of the land commands its removal!'

" [57] The sixth gate admitted her, and stopped her: there were taken off the golden rings of her hands and feet. [58] 'Keeper! do not take off from me the golden rings of my hands and feet!' [59] 'Excuse it, Lady! for the Queen of the land commands their removal!'

" [60] The seventh gate admitted her, and stopped her: there was taken off the last garment from her body. [61] 'Keeper! do not take off from me the last garment from my body!' [62] 'Excuse it, Lady! for the Queen of the land commands its removal!'

" [63] After that mother Ishtar had descended into Hades, [64] Nin-ki-gal saw her, and stormed on meeting her. [65] Ishtar lost her reason, and heaped curses upon her. [66] Nin-ki-gal opened her mouth and spoke, [67] to Namtar her messenger a command she gave: [68] Go, Namtar! [*some words lost*] [69] Bring her out for punishment.' ☛

"*Column* II — [1] The divine messenger of the gods lacerated his face before them.* [2] The assembly of the gods was full.† [3] the Sun came along with the Moon his father. [4] Weeping he spoke thus to Hea the king: [5] 'Ishtar descended into the earth; and she did not rise again: [6] and since the time that mother Ishtar descended into Hades, [7] the bull has not sought the cow, nor the male of any animal the female. [8] The slave and her master [*some words lost*]; [9] the master has ceased from commanding: [10] the slave has ceased from obeying.' [11] Then the god Hea in the depth of his mind laid a plan: [12] he formed, for her escape, the figure of a man of clay.‡ [13] 'Go to save her, Phantom! present thyself at the portal of

* This very wild [illegible] by the writer of this Legend [illegible] of [illegible].

† Nin-ki-gal answers to the Proserpine of the Latins. Her name [illegible] goddess of the great [illegible]. She is also [illegible] with Gula or Belat [illegible] or 'Chief [illegible] 'The Lady of the House of Death,' and wife of Hea or Nin-a-zu.

‡ The end of this and several following lines is broken off, which makes the translation uncertain.

§ A principal seat of Ishtar's worship.

‖ Ironical.

☛ The end of this line is lost, and all the remaining lines of column I are similarly mutilated; the meaning in an abridged form is this,—Namtar is commanded to afflict Ishtar with the diseases of the eyes, the side, the feet, the heart, and the head. The story then says that after the goddess of Love had descended into Hades, the world soon felt the loss of her influence. But these lines, which are much broken, are better preserved in the second column, where they are repeated.

* A sign of violent grief. Forbidden in *Deut.* xiv. 1, *Lev.* xix. 28. The bleeding face betokened a Messenger of Evil News.

† Line injured: sense doubtful.

‡ The original has *as-naun*, which I have derived from the Chaldee word *sin*, 'clay.' But this is mere conjecture. The meaning evidently is, that Hea moulded a figure and breathed life into it. Hea was the god to whom all clever inventions were attributed. "*Lord of deep thoughts*" was one of his most usual titles.

Hades; [14] the seven gates of Hades will open before thee, [15] Nin-ki-gal will see thee and be pleased with thee. [16] When her mind shall be grown calm, and her anger shall be worn off, [17] awe her with the names of the great gods! [18] Prepare thy frauds! On deceitful tricks fix thy mind! [19] The chiefest deceitful trick! Bring forth fishes of the waters out of an empty vessel! * [20] This thing will please Nin-ki-gal: [21] then to Ishtar she will restore her clothing. [22] A great reward for these things shall not fail. [23] Go save her, Phantom! and the great assembly of the people shall crown thee! [24] Meats, the first of the city, shall be thy food! [25] Wine, the most delicious in the city, shall be thy drink! [26] To be the Ruler of a palace shall be thy rank! [27] A throne of state shall be thy seat! [28] Magician and Conjuror shall bow down before thee.'

"[29] Nin-ki-gal† opened her mouth and spoke; [30] to Namtar her messenger a command she gave: [31] 'Go, Namtar! clothe the Temple of Justice! ‡ [32] Adorn the *images* (?) and the *altars* (?)! [33] Bring out Anunnak §! Seat him on a golden throne! [34] Pour out for Ishtar the waters of life, and let her depart from my dominions!' [35] Namtar went, and clothed the Temple of Justice; [36] he adorned the images and the altars; [37] he brought out Anunnak; on a golden throne he seated him; [38] he poured out for Ishtar the waters of life, and let her go. [39] Then the first gate let her forth, and restored to her—the first garment of her body. [40] The second gate let her forth, and restored to her—the diamonds of her hands and feet. [41] The third gate let her forth, and restored to her—the central girdle of her waist. [42] The fourth gate let her forth, and restored to her—the small lovely gems of her forehead. [43] The fifth gate let her forth, and restored to her—the precious stones of her head. [44] The sixth gate let her forth, and restored to her—the earrings of her ears. [45] The seventh gate let her forth, and restored to her—the great Crown on her head."||

Having devoted so much space to the first volume, we can hardly do justice to the second somewhat larger one, devoted to Egyptian texts, with an interesting preface by the general editor, who also contributes the translations of the Inscription of Una, and four texts under the general heading of the Annals of Tothmes. The other papers are Instructions of Amenemhat, by G. Maspero; the War of Rameses II. with the Khita, by Prof. Lushington; Inscription of Pianchi Mer-Amon, by the Rev. Canon Cook; Tablet of Newer-Hotep, by P. Pierret; Travels of an Egyptian, by Fr. Chabas; Lamentations of Isis and Nephthys, by P. J. de Horrack; Hymn to Amen-Ra, and Tale of the Doomed Prince, by C. W. Goodwin; and Tale of the Two Brothers—in which a story very like that Joseph and Zuleika forms the turning point—by P. Le Page Renouf; with Calendar, Table of Dynasties, Weights and Measures; and a list of further texts for translation,—the Assyrian arranged by G. Smith, and the Egyptian by P. Le Page Renouf,—which lists sufficiently indicate the large extent of these literatures as already known to us. A third volume is also announced, containing among other interesting texts the Deluge Tablet and the Assyrian Canon of Berosus, by George Smith.

Essays on the Languages, Literature, and Religion of Nepâl and Tibet: *together with further papers on the Geography, Etymology, and Commerce of those countries.* By B. H. Hodgson, Esq. Reprinted with corrections and additions from "Illustrations of the Literature and Religion of the Buddhists," Serampore, 1841; and "Selections from the Records of the Government of Bengal," No. xxvii. 1857. London: Trübner and Co.

The anonymous editor of this volume informs us that the articles in it are reprints of the papers as first reprinted in the *Phœnix*, consisting of the original essays in the "Illustrations" and volume of "Selections," with numerous marginal notes, introduced into the text, from Mr. Hodgson's own copies of these two volumes. To the papers that appeared in the *Phœnix* only eight pages, completing the paper on the 'commerce of Nepâl,' have been added. Hence the present volume wants three of the papers that appeared in the "Illustrations," viz.—'IX. Remarks on an Inscription in the Rancha and Tibetan characters'; 'X. Account of a visit to the ruins of Simroun'; and 'XII. Extract of Proceedings of the Royal Asiatic Society': and of those that appeared in the "Selections"—'IV. Route from Kâthmându to Darjîling'; 'V. Route of Nepalese mission to Pekin'; 'XII. 1, Some account of the systems of Law and Police as recognized in the state of Nepâl'; and, '2, On the Law and Legal Practice of Nepâl as regards familiar intercourse between a Hindu and an outcast.' These are serious deficiencies, and all the more so

* The present legend was probably a kind of Miracle Play which was actually performed in one of the temples. Juggling tricks, which have been known in the East from time immemorial (*vide* Pharaoh's magicians), were probably introduced for the amusement of the audience. Only one is related here, but there may have been many more.

† The things commanded are now supposed to have been successfully performed.

‡ This seems to be the final scene of the Play, representing a magnificent hall or palace.

§ A Genius, who is often mentioned. Here he seems to act the part of a judge, pronouncing the absolution of Ishtar.

|| There are 13 more lines, but they are much broken, and they appear not to relate to the above legend. At any rate they belong to another Chapter of it, which has not been hitherto alluded to. A satisfactory translation of them can therefore hardly be given.

that the wanting papers are several times referred to in this reprint. Mr. Hodgson's papers are of such sterling value that we cannot but look on the appearance of this volume with disappointment: it must stand in the way of the publication of a more complete collection, and, besides the disadvantage of a double pagination for the two parts, it is disfigured by *very* numerous press errors, only a portion of which are noticed in the three pages of 'Additions and corrections' prefixed. The Index of three pages is also utterly inadequate to enable the reader to refer with facility to the very minute and varied information in the volume. We trust some worthier and more complete reprint of all the invaluable essays of the veteran who first made available the Buddhistic literature of Nepâl and Tibet to European scholars, will yet be published.

THE BUDDHIST WORKS IN CHINESE IN THE INDIA OFFICE LIBRARY.*

BY REV. SAMUEL BEAL.

There are 72 distinct Buddhist compilations in 112 volumes among the Chinese books in the Library of the India Office. Of these 47 are translations from the Sanskṛit.

1. There are two copies of a work styled the *Ma-ho-pan-ni-pan-king* (*i.e.* the *Mahâparinibbana Sutta*). I was anxious to determine whether this work resembled the Sûtra known by the same name in the Southern School (Ceylon, Burmah, &c.): and, if not, to investigate, so far as possible, the degree and character of the divergence.

The general outline is this; Buddha, on a certain occasion, proceeded to Kinsinagara, and entering a grove of *sâl* trees, there reposed. He received a gift of food from Chanda, an artizan of the neighbouring town. After partaking of the food he was seized with illness. He discoursed through the night with his disciples, and disputed with certain heretical teachers. At early dawn he turned on his right side, with his head to the north, and died. The *sâla* trees bent down to form a canopy over his head. The account then proceeds to relate the circumstance of his cremation, and the subsequent disputes, between the Mallas and others, for his ashes.

In these main features the Northern sûtra is in agreement with the Southern,† but when considered in detail the divergence between the two is great. The whole of the first and some portion of the second books of the Chinese edition is occupied by the narrative of Chanda's offering: the details are minute and wearisome, consisting [illegible] in arrangement/order [illegible]. In the [illegible] is occupied with [illegible] not [illegible] of [illegible] it has none of

it, and that the four characteristics of Nirvâṇa are these:—Personality, Purity, Happiness, and Eternity. One chief peculiarity of this book is the particular stress it lays on the fact that it was the first made of all the Vâipulya class of Buddhist works, and for that reason it sometimes gives expression to doubts whether or no it would be acknowledged as belonging to the canon. The history of Buddha's controversies with the heretical doctors Kaśyâpa, Basita, and others, is of an interesting nature, the point of the argument in every case being to prove that Nirvâṇa is the one true and universal condition of being, in opposition to all pre-existing theories respecting a future life in heaven, or that unintelligible state of existence supposed to be enjoyed in the Arupa worlds.

From the consideration of this *Sûtra* it seems likely that the plan adopted in the later (Northern) school of Buddhism, in the composition of their works (the *Mahâyana* and *Vâipulya Sûtras*), was to take the shorter and more ancient scriptures as a germ, and, by the interpolation of dialogues and discussions, and at the same time by tedious expansion of trivial events occurring in the course of the narrative, to produce a work under the same name of a totally different character. This method of development, I think, may be observed in nearly all the works of which we possess both Northern and Southern versions.

2. The above remarks apply with equal force to the *Fan-wang-king*. This is a Northern version of the *Brahmajâla Sûtra*, a work well known through the pages of the *Ceylon Friend*, in which Mr. Gogerly published a brief translation of it. The Chinese version was made by Kumârajîva about 420 A.D., but it has none

* [illegible]
† [illegible] from the Pâli, in the *Asiatic Society's Journal of Bengal.*

of the characteristics of the Pàli work bearing the same name. As an instance of the dissimilarity, the Chinese version speaks of the origin of the name *Brahmajâla* as connected with the curtain (net, *jâla*) that surrounds the domain of Brahma or Indra,* and compares the gems that adorn that net to the countless worlds of space, over all which Vairojana is supreme. Whereas the title is explained in the South as "a net in which Buddha caught the Brâhmaṇs."

The Chinese translation is only a portion of the entire work, and recounts the rules which bind the Bodhisatwa, in the same way as the *Pratimoksha* deals with the rules of the Bhikshus. All this is so foreign to the drift and object of the Southern Sûtra, that it is plain there is but little connection between the two, except in the name, which was borrowed probably to give popularity and authority to the expanded work.

3. The library possesses a Chinese copy of the *Abhinishkramana Sûtra*, under the name of *Fo-pen-hing-tsi-king*. The chief interest attaching to this book is the number of episodes (*Avadânas*) and *Jâtakas* contained in it. Some of these will be found to explain the temple sculptures at Sânchi and Amravatî and Boro Bodor. I am inclined also to think that many of the newly discovered sculptures found by the Archæological Surveyor of India at Bharahut will be explained to some extent in this work. It seems probable that the book under review is only the expansion of the *Fo-pen-hing-king*, the earliest known translation of the life of Buddha. (This work was produced in China about 75 A.D.) My reason for this opinion is (1) the similarity of name; the addition of the symbol "*tsi*" to *Fo-pen-hing* would indicate that the new work was founded upon the more ancient one. (2) I find from the Buddhist Encyclopædia *Fa-yuen-chu-lin*, that passages quoted from the *Fo-pen-hing* really occur in the *Fo-pen-hing-tsi-king*. If my opinion is correct, it will tend to a settlement of the question of the date of the legends and stories, which are mixed up in such a remarkable manner, in the history of the founder of Buddhism.

4. Perhaps the most interesting result of the examination of these books is derived from a work entitled *King-tsang-yo-shwo*. In this book there are fifty Sûtras, translated at different dates and by various scholars, all of them from Sanskrit or Pàli. The dates extend from A.D. 70 to A.D. 600. Among these Sûtras is one called the *Chen-tseu-king*; this I found to be a translation of the *Sâma Jâtaka*, which is in fact a part of the story of Daśaratha and Râma. This Jâtaka has been briefly translated from the Singalese by Spence Hardy (*Eastern Monachism*, p. 275), and I have identified it with the Sànchi sculpture found in Plate xxxii., fig. 1, of *Tree and Serpent Worship*. The Chinese version of this Jâtaka is full and complete, and I hope soon to be able to publish it. A singular circumstance connected with the title of this Sûtra or Jàtaka is this:—In the history of Fa-hian's travels (p. 157) it is stated that when in Ceylon, he witnessed on one occasion a religious festival during which pictures of Buddha's previous births were exhibited and hung up on each side of the road. Among others he speaks of the "birth as a flash of light" (the Chinese word is '*chen*'). Rémusat and his annotators having adopted this rendering in their version of Fa-hian, I was led to do the same in my own translation, although I had grave doubts at the time, and tried to explain the character of this birth by the history of the Fracolin given by Julien (II. 336). I now find that the Jàtaka alluded to by Fa-hian was the *Sáma Játaka*, of which the book under review gives an account. It is interesting to know that this Jâtaka was so familiar to the Buddhists in Ceylon at the time of Fa-hian's visit (circa A.D. 410), as it was undoubtedly to the builders and sculptors at Sânchi, some centuries (perhaps) before.

A third Sûtra in this work deserving notice is the *Ta-shing-sse-fa-king*, which is the same as the *Arya Chatushka Nirahara Nama Mahâyana Sûtra*, a translation of which has been made by M. Léon Feer (*Etudes Buddhiques*, p. 131). On comparing the Chinese with this version, I find the two agree in the main. There are one or two passages, however, much more distinctly given in the Chinese translation. For example, at the opening of the Sûtra, as translated by M. Léon Feer, there is an obscure passage which he renders "n'ayant tous pour vêtement

* The expression *aindrajâla* is a well-known one to signify "jugglery." If the net of Indra be the "curtain of stars" that enclose the atmosphere (as it were), we do not wonder that the idea of jugglery should be associated with it.

qu'un grand amulette" (Maha varma sannaddha); in the Chinese the passage runs thus—'*Kai-pi-kin-ku-ta-sze-shai-kwan*,' that is, "all of them completely armed with the helmet of their strong religious vows," a passage which, although somewhat obscure, is yet common enough in Buddhist books, denoting the power of the vow made by the Bodhisatwas not to give up their condition till they had accomplished the salvation of men (and others). Another passage, p. 134 (*op. cit.*), is thus given by M. Feer—"Le fils d'un dieu reprit Manjuçri en faveur de Brahma qui a les cheveux noués au sommet de la tête, et qui reside parmi les fils des dieux," etc., but in the Chinese version the rendering is "The Deva once more replied, Well said! Ayushmat, the Bodhisatwa ought to be untiring in the work of his religious duties, as in old time was the Brahmarája Sikhin and his associates," etc. The conduct of Sikhin is frequently alluded to in Buddhist books; he is generally indeed spoken of as one of the old Buddhas, but his exact religious conduct is the theme for constant laudation in the *Abhinishkramana Sútra*. There are several discrepancies between the Chinese text and the translation from the Thibetan, which I cannot enter into at any length; the following will serve as examples:—iv. 1: "Meditation," *Chinese* "Faith." iv. 2: "Sagesse," *Chinese* "reliance on a virtuous friend." v.: "Production de pensée à laquelle il serait dangereux pour les Bodhisatwas de se confier," *Chinese* "The Bodhisatwas ought to strive after a heart not capable of the four defilements." vi. 3: "La pensée qui consiste à ne pas espérer en la maturité parfaite." *Chinese*, "A heart that does not anxiously look for the reward of good actions." ix. 2: "Production d'un pensée pour que ceux qui transgressent," etc., *Chinese* "Having been wronged by any one, not to remember the wrong done." ix. 3: "En quelques contrées vastes et étendus," etc., *Chinese* "Not to remit any effort although dwelling in the midst of plenty (five desires)." x. 1: "Quand on est dans une maison," *Chinese* "When leading a secular life." x. 2: "Amoindrir les qualités de l'agitation," etc., *Chinese* "To practise the Dhûta rules." xi 4: "Quand on a lié sa pensée à la promulgation de la loi," etc., *Chinese* "Out of a glad heart ever to speak well of the conduct of a master of the law (spiritual master)." xvii. 2: "Le tresor caché de l'energie," *Chinese* "The treasure of dialectics, or of logical discussion." xvii. 4: "Le tresor caché de la bénédiction complète en richesses inépuisables," *Chinese* "The treasure of worshipping or paying reverence to the highest riches, *i.e.* the *Three Gems*, Buddha, Dharma, Sangha. [I may observe here, throughout the translation from the Thibetan, the expression "bénédiction complète" (vi. 4, xvi. 4, xvii. 4, xxxiii. 2) corresponds to *kwui-hiang* in the Chinese, which is a phrase employed to denote an act of *external worship*, or sometimes *mental adoration*.]

The Chinese version throws some light on the difficult passage xxii. 4: "Ne plus espérer en la transmigration, à cause du désespoir de réussir dans la réalisation parfaite de toutes les qualités;" *Chinese* "Not to resent as a personal injury (with a view to retaliate) because a friend has not been invited with others to partake of charity or hospitality."

There is a Chinese version of the "*Chatur Dharmaka*," according to the Great Vehicle. A translation of this also has been made by M. Léon Feer, from the Thibetan.* The Chinese version dates from the Tang dynasty, and was made by Devakara, a priest of mid-India. It agrees very closely with the Thibetan.

I now proceed to give a list of other Sûtras found in the work under review.

(*a*) *Fo-shwo-fan-pih-un-sing-king* (Buddha declares the causes which produce birth). This may be the same as the *Nidâna Sûtra*. The scene is laid by the banks of the **Nairañjana** river, under the *bodhi* tree; **Buddha**, lost in contemplation, dwells upon the falsity of all sources of joy and sorrow in the world. On this Mahâ Brahma, lord of the *Sa-va* world, suddenly leaves the heavens and appears before Buddha. Buddha recounts to him the causes of existence (Nidânas); these are the same as those commonly found in Buddhist books, beginning with ignorance (*avidya*) and ending with old age, disease, and death. Whereupon Mahâ Brahma worships at the feet of Buddha and departs

(*b*) *Fo-shwo-ta-sing-i-king* (Buddha relates the great and secret principles [truth] of birth). The scene of this sermon is the village of **Kuru**.

* *Op. cit.* p. 68.

Ananda having been troubled with thoughts respecting the origin of life, resolves to go to Buddha and request an explanation. Having arrived and saluted the All-Wise, he spake thus:—"World-adored, as I dwelt alone and revolved in my mind throughout the night the causes of life and death, I was greatly troubled. Would that you would deign to solve my doubts and explain my difficulties." On this Buddha proceeds to show how the perpetual recurrence of birth and death, and all the phenomena of life, result from ignorance of the causes of these things. Thus old age and death result from birth: destroy the seed of birth and there can be no old age or death (and so throughout the sermon).

(c) *Fo-shwo-u-kwo-king* (Buddha recites the history of U-Kwo) (*defend-country*). This Sûtra recounts how Buddha, when residing at Kuru, departed on a round of visits for the purpose of preaching. Having come to the village of *To-lo* (Tara?) he was requested by a young Brâhmaṇ called *U-Kwo* to admit him into his society as a novice. Buddha inquired if he had his parents' permission. On being told he had not, Buddha declined to receive him. On this U-Kwo departs to his home, and after a great deal of entreaty he persuades his parents to permit him to become a Bhikshu. This having been accomplished, U-Kwo after a time returns to his native village, and whilst there, is the means of converting the king of Kuru by his teaching. On this the king becomes a Upasaka.

(d) *Fo-shwo-wou-shang-king* (Buddha preaches on impermanency—*anitya*). This sermon was delivered at Srâvasti, in the Jetavana: Buddha declares in it that there are three things in the world that are universally abhorred, viz.—old age, disease, and death. Had it not been for these, Buddha would not have come into the world. He then recites some verses to the same effect. After which, all the audience, filled with delight, worship him and depart.

(e) *Fo-shwo-tang-lai-pien-king* (Buddha declares the changes of the future). This Sûtra was delivered at Srâvasti, in the Jetavana, in the presence of 500 Bhikshus, and all the Bodhisatwas. Buddha describes the way in which religion (the law) will be destroyed by the neglect of first principles—morality, submission, self-discipline, and so on. He tells them that there will be jealousies and divisions amongst his followers after his own departure, and warns them against the ruin which will result.

(f) *Shi-shen-nieh-taou-king* (The Sûtra which relates to virtuous principles or a virtuous *Karma*). This Sûtra was delivered in the palace of Sâgara, a Nâgarâja, in the presence of 800 Great Bhikshus, and 23,000 Bodhisatwas Mahâsatwas; Buddha declares that all the differences which exist in life, and comparative conditions of happiness, result from the previous conduct of the persons concerned. He then lays down ten virtuous principles, by acting on which there must result consequent perfection and supreme wisdom (*bodhi*). The ten virtues are purely moral and personal, relating to benevolence, love of men, self-denial, energy, and watchfulness against error.

(g) *Fo-shwo-fa-yin-king* (Buddha declares what is the seal of the law). This sermon was delivered at Srâvasti, before all the Bhikshus. In it Buddha declares that the secret, or the seal, of the law, is to perceive the unreality of all phenomenal existence, and, by a conviction of this, to arrive at deliverance. [Deliverance is spoken of as threefold, and is thus denoted, ₒ°ₒ.]

(h) *Pu-sa-sing-ta-king* (The Sûtra of the ground of the birth of the Bodhisatwa). This Sûtra was delivered at Kapilavastu, under a *nyagrodha* tree, in the presence of 500 Bhikshus. A young nobleman, called Chamah, comes to Buddha, and begs him to explain the nature of a Bodhisatwa's conduct. On this Buddha lays it down that the fundamental principle of a Bodhisatwa's character is perfect patience and forbearance, and this patience exhibits itself under four aspects. (1) When reviled, the Bodhisatwa reviles not again. (2) When smitten, he receives the blow without resentment. (3) When treated with anger and passion, he returns love and good-will. (4) When threatened with death, he bears no malice. Buddha then recites some verses (*geyas*) to the same effect. Again, he says there are four things that distinguish every Bodhisatwa. (1) He loves the scriptures, and the way of salvation practised by the Bodhisatwas: with his utmost mind he defends the cause of religion, and desires to instruct men therein. (2) He removes himself from the company of all females, and will have no business with them. (3) He ever loves to bestow charity on Shaman and Brahmâchâri. (4) He avoids over-sleep,

lest his heart should become indisposed to religion. Buddha then recites some verses to the same effect. On this, Chamah removes from his neck a beautiful string of pearls and precious stones, and offers them to Buddha. Buddha, by his spiritual power, causes them to ascend into the air, and form a canopy over his head. And now, from each precious stone, there appears as it were a man, to the number of 500, each wearing a similar necklace. On this, Chamah asks whence these persons came—to which Buddha replies, They come from nowhere; they are unreal and apparitional only, as a figure in a glass, or the reflection in a lake: and such is the nature of all phenomena, they are unreal, projected on the surface of the one reality, Supreme Wisdom (*Bodhi*). Such is the belief of the Son of Buddha, *i.e.* Bodhisatwa. On hearing this, Chamah, the four kinds of disciples, and all the Nâgas, rejoice and accept it.

(*i*) *Fo-shwo-chuen-yeou-king* (Buddha delivers the Sûtra which relates to the revolution of existence). This Sûtra was delivered in the Kalandavenuvana near Râjagriha, in the presence of 1250 disciples and innumerable Bodhisatwas. Bimbasara Râja having approached the place where Buddha was seated, saluted him and stood on one side. On this Buddha addressed him thus, "Mahârâja, suppose a man in a dream beheld a lovely maiden, bedecked with jewels; and suppose he dreamt of joys and pleasures partaken with her, would there be any solid truth in such fancied enjoyments?" "No," answered the Râja, "for it would be only a dream." "And if a man were, nevertheless, to hold the fancy that there was such a real maiden as he had seen in his sleep (or that the maiden were a real one), would this be a mark of wisdom?" "No," answered the king, "for that dream-thought had no substance and was utterly vain." "Such," continued the Buddha, "is the nature of the teaching of the heretical doctors of religion. They use words to describe things which exist not. They receive certain impressions from without, and then they lay hold of these vain impression and call them realities. They are thus bound by their own fiction, and, being bound, they become subject to all the evil consequences of their own inventions, viz.—covetous desire, anger, doubt (*raga, moha, trishna*), and perpetual cycles of birth and death. By giving up such imaginary names and laying hold of one reality, a man escapes these consequences and is set free."

(*j*) *Ta-fang-tang-sieou-to-lo-wang-king*. This is another translation of the previous work; the title is a singular one, and may be translated thus—The *Mahâ-vâipulya-Sûtra-râja-Sûtra*.

(*k*) *Shen-king-fa-siang-king* (The Sûtra which relates to the thoughts present to those who practise Dhyâna). Delivered at Srâvasti, in the Jetavana; Buddha spoke thus to the Bhikshus: "If a man, in the snapping of a finger, can realize in his mind the thought of death, and remember perfectly that all which exists must die, this is no small progress to have made—this is not the hesitation of the foolish, or the charity of the Arab (*sih kwo gen*). How much more if he can grasp in a moment the thought of the sorrow, the impermanency, the vanity, the folly, etc., of earthly things—how much more has such a man advanced in the power of Dhyâna."

(*l*) *San-kwei-wu-kiai-sse-sin-in-li-kung-tih-king* (The Sûtrâ that describes the great merit attaching to the three refuges—*trisarana*, the five moral rules, a loving heart, and rejecting the evil). Delivered at Srâvasti, in the Jetavana, for the sake of Aniruddha; Buddha speaks of a rich Brâhman, called Virama, and explains that, though he gave away all his wealth in charity, his merit would not be nearly so great as one who professed belief in Buddha, Dharma, and Sangha, and undertook to observe the five rules of a disciple.

(*m*) *Fo-shwo-hi-yeou-kan-tang-kung-tih-king* (Buddha delivers a discourse concerning the supreme source of merit). This sermon is directed to show the infinitely superior character of merit resulting from a profession of belief in the three gems to all others.

(*n*) *Li-hu-hwui-pu-sah-shwo-man-li-fo-fa-king* (Questions asked by a Bodhisatwa, called *Li-hu-hwui*, as to the right way of paying worship to Buddha). This Sûtra was delivered at Srâvasti, in the Jetavana. The interlocutor is the Bodhisatwa named in the title. He asks Buddha to explain the right method of worship. On this Buddha tells him that he should, with all his heart, pay adoration to all the Buddhas of the ten quarters, and afterwards prostrate himself on his knees, hands, and head to Buddha himself, beseeching him to bring about the salvation of all men, and cause an end to be put to

all heretical teaching. He then proceeds to direct him to worship each of the Buddhas of the different regions of space, beginning with Akshobya of the eastern region, down to Vairojana, who is placed in the nadir.

(*o*) *Fo-shwo-ti-shing-pih-fuh-siang-king* (Buddha declares what are the hundred marks of merit belonging to the Great Vehicle). This Sûtra was delivered at Srâvasti, in a palace called Po-Min. The interlocutor is M a n j u ś r î. In it is given the names of the 80 inferior signs and the 32 greater signs on Buddha's person, also 80 symbols or figures found on the soles of his feet.

(*p*) *Man-chu-sse-li-man-po-ti-king* (Manjuśrì inquires as to the character of B o d h i). This Sûtra was delivered in Magadha, on Mount Gaya, in the presence of all the Bhikshus, and those Brâhmaṇs who had been converted by Buddha; the subject of it is the nature of that condition of mind called the "heart of Bodhi" (*esprit de Bodhi*).

(*q*) *Wou-tsun-hwui-pou-sah-king* (The Sûtra of A k c h y a m a t i Bodhisatwa). This Sûtra was delivered at Râjagṛiha, on Mount Gṛidrakuṭa, in the presence of 1250 Bhikshus. The interlocutor is A k c h y a m a t i, who inquires of Buddha the nature of the heart of Bodhi (as in the previous Sûtra).

(*r*) *Ta-shing-sze-fa-king* (The Sûtra of the four rules of the Great Vehicle). This is the same as the *Mahâyana-chaturdharmaka Sûtra*. It was delivered at Srâvasti, in the garden of Jeta (and has already been referred to).

(*s*) *Fo-shwo-ta-shing-sze-fa-king* (Buddha declares the four laws of the Great Vehicle). This Sûtra has already been referred to.

(*t*) *Fo-shwo-pou-sa-sheou-hing-sze-fa-king*. Another translation of the above.

(*u*) *Fo-shwo-tsing-nih-chang-king* (Buddha narrates the obstacles in the way of a pure *karma*). This Sûtra was delivered when Buddha was dwelling at Vaisali, in the garden of the *amra* trees, in the presence of 500 Bhikshus and 32,000 Bodhisatwas Mahâsatwas. It relates to a conversation between a courtesan and a Bodhisatwa called V i m a l a n i r b h á s a (*wou-hu-kwang*). The former, having used her magic arts, prevails over the Bodhisatwa. After this, being seized with intense remorse, he comes to Buddha; the latter comforts him by an assurance that all such things are as a shadow and a dream, on which the Bodhisatwa is reassured. M a n j u ś r ì then enters into a discussion with Buddha relating to the character of the Great Vehicle.

(*v*) *Tching-u-ta-shing-kung-tih-king* (Buddha praises the superior excellency of the Great Vehicle). In this Sûtra Buddha describes the superiority of the Heart of B o d h i, and from that proceeds to define the infinite virtue of the Great Vehicle. (This Sûtra was translated from Sanskrit by Hiwen Tsang.)

(*w*) *Ta-shing-fang-kwang-tsung-chi-king* (The Sûtra which describes the nature of the D h a r a n i, used in the Yoga system of the Great Vehicle). This Sûtra was delivered at Râjagṛiha, on the Gridrakuṭa mountain, in the presence of 62,000 Great Bhikshus. It contains certain D h a r a n i.

(*x*) *Wou-shang-i-king* (The Sûtra of the highest reliance). This Sûtra, which is in two parts, contains an account of the relative merit of various actions. It was delivered in the Kalandavenuvana, before 1250 Bhikshus and various Bodhisatwas.

(*y*) *Fo-shwo-lo-niu-yin-king* (The Sûtra in which Buddha describes the conduct of an aged woman). This Sûtra was delivered by Buddha at a place called *Lo-Yin* (musical sound), before 800 Bhikshus and 10,000 Bodhisatwas. He describes the conduct of an aged woman who desired to offer him a religious gift. Having only two small coins (mites) she purchased with them a little oil; taking this to a sacred place, she used it in a lamp, to burn for his honour. The lights of all the Brâhmaṇs were extinguished, and hers alone burnt incessantly.

(*z*) *Fo-shwo-chen-tseu-king* (Buddha relates the history of S â m a). This is the ***Sáma Jâtaka*** referred to before.

(*aa*) *Tin-wong-tai-tseu-Pi-Lo-King* (The Sûtra of Pi-Lo, the eldest son of a heavenly king—(Devarâja). This Sûtra gives an account of Devarâja-kumara-Pi-Lo's visit to Buddha, during which he recites the history of the Great Brâhmaṇ, which is identical with the Avadâna translated by Stas. Julien, called "*Le roi et le grand tambour*" (*Les Avadânas*, tome I. No. 1).

(*bb*) *Fo-shwo-O-che-shai-wong-shau-ku-king* (The Sûtra of Ajatasatru's assurance). This Sûtra was delivered at Râjagṛiha, on the top of the mountain Gṛidrakuta, and contains an account of A j a t a s a t r u 's visit to Buddha, and

the assurance that he would hereafter become a Chakravartti Râja.

(*cc*) *Fo-shwo-tai-tsze-Muh-pih-king* (Buddha declares the history of Prince Muh-pih). This Sûtra was delivered at Sravasti, in the Jetavana. Buddha recounts the history of the prince Muh-pih, the son of Varanirâja. He was a beautiful child, but unable to speak; having consulted the astrologers, they resolved to put him to death by burying him alive; when on the point of being thus sacrificed, he opened his mouth and spake: he declared that, owing to rash words in a former birth, he had suffered punishment in hell. He had resolved, therefore, to remain silent, rather than risk a like punishment. (This Sûtra is one of the earliest translated into Chinese, A.D. 160.)

(*dd*) *Fo-shwo-wu-wang-king* (Buddha declares the history of the five kings). There were once five kings, one of whom was wise, the other four were foolish. The wise king wishing to convert the others, asked them their several ideas of happiness. The first said, "Nothing would delight me more than during the spring-time to wander through gardens and parks, to see the flowers and watch the fountains. This would be pleasure." The second said, "Nothing would delight me more than as a king to mount my royal horses, to dwell in a lordly court, and ever to be surrounded by my faithful subjects paying me reverence." The third said, "Nothing would delight me more than the joys of wedded life surrounded by my children, beautiful and full of grace, ever desiring to give me happiness." The fourth said, "Nothing would delight me more than to dwell ever with my parents, in company with my brothers and sisters, with the [illegible] clothed in the costliest raiment, and enjoying the melodies of song." The fifth [illegible] this spoken, the wise king replied, "All these things are vain and perishable; for me, I would [illegible] sorrow [illegible] others [illegible] "And [illegible] [illegible] the Jetavana Vihâra. Buddha [illegible] a discourse in which he declares the [illegible] kinds of sorrow which are incident to all conditions of life. In the end the four kings are converted.

(*ee*) *Fo-shwo-kiu-che-sing-fuh-ti-king* (Buddha declares the five conditions of happiness belonging to the virtuous man). This Sûtra was also delivered at Srâvasti, in the Jetavana Vihâra. Buddha declares that the virtuous man is in this life rewarded in five ways,—first, with long life; second, with great wealth; third, with graceful form; fourth, with honour and renown; fifth, with much wisdom. He then proceeds to explain the character of the truly virtuous man.

(*ff*) *Fo-shwo-Uh-lan-pwan-king* (Buddha declares the *Avalambana Sûtra*). This Sûtra was delivered at Srâvasti, in the Jetavana Vihâra. Mahâ Mugalan, by the exercise of his spiritual power, beholds his mother suffering as a Preta from starvation: on proceeding to her side and offering her food, she was unable to receive it, as it was changed into burning ashes in her hand. On this he went, with many tears, to Buddha, and declared his great sorrow. Whereupon Buddha ordains a service to be held on the 15th day of the 7th month, for the purpose of providing food for all those suffering torments of hunger as Pretas. Mugalan, with great joy, performs this service, and so provides his mother with food.

(*gg*) *Ta-fong-kwang-fuh-hwa-yen-king-sheou-sse-fun* (The charity section of the *Mahâvaipulyâvatamsaka Sûtra*). This Sûtra was delivered at Râjagriha, on the Vulture-peak mountain. It is a part of one of the most popular Sûtrâs known in China, viz. the *Fa-yen-king*.

(*hh*) *Fo-shwo-[illegible]-king* (Buddha narrates the history of Sangharâkshita). This tale is a translation of the *Sangha Pâla Avadâna*, known to us through the version given by Bournouf. (*Introd. to Ind. Bud.* p. 313 ff.) The Chinese translation agrees in the main with this version. It opens with an account of the Nâga, who had assumed a human form and become a Bikshu, but having gone to sleep, accidentally [illegible] after having been instructed in the law, he was dismissed to the Dragon Palace by Buddha; here he was visited by Sangha Rakshita, and further instructed in the sacred books. The narrative then proceeds with the adventures of Sangha Rakshita after having been dismissed from the Dragon Palace. (The details are nearly the same as those given by Bournouf.)

5. I shall now proceed to translate a short Sûtra called "Buddha's dying instruction" (*Fo-wei-kiau-king*). The interest of this work is derived from the fact that it is generally bound up in China with the *Sûtra of Forty-Two Sections*, the first Buddhist work translated into Chinese. It will be seen that it is of a primitive type, and deals entirely with moral questions. It also speaks of the *Pratimoksha*, not as that work is known to us, but as certain rules of a simple prohibitive character, affecting the life of the disciple. It would appear from this that the bulky work now known as the *Pratimoksha* is a later compilation, drawn up in fact after the introduction of conventual life among the followers of Buddha.

"The Sûtra of Buddha's dying instruction," translated by Royal Command, by Kumârajiva, a Doctor of the Three Pitakas, in the reign of Yaou (Hing), Prince of T'sin* [397 to 415 A.D.].

"Sâkyamuni Buddha, when he first began to preach, converted Ajnata Kâundinya (*O-jo-kiao-tchin-ju*); so, on the occasion of his last discourse, he converted Subhâdra. Having thus done all that was appointed him to do, he reclined between two *sâla* trees, about to enter *nirvâṇa*. It was now in the middle of the night, perfectly quiet and still; on this occasion, for the sake of his disciples, he delivered a brief summary of his law.

"Bhikshus, after my death, regard, I pray you, with much reverence, the book of the *Pratimoksha* as a light shining in the darkness, or a precious pearl found by a poor man. Let this book be your teacher and guide, even as I should be, if I remained in the world. Keep the pure rules of discipline, viz. these—not to enter on any business engagements, whether buying or selling, or exchanging; to avoid all purchase of land or houses; all rearing of cattle, or dealing in servants or slaves, or any living thing; to put away all money, property, or jewels—as a man would avoid a burning pit. Not to cut down or destroy trees or shrubs; not to cultivate land, or dig the earth; not to engage in the decoction of medicines; not to practise divination, or casting lucky or unlucky days; not to study the stars or the movements of constellations; not to predict times of plenty or scarcity; not to enter on calculations of any sort; all these things are forbidden. Keep the body temperate in all things, and the vital functions in quiet subjection. Have nothing to do with worldly engagements, either in seeking places of authority, or pronouncing incantations, or courting the rich, or planning for the welfare of your worldly relatives. But, by self-control and right modes of thought, aim at emancipation; conceal none of your faults, but confess them before the congregation; be moderate and contented with the food, clothing, medicines, and bedding allowed you [*Jul.* I. 152], and be cautious against hoarding up that which is allowed. These are the rules of discipline, the observance of which is the true source of emancipation, and hence they are called 'The Rules of the Pratimoksha.' Keep then these precepts in their purity, O Bhikshus! Let there be no careless negligence in this matter; the man who carefully observes them shall have power to fulfil all the duties of religion; the man who disregards them shall experience none of the rewards which a virtuous life is able to afford. And for this reason it is I bid you remember that the knowledge and practice of these rules is the first and chief necessity for attaining religious merit and final peace.

"If, Bhikshus, ye have attended to this point, and have observed the precepts religiously, then proceed to keep the five organs of sense in due check, not permitting them a loose rein, or to engage in the pursuit of pleasure (the five pleasures); just as a shepherd with his crook prevents the cattle from straying into the neighbouring pastures. But if you restrain not your senses, but permit them the indulgence of the five pleasures, and put no check upon them, then, as a vicious horse unchecked by the bridle hurries on and throws its rider into the ditch, so shall it be with you; your senses, getting the mastery of you, shall eventually hurry you on to the place of torment, where you shall endure untold misery for the period of an age (*sæculum*), without any mode of escape or deliverance. The wise man, therefore, restrains his senses and permits them not free indulgence—he keeps them fast bound, as robbers are held in bonds, and doing so he soon feels their power to hurt utterly destroyed. The heart (sin) is lord of these senses; govern, therefore, your heart well: watch well the heart, for it is like a noxious

* *T'sin*, a feudal state occupying the region of the rivers Wei and King. See for the date *Jul.* I. p. 322.

snake, a wild beast, a cruel robber, a great fire, and worse even than these. It may be compared to a man who is holding in his hand a vessel full of honey, and as he goes on his way his eyes are so bent in gazing on the sweet treasure in his dish, that he sees not the dreadful chasm in his way, down which he falls. It is like a mad elephant unchecked by the pointed crook—or like the ape which is allowed to escape into the tree, quickly it leaps from bough to bough, difficult to re-capture and chain up once more. Restrain, therefore, and keep in complete subjection your heart: let it not get the mastery; persevere in this, O Bhikshus, and all shall be well.

"With respect to food and drink, whether you have received common or dainty food, let it not excite in you either undue gratification or regret; and the same with clothing and medicinal preparations—take sufficient and be satisfied; even as the butterfly sips the honey of the flower and departs, so do ye, O Bhikshus, seek not more than is necessary: be satisfied with what is given to you, just as the wise man calculates the strength of the ox he uses, and gives it as much food as is necessary for it.

"Be careful, O Bhikshus, to waste no time, but earnestly to persevere in acquiring a knowledge of the true law. On the first and last nights of the month continue in the repetition of the sacred books without cessation. It is sloth and love of sleep that causes a whole life to be thrown away and lost. Think of the fire that shall consume the world, and early seek deliverance from it, and give not way to sleep. A man who indulges in immoderate sleep can have no inward satisfaction or self-respect; there is always a snake of dissatisfaction coiled up in his breast: whereas he who denies himself this indulgence is like the man who rises early, and, sweeping out his house, expels all that is hurtful, and so has continual safety and peace. Above all things, let modesty govern every thought and every word of your daily life—a man without modesty is in no way different from the brute beast.

"Bhikshus, if a man should do you such injury as to chop your body in pieces limb by limb, yet you ought to keep your heart in perfect control; no anger or resentment should affect you, nor a word of reproach escape your lips; for if you once give way to a bitter thought, you have erred from the right way, and all religious merit is lost. Patience is a virtue (*this is the literal translation of the passage* '*Jin che wei tih*'): to keep the rules of moral restraint without wavering, to exercise patience without tiring, this is the characteristic of the great man. If a man, because he does not enjoy everything as he would wish, loses patience, he is like a man who will not enter on the path of salvation because he cannot immediately quaff the sweet dew (*i.e.* attain immortality)."

The text then proceeds to speak of the advantage of moderation in all indulgences (pleasures), the happiness of a solitary life; "for they who live in mixed society are like the birds that congregate together in a tree, always afraid of the traps of the fowler; or like the old elephant in the mud unable to extricate himself. Continual perseverance is like a little fire that keeps on burning, but he who tires in the practice of religion is like a fire that goes out. Such is perseverance (*virya*).

"You ought, also, never to forget self-examination and reflection; if you neglect this, then all progress is at an end—in the practice of this you put on, as it were, a helmet of defence, so that no sword can hurt you, and no enemy get the advantage over you (*nim*, i.e. *śráddha*). You ought to keep your mind fixed in contemplation (*dhyána*)—by perseverance this power of fixed contemplation is always ready, even as water kept in the house is always ready for laying the dust out of doors. And so he who continues in the practice of *dhyána* shall undoubtedly attain wisdom (*prajna*); and this is the Deliverance spoken of in my law. And true wisdom is this: to cross the sea of old age, disease, and death in a strong and trustworthy boat. It is a lamp shining in darkness, a medicine for all diseases, a hatchet to cut down the tree of sorrow, and for this reason you ought to aim above all things to attain this wisdom, and so bring to yourself lasting benefit. A man who has this wisdom is perfectly illuminated, and needs no other eyes.

"Again, Bhikshus, if you would obtain final release, you must put away from you all the foolish books (trifling discourses) met with in the world. Think only on the words I have given you, whether in the mountain pass or the depth of the valley, whether beneath the tree or in the solitary cell: think of the scriptures

(law), and forget them not for a moment, persevere in studying them alone; I, as the good physician, knowing the disease which affects you, give this as a medicine fit for the case: without this you die. Or, like the guide who knows the way, I direct you where to go and what path to take: without a guide you perish. And now, if you have any doubts respecting the four great truths which lie at the bottom of my teaching, ask me, O Bhikshus, and explain your doubts; for while you doubt there can be no fixity."

This exhortation the world-honoured one repeated three times, but neither of the Bhikshus propounded any question, for so it was they had no doubts.

Then Aniruddha, reading the hearts of the congregation, addressed Buddha, and said: "World-honoured, the moon may scatter heat and the sun cause cold—but there can be no difference as to the truth and meaning of the four great doctrines which Buddha has placed at the bottom of his system. There is the great truth of 'sorrow' (*dukha*). Sorrow can never co-exist with joy, or produce it. 'Concourse' (the expression 'concourse,' generally translated 'accumulation,' evidently refers to the 'rush' or 'concourse' of thoughts and events, experiences and anxieties, as the true cause of sorrow), this is the true cause (of sorrow); besides this there is no other. The 'destruction of sorrow' is just the destruction of cause, 'no cause, no fruit;' and 'the way' is this very way by which the cause may be destroyed, and this is the 'true way,' and there is no other. World-honoured one, the Bhikshus are firmly fixed in these doctrines: there is not the shadow of a doubt, there is no question or difference of opinion in the congregation respecting them. The only thought which affects the congregation is one of grief that the world-honoured one should be about to depart and enter Nirvâṇa, just as we have begun to enter on the practice of this law and understand its meaning; just as in the night a flash of lightning lights up the way for the weary traveller and then is gone, and he left to wander in the dark; this is the only thought which weighs on the mind of the congregation."

Notwithstanding the assurance of Aniruddha, the world-honoured one wishing that every member of the congregation should be strong in his belief, and attain perfect assurance, again out of his compassion addressed them, and said:—

"Bhikshus, lament not at my departure, nor feel any regret; for if I remained in the world through the *kalpa* (*i.e.* to the end of the world), then what would become of the church (assembly)? it must perish without accomplishing its end! and the end is this: 'by personal profit to profit others.' My law is perfectly sufficient for this end. If I were to continue in the world, it would be for no good; those who were to be saved are saved, whether gods or men; those who are not saved shall be saved, by the seeds of truth I have sown. From henceforth all my disciples practising their various duties shall prove that my true body, the Body of the Law (*dharmakava*), is everlasting and imperishable.

"Be assured of this, the world is transitory; dismiss your sorrow, and seek deliverance; by the light of wisdom destroy the gloom of all your doubts. The world is fast bound in fetters and oppressed with affliction; I now give it deliverance, as a physician who brings heavenly medicine. Put away every sin and all wickedness; remember that your 'body' is but a word coined to signify that which does not really exist—ford across the sea of death, old age, and disease—Who is the wise man that does not rejoice in the destruction of these, as one rejoices when he slays the enemy who would rob him?

"Bhikshus, keep your mind on this; all other things change, this changes not. No more shall I speak to you. I desire to depart. I desire Nirvâṇa. This is my last exhortation."

6. Another Sûtra worthy of notice is the *Chong-Lun*, or *Pranya-mul-śâstra-taika*, by Nagârjuna. I shall proceed to give the translation of the 25th section of this work on Nirvâṇa.

(1) If all things are unreal,
Then how is it possible to remove
From that which does not exist
Something which being removed leaves
Nirvâṇa?

This section argues that if all things are alike empty and unreal, then there is no such thing as birth and death; consequently there can be no removal of sorrow, and the destruction of the five elements of existence (limited existence),

by removal of which we arrive at Nirvâṇa (what is called Nirvâṇa).

(2) But if all things are real,
Then how can we remove
Birth and death, real existence,
And so arrive at Nirvâṇa?

This section argues that we cannot destroy that which has in itself real existence, and therefore, if all things have this real being, we cannot remove birth and death, and so arrive at Nirvâṇa: therefore, neither by the theory of *Bhava*, nor by the theory of *Sûnyata* (emptiness), can we arrive at the just idea of Nirvâṇa.

(3) That which is not striven for, or "obtained,"
That which is not "for a time" or "eternal,"
That which is not born, nor dies.
This is that which is called Nirvâṇa.

"Not to be striven for," that is, in the way of religious action (*achârya*), and its result (fruit). "Not obtained" (or "arrived at"), that is, because there is no place or point at which to arrive. "Not for a time" (or not by way of interruption [*per saltum*]); for the five skandhas having been from the time of complete enlightenment proved to be unreal, and not part of true existence, then on entering final nirvâṇa (*anupadisesha nirvaṇa*)—What is there that breaks or interrupts the character of previous existence? "Not for ever," or "everlasting," for if there were something to be obtained that admitted of distinctions whilst in the possession of it, then we might speak of an *eternal nirvâna*: but as in the condition of silent extinction (nirvâṇa) there can be no properties to distinguish, how can we speak of it as "everlasting?" And so with reference to Birth and Death. Now that which is so characterized is what we call *Nirvâṇa*.

"Again, there is a sûtra which says, *Nirvâṇa* is the opposite of 'Being' and 'not Being;' it is the opposite of these two combined; it is the opposite of the absence of 'Being' and the absence of 'not Being.' So, in short, that which admits of no conditions such as are attached to limited existence, that is Nirvâṇa."

(4) Nirvâna cannot be called "*Bhava*:"
For if so, then it admits of old age and death.
In fact, both "being" and "not being" are phenomena,
And therefore are capable of being deprived of characteristics.

This means that as all things which the eye beholds are seen to begin and to end, and this is what the śloka calls "Life" and "Death" (or birth and death) Now if Nirvâṇa is like this, then it would be possible to speak of removing these things and so arriving at something fixed—but here is a plain contradiction of terms—for Nirvâṇa is supposed to be that which is fixed and unchangeable.

(5) If Nirvâṇa is Bhava (existent),
Then it is *personal*;
But, in fact, that which cannot be individualized
Is spoken of as *not personal*.

This means that as all phenomenal existence comes from cause and consequent production, therefore all such things are rightly called "personal."

(6) If Nirvâṇa be Bhava,
Then it cannot be called "without sensation" (*anuvedana*);
For non-Being comes not from sensation,
And by this obtains its distinct name.

This means that as the sûtras describe Nirvâṇa as being "without sensation" (*anuvedana*), it cannot be *Bhava*; for then *abhava* would come from sensation. But now it will be asked if Nirvâṇa is not *Bhava*, then that which is "not Bhava" (*abhava*), surely then is Nirvâṇa. To this we reply—

(7) If Nirvâṇa be not Bhava,
Much less is it nothing (*abhava*):
For if there be no room for "Being,"
What place can there be for "not Being."

This means that "not Being" is the opposite of "Being." If, then, "Being" be not admissible, how can we speak of "not Being?" (its opposite).

(8) If, again, Nirvâṇa is Nothing,
How is it called "without sensation" (*anuvedana*)?
For it would be wonderful indeed if everything not capable of sensation
Were forthwith spoken of as Nothing.

If, then, Nirvâna be neither "Being" nor "non-Being," what is it?

(9) By participation in cause and effect
Comes the wheel of continual existence,
By non-participation in cause and effect
Comes Nirvâṇa.

As by knowing a thing to be straight we also know that which is crooked, so by the know-

ledge of the elements of finite existence comes the knowledge of continual life and death. Do away with those, and you do also away with the other.

(10) As Buddha says in the Sûtra,
Separate "Being," separate "not Being,"
This is Nirvâṇa,
The opposite of "Being," the opposite of "not Being."

"Being" here alludes to the three worlds of finite existence. The absence of these three worlds is "not Being." Get rid of both these ideas, this is Nirvâṇa. But it may now be asked, if Nirvâṇa is not "Being" and if it is not "absence of Being"—then perhaps it is the intermixture of the two.

(11) If it is said that "Being" and "not Being,"
By union, produce Nirvâṇa,
The two are then one;
But this is impossible.

Two unlike things cannot be joined so as to produce one different from either.

(12) If it is said "Being" and "not Being,"
United, make Nirvâṇa,
Then Nirvâṇa is not "without sensation,"
For these two things involve sensation.

(13) If it is said that "Being" and "not Being,"
United, produce Nirvâṇa,
Then Nirvâṇa is not Impersonal;
For these two things are Personal.

(14) "Being" and "not Being," joined in one,
How can this be Nirvâṇa?
These two things have nothing in common.
Can Darkness and Light be joined?

(15) If the opposite of "Being" and "not Being"
Is Nirvâṇa,
These opposites—
How are they distinguished?

(16) If they are distinguished,
And so, by union, become Nirvâṇa,
Then that which completes the idea of "Being" and "not Being,"
Also completes the idea of the opposite of both.

(17) Tathagata, after his departure,
Says nothing of "Being" and "not Being:"
He says not that his "Being" is not, or the opposite of this.
Tathagata says nothing of these things or their opposites.

The question of Nirvâṇa sums itself up in this, that whether past, or present, or to come, it is one and the same condition of non-sensational existence. Tathagata is ever the same: if he be removed, then Nirvâṇa itself becomes a mere fancy.

The conclusion of the whole matter is that Nirvâṇa is identical with the nature of Tathagata, without bounds, and without place or time.

From this section of the *Chong-lun* we can understand the character of the entire work. It advocates the theory that the true condition of Being (*Nirvâṇa*), or the nature of Tathagata, is to be found in the conciliation of differences. Neither Eternal nor non-Eternal, personal nor impersonal—but above and beyond all such verbal limitations.

EXTRACTS FROM TARANATHA'S HISTORY OF BUDDHISM IN INDIA.

BY W. L. HEELEY, B.C.S.

The existence and importance of Târanâtha's work were first made known to Western students by Vassiliev, who used it freely in his work on Buddhism; * and the book itself was translated by Schiefner from the Tibetan, and published at St. Petersburg in 1869: but it seems to me by no means to have attracted the attention it deserves, and I have no doubt that the extracts which I have now translated from Schiefner's German will interest many readers, and serve to lead them to the book itself. Târanâtha steadily cites his authorities and shows an historical feeling very alien to the Oriental world generally; and his facts have therefore considerable historical weight. His lists of kings are full and contain many names not otherwise known. For the period after *Hiwen Thsang* his historical *data* are particularly valuable, as we are there left very much in the dark by historians, and future writers on mediæval India will have the task of comparing his statements with the monumental and numisma-

* Published in Russia in 1857; date of Schiefner's German translation, 1860.

tic evidence on which our knowledge of that period is mainly based.

Târanâtha's real name was Kun-snjing; he was born in 1575, and composed his work in 1608. He was a monk of the Jonang school, which after Tsongkapa's reforms was numbered among the heterodox schools, *i.e.* those opposed to the prevalent sect of the "Yellow mitres," though at a later period, after Târanâtha's death, it was attached to that sect.

I begin with the last chapter of the book, as perhaps the most generally interesting.

I.—*On Buddhist Art.*

"In former days human masters, who were endowed with miraculous power, produced astonishing works of art. It is expressly stated in the *Vinaya-âgama* and other works that the wall-paintings, &c. of these masters were such as to deceive by their likeness to the actual things depicted. For some centuries after the departure of the Teacher many such masters flourished. After they had ceased to flourish, many masters appeared who were Gods in human form; these erected the eight wonderful *chaityas* of Magadha,—the Mahâbodhi, Manjuśridundubhîśvara, &c., and made many other objects. In the time of king Aśoka, Yaksha* artisans erected the *chaityas* of the eight great places, the inner enclosure of Vajrâsana, &c. In the time of Nâgârjuna also many works were performed by Nâga artisans. Thus the works of the Gods, Yakshas, and Nâgas for many years deceived men by their reality. When in process of time all this ceased to be, it seemed as if the knowledge of art had vanished from among men. Then for a long course of years appeared many artistic efforts brought to light by the striving of the individual genius, but no fixed school or succession of artists. Later, in the time of king Buddhapaksha, the sculpture and painting of the artist Bimbasâra were specially wonderful and resembled those early works of the Gods; the number of his followers was exceedingly great, and as he was born in Magadha the artists of his school were styled Madhyadeśa Artists. In the time of king Śîla lived an especially skilful delineator of the gods, born in Mârwâr, named Śriñgadhara; he left behind him paintings and other masterpieces like those produced by the Yakshas. Those who followed his lead were called the Old Western school. In the time of kings Devapâla and Śrîmant Dharmapâla lived in Varendra [Northern Bengal] an especially skilful artist, named Dhîmân; his son was Bitpâlo; both these produced many works in cast metal, as well as sculptures and paintings which resembled the works of the Nâgas. The father and son gave rise to distinct schools; as the son lived in Bengal, the cast images of gods produced by their followers were called gods of the Eastern style, whatever might be the birthplace of their actual designers. In painting, the followers of the father were called the Eastern school; those of the son, as they were most numerous in Magadha, were called followers of the Madhyadeśa school of painting. So in Nepâl, the earlier schools of art resembled the Old West school, but in the course of time a peculiar Nepâlese school formed itself, which in painting and casting resembled rather the Eastern schools; the latest artists have no special character. In Kaśmir too, there were in former times followers of the Old Western school of Madhyadeśa; later on, a certain Hasurâja founded a new school in painting and sculpture, which is now called the Kaśmir school. Wherever Buddhism prevailed, skilful religious artists were found, while wherever the Mlechchhas [Mahamadans] ruled, they disappeared; where, again, the Tirthya doctrines [orthodox Hinduism] prevailed, unskilful artists came to the front. Although in Pukam [Burma] and the southern countries the making of images is still going on, no specimens of the works appear to have reached Tibet. In the South three artists have had many followers: Jaya, Parojaya, and Vijaya."

II.—*Pâṇini.* (From Chapter X)

"A companion of king Nanda was the Brâhmaṇ Pâṇini, who was born in the west

* In another place Aśoka is described as having subdued India by the aid of an army of Yaksha mercenaries; Vassiliev is inclined to connect the name Yaksha with the Yuei-chei, and suggests that they were Baktrian Greeks. The author, however, clearly treats the Yakshas as supernatural beings—a race of demigods, in the ordinary sense in which the word is used in the *Purâṇas*. A good deal may be said for Vassiliev's conjecture, if we bear in mind that Târanâtha also ascribes a special artistic style to the Nâgas, who were without doubt a particular fraternity in Kaśmir, supposed to be under the special protection of the snake-gods. Works like the temple of Amravati, which shows an obvious Kaśmir influence, were probably ascribed to Nâga architects, and if the Græco-Baktrian school, traces of whose influence are visible in many parts of India, represented the Yaksha art, it remains only to ascertain what works were ascribed to the Devas, and who they were.

in Bhîrukavana. When he asked a chiromantist whether he possessed the power of acquiring grammatical learning, and the chiromantist answered in the negative, he made the suitable lines on his hand with a sharp pair of scissors, and resorted to all the masters of grammatical lore on the earth, pursuing that study with the greatest eagerness; and as he was still discontented, he through perseverance succeeded in summoning his protecting deity to his help. When the deity showed his face and uttered the vowel-sounds *a*, *i*, and *u*, Pâṇini attained a knowledge of all the sounds that are to be found in the three worlds. The Heterodox [Brâhmaṇists] maintain that this deity was Îśvara, but have no special reasons for their belief; the Orthodox [Buddhists] on the contrary assert that it was Avalokiteśvara, and refer to the prediction from the *Manjuśrîmûlatantra*: "The Brâhmaṇ's son Pâṇini will undoubtedly, through the perfect insight of a Śrâvaka, according to my prediction, invoke by his conjurations the majesty of the Lord of the world." This Pâṇini composed the grammatical Sûtra called the *Pâṇinivyâkaraṇa*, composed of 2000 ślokas, namely 1000 ślokas on the formation of words, and 1000 of explanation. This is, moreover, the root of all grammars. Before him there were no *Śâstras* on the formation of words reduced to writing, and as no system existed which brought the subject under distinct points of view, individual grammarians, who brought special facts of language into connections of two and two, were esteemed as remarkably learned. Though it is said in Tibet that the *Indravyâkaraṇa* is older, yet, as we shall show below, though it may have penetrated earlier into the Celestial country, in India Pâṇini's grammar was the earliest. And though paṇdits assert that the *Chandravyâkaraṇa*, translated into Tibetan, agrees with Pâṇini, and the *Kalâpavyâkaraṇa* with the *Indravyâkaraṇa*, it is universally maintained that *Pâṇini's* grammar, in the copiousness of its explanations and the systematic completeness of its views, is something quite unique."

III.—*Kâlidâsa.* (From Chapter XV.)

"Kâlidâsa's biography is as follows:—At the time when the Brâhmaṇ Vararuchi was in honour at the court of Bhîmaśukla, king of Vârâṇasî, the king proposed to give his daughter Vâsantî to Vararuchi to wife. Vâsantî, however, out of pride, considering herself the more learned of the two, refused to be Vararuchi's servant. On this Vararuchi determined to outwit her, and said to the king 'Invite my learned teacher, who is a hundred-fold cleverer than I, and give your daughter to him.' He saw a cowherd of Magadha, with a handsome figure, sitting on the end of a branch and cutting the lower part of the branch with an axe; judging that this man must be unusually stupid, he had him called and after some days' rubbing and scrubbing, he carefully clothed him in the dress of a Brâhmaṇ Paṇdit, got him as far as the expression *oṁ svasti*, and told him in case he found himself before the king and his court to throw flowers at the king and say *oṁ svasti*, but if any one else addressed him, by no means to answer. But in carrying this out when the rustic threw the flowers at the king he said *Uśaṭara*. This the Âchârya (Vararuchi) made out to be a blessing, thus explaining the sense of the four syllables—'Umayâ sahito Rudraḥ, Śaṁkarasahito Vishṇuḥ, taṁkâraśûlapâṇischa rakshantu Śivaḥ sarvadâ;' which is, being interpreted,

'May Rudra with Umâ, Vishṇu with Śaṁkara,
And Śiva holding the sounding trident evermore preserve (you)!'

"Upon this Vâsantî began to ask him the meaning of different words, and when he gave no answer, Vararuchi asked 'How can you expect my learned teacher to answer a woman's questions?'; and when he had thus turned all their heads, he went away to the south. While the bridegroom was carried in triumph to all the temples, he spoke never a word, till seeing at last on the outer wall of a temple the pictures of various animals and among them that of an ox, he was delighted, and put on the aspect and manners of a cowherd. Then Vâsantî said 'Alas! it is a cowherd!' and saw that she had been played upon. She thought that if he were clever she might teach him the science of language, but on trial she found him very dull of comprehension. She became scornful, and sent her husband every day to gather flowers. In a certain locality of Magadha there was a figure of the goddess Kâlî, the work of a divine artist. To this figure he carried every day an abundance of flowers, bowed before it and prayed full of thought. When Vâsantî on one occasion

brought an offering to the goddess, and her husband had gone out at daybreak to pluck flowers, an attendant of hers concealed herself by way of a joke behind the pedestal of the goddess. She was chewing *pán* at the time, and when the cowherd as usual came to pray she handed him a piece of the betel she was chewing, which he took and swallowed, believing that the goddess herself had really given it. There and then he attained an unlimited intellectual power, and became an eminent authority in logic, in grammar, and in poetry. As he happened to hold in the right hand a day-lotus (*padma*) and in the left a night-lotus (*utpala*), Vâsantî asked him which he preferred, the beautiful day-lotus with its thick stalk, or the little night-lotus with its delicate stalk; he replied: 'In my right hand the day-lotus, in my left the night-lotus: whether with coarse or delicate stalk, take which thou wilt, O lotus-eyed!' As the lady now perceived that he had gained intelligence, she held him henceforward in high honour, and as he had shown so much reverence to the goddess Kâlî, he obtained the name of Kâlidâsa, or the slave of the dark goddess. After this he became the crown-jewel of all poets, and composed the Eight Messengers, the Cloud-Messenger (*Meghadûta*) and the others, the *Kumârasambhava*, and the other poetical Śâstras. Both he and Saptavarman belonged to the sect of the Heterodox [*i.e.* non-Buddhists]."

IV.—*Authorities*. (From the conclusion.)

"If any one ask on what authorities this work depends, let him know that although many fragmentary histories of the origin of the (Buddhist) religion, and stories, have been composed in Tibet, I have not met with any complete and consecutive work; I have therefore, with the exception of a few passages, the credibility of which proves their truth, taken nothing from Tibetan sources. As, however, I have seen and heard the comments of several Gurû-Paṇḍitas on a work in two thousand *ślokas* composed by Kshemendrabhadra, a Paṇḍita of Magadha, which narrates the history as far as king Râmapâla, I have taken this as my foundation, and have completed the history by means of two works, namely the *Buddhapurâṇa* composed by Paṇḍita Indradatta of a Kshatriya family, in which all the events up to the four Sena kings are fully recorded in 1200 *ślokas*, and the ancient History of the Succession of Teachers (âchâryas) composed by the Brâhmaṇ Paṇḍita Bhataghatî. In chronology too I have followed these three works, which agree except in some minor particulars. Their narrations have, as is obvious, a special reference to the rise of religion in the kingdoms of Aparântaka [India proper], but I have not been able to describe its history in Kaśmir, Udyâna, [Swat], Tukhâra, Koki [the Indo-Chinese peninsula], and on the different islands, as I have never seen or heard of any books on the subject.'

A GRANT OF KING DHRUVASENA I. OF VALABHÎ.

BY J. G. BÜHLER, PH.D.

The grant of Dhruvasena I, a transcript and translation of which are given below, was found a few weeks ago by the Kolis at Wallâ and came into my hands together with another *śâsana* issued by Dharasena II. Like all documents of the Valabhi kings, it is written on the inner sides of two copper plates, which are joined by copper rings. The plates in question had, when I received them, only one ring left; the second, which probably bore the seal, had been torn off. The size of the plates is eleven inches by eight. Their preservation is tolerably good. The left-hand upper corner of the first plate has, however, been smashed—probably by an unlucky blow of the finder's pickaxe. A piece four inches in length and one inch in breadth has been broken up into four fragments. Fortunately these have been preserved. The second plate is slightly damaged at the lower end,—it would seem, by the same accident which injured the first plate. This injury is more serious than the other, because it prevents me at least from making out several words. When I received the plates, they were covered in some parts with caked mud, and for the greater part with a thick layer of brilliant verdigris. At the edges the copper is disintegrated. A prolonged immersion in lime-juice removed the dirt and verdigris so far that the letters, with very few exceptions, are plainly recognizable. The published Valabhî *śâsanas* make it possible to determine the value of the characters which have remained

indistinct. The last figure of the date is, however, very troublesome. The letters of this grant have a much more antique appearance than those of any other Wallâ plate I have seen. The ळ has throughout the old form of the Girnâr inscriptions, not that resembling the modern Gujarâti letter.

Transcript.

PLATE I.

स्वस्ति जयस्कन्धावारात् खुड्डवेदीयग्रामवासकात्प्रसभप्रणताभित्राणां मैत्रकाणामतुल—१—

बलसंपन्नमण्डलाभोगसंसक्तसंप्रहारशतलब्धप्रतापः प्रतापोपनतदानमाना—२—

र्ज्जवोपार्ज्जितानुरागानुरक्तमौलभृतमित्रश्रेणीबलावाप्तराज्यश्रीः श्रीसेनापतिभटार्क्कः—३—

तस्य सुतः तच्चरणरजोरुणनतपवित्रीकृतशिराः शिरोवनतशत्रुचूडाम[णि]—४—

प्रभाविच्छुरितपादनखपङ्क्तिदीधितिः दीनानाथजनोपजीव्यमा[नविभवः]—५—

परममाहेश्वरः श्रीसेनापतिधरसेनः तस्यानुजस्तत्पादाभिप्रणामप्रशस्त—६—

तरविमलमौलिमणिः मन्वादिप्रणीतविधिविधानधर्म्मा धर्म्मराज इव विहि—७—

तविनयव्यवस्थापद्धतिरखिलभुवनमण्डलाभोगैकस्वामिना परमस्वा—८—

1. The Virâma under the ninth, and the twelfth akshara, are doubtful.

2 and 3. First ten aksharas half obliterated by the break in the plate. मौलभृत is a mistake for मौलिभृत, repeated in all the grants.

8. Last akshara half obliterated.

मिना स्वयमुपहितराज्याभिषेकमहाविश्राणनावपूतराजश्रीः परम—९—

माहेश्वरः श्रीमहाराजद्रोणसिंहः सिंह इव तस्यानुजस्स्वभुजबलपरा—१०—

क्रमेण परगजघटानीकानामेकविजयी शरणैषिणां शरणमवबोद्धा—११—

शास्त्रार्थतत्त्वानां कल्पतरुरिव सुहृत्प्रणयिनां यथाभिलषितकामफलो—१२—

पभोगदः परमभागवतः परमभट्टारकपादानुद्ध्यातो महासामन्त—१३—

महाप्रतीहारमहादण्डनायकमहाकार्त्तांकृतिकमहाराजश्रीध्रुवसेनः कुशली—१४—

सर्व्वानेव स्वानायुक्तकमहत्तरद्रांगिचाटभटादीन्समाज्ञा—१५

पयत्यस्तु वस्संविदितं यथा मया मातापित्रोः पुण्या—१६—

9. राजश्रीः is a *lapsus styli* for राज्यश्रीः as other grants read.

11. Last akshara nearly obliterated.

14. The sign used before kuśali is, as in the corresponding passages of other grants, the Jihvâmûlîya: see *Jour. Bomb. Br. R. As. Soc.* X. 21.

16. Last akshara half gone.

PLATE II.

प्यायनायात्मनश्चैहिकामुष्मिकयथाभिलषितफलावाप्ति—१

निमित्तमाचन्द्रार्क्कार्ण्णवक्षितिस्थितिसमकालीनः विहारस्य पतित—२—

विशीर्ण्णप्रतिसंस्कारणार्त्थं भूपदीपतैलपुष्पोपयोगि च सर्व्वास्मद्रा .....—३—

स्याप्रक्षेपीयः सदित्यदानकरणः सवातभूतप्रत्यायः भूमिच्छिद्रन्याये न—४—

वलभ्यां स्वभागिनेयीपरमोपासिकादुड्डाकारितविहारप्रतिष्ठापितानां—५—

भगवतां सम्यक्संबुद्धानां बुद्धानामार्य्यभिक्षुसंघस्य च पिण्डपातग्लानभेषज—६—

चीवरिकाद्युपयोगायानुपुं ड्यपरान्ते पिप्पलरुङ्खरीग्रामो दत्त[:] यतः—७—

1. First akshara half gone, as well as the last.

2. Last two aksharas very indistinct.

3. Second akshara half obliterated. Akshara 26 uncertain; several letters lost.

4. Lower part of first akshara lost. प्रक्षेपीयः a *lapsus styli* for प्रक्षेपणीयः, as the corresponding passages of many grants show.

5. Last three aksharas very indistinct, though not uncertain.

तत्राधिकृतानां यत्तत्रोत्पद्यते तदुद्ग्राहयतां न केनचित्प्रतिषेधो—८—

विचारणा वा कार्य्यास्मद्वंशजैरप्यनित्यं मानुष्यमस्थिराण्यैश्वर्य्याण्यपे—९—

क्ष्यायमस्मद्दायोनुमन्तव्यः यश्चाच्छिन्द्यादाच्छिद्यमानं वानुमोदेत स पंच—१०—

भिः महापातकैः सोपपातकैश्च संयुक्तः स्यादत्र च व्यासोक्तः श्लोको भवति ॥ स्वदत्तां—११—

परदत्तां वा यो हरेत वसुन्धरां गवां शतसहस्रस्य हन्तुः प्राप्नोति किल्बिषं—१२—

[स्व]हस्तो मम महासामन्तमहाप्रतीहारमहादण्डनायकमहाकार्त्ताकृतिक—१३—

म[हा]रा[ज]श्रीध्रुवसेनस्य... भोगिकवैकुन्थः लिखितं किक्ककेन ॥ सं २१६ माघ वदि ३—१४

6. The ल of ग्लान indistinct. But the reading is supported by the corresponding passage of my grant of Dharasena II.

7. Visarga after akshara 25 lost.

11. Seventh akshara uncertain. If it is सो the च after पपातकैः is superfluous and ungrammatical.

13. First akshara obliterated, the next two indistinct.

14. Second and fourth aksharas obliterated. Aksharas 10-14 uncertain on account of the break in the plate, third figure uncertain, दि uncertain.

Translation.

Hail! From the camp of victory, pitched at the village of Khuḍḍaveḍiya. (There lived formerly) the illustrious Senâpati Bhaṭârka, who obtained an empire through the matchless power of his friends that humbled (his) enemies by main force,—who gained glory in a hundred battles fought at close quarters,—who acquired royal splendour through the strength of a multitude of friendly kings, faithful by virtue of their affection gained by gifts, and honours, the results of (Bhaṭârka's) glory, and by (his) uprightness.

His son (was) the devotee of Maheśvara, the illustrious Senâpati Dharasena, whose bending head was reddened and sanctified by the dust of his (father's) feet,—the brilliancy of whose foot-nails was obscured by the glitter of the crest-jewels of his prostrate enemies,—whose wealth afforded sustenance to the distressed and helpless.

His younger brother (was) the devotee of Maheśvara, the illustrious Mahârâja Droṇasiṁha, comparable to a lion, whose spotless crest-jewel (received) additional lustre through his doing obeisance at his (brother's) feet,—who like Yudhishṭhira (observed as his) law the rules and ordinances proclaimed by Manu and other (sages),—who enforced the rules on (religious) obedience,—whose royal splendour was sanctified by the great gift, his solemn coronation performed by the supreme lord, the Lord paramount of the whole earth, in person.

His younger brother (was) the devotee of Bhagavat, the great feudatory prince, the great chamberlain, the great general,* the great Kârtâkṛitika,† the Mahârâja, the illustrious Dhruvasena, (always) meditating on the feet of the supreme Bhaṭṭâraka‡,—by the strength of his arm sole conqueror of hosts of hostile elephants,—the refuge of suppliants,—learned in the truth, the *Śâstras'* meaning—granting, like the tree of Paradise, the fruits of their wishes to his loving friends according to their desires.

(He), being in the enjoyment of good health, addresses (these) commands to *all* his own officials, heads (of villages), (heads) of towns, fortune-tellers,§ warriors, and others:—

"Be it known to you that in order to increase the spiritual merit of my parents, and in order to obtain according to my desires blessings in this life and in that to come, I have granted the village of Pippalarunkharî,‖ (situated) at the extremity of Anupunjya, which is not to be meddled with by our officials,¶ together with...* and together with all revenues† derived therefrom, according to the analogy of the familiar instance of the ground and the cleft,‡ to the worshipful Buddhas endowed with perfect intelligence, who have been consecrated at Valabhî in the monastery erected by (my) own sister's daughter, the Bauddha devotee, Duḍḍâ, and to the communion of the reverend ascetics (dwelling there), for the purpose of repairing the fallen and broken (portions) of the monastery, and for procuring frankincense, lamps, oil, and flowers (for worship), and for procuring food, medicine for the sick, clothing, and so forth—the grant to hold good) as long as moon, sun, ocean, and earth endure.§ Wherefore nobody shall

* Daṇḍanâyaka may mean—Magistrate, Faujdâr, or General. Here it has probably the latter sense.

† Kartâkṛitika is derived from Kṛtâkṛita, "done and not done," or "done in vain." It is evidently a technical term denoting some kind of officer, and has therefore been left untranslated. I think the five titles given to Dhruvasena are the five mahâśabdas mentioned so often in ancient grants.

‡ The Bhaṭṭâraka or 'high lord' intended is probably the elder brother Droṇasiṁha.

§ Châṭa has been translated according to Colebrooke and FitzEdward Hall, though the correctness of the translation is very doubtful. Compare also *Jour. R. As. Soc.* N. S. I. p 285.

‖ The second part of this name contains apparently a derivative from the nasalized form of the Prakrit rukha, 'tree,' and the whole appears to be an equivalent of our modern Piplod, Pipalgâm, or Pipalgabhan.

¶ The text is probably faulty, but the sense of the passage is clear from the corresponding passage of Dharasena's grant Samastarâjakîyânâmahastaprakshepaṇîyaḥ."

* The compound left untranslated refers probably to some right granted to the donee. Regarding the word 'Ditya,' which it contains, see *Jour. R. As. Soc.* loc. cit. p. 284.

† The literal translation of the compound is 'together with revenue blown and grown.' The latter two words seem to have a technical sense. Vâta, 'blown,' may possibly mean 'dry or dried,' just as upavâta (see Petersburgh Dictionary s. voce वा) and refer to the dry grass and wood. The compound savâtabhûtapratyâya is used also in my grant of Dharasena II. and the facsimile of the grant translated by Prof. Bhândarkar (*Ind. Ant.* vol. I.) has sabhûtavâtapratyaya, though the transcript published in the *Jour. Bomb. Br. R. As. Soc.* X. p. 80 omits the two participles.

‡ The bhûmichchhidranyâya is the 'reasoning from the familiar instance of the ground and the cleft or clefts therein,' or the inference that the whole includes the parts, just as a piece of land includes the various clefts therein. If it is stated in this and other grants that a village or the like is given bhûmichchhidranyâyena, it means simply that it is made over with all its appurtenances, produce, rights, &c. I have *heard* this Nyâya employed by Sâstris conversationally, but am not now able to produce a quotation from a Sanskrit work in support of its explanation.

§ The words of the whole passage are strangely transposed,—I should say, through the fault of the very ignorant engraver. I think, however, that my arrangement of them will meet with approval, as it is clear that the village is given to the monastery of Duḍḍâ in Valabhi, with the threefold object of providing the cost of repairs, of materials for worship, and of food and clothing for the ascetics. The compound dhûpadîpatailapushpagandha... is remarkable. It can only be understood as an avyayîbhâva.

cause let or hindrance to the owners of that (village) when they collect what grows there. The (kings) of our own line also, bearing in mind that humanity is frail and power transitory, should recognize this our grant. He who takes it away, or permits it to be taken away, shall be guilty of the five mortal sins and of the minor sins. And with reference to this (matter there) is also a verse proclaimed by *Vyâsa:* He who resumes land given by himself or by others, takes upon himself the guilt of the slayer of a hundred thousand kine." My own sign-manual (that) of the great feudatory prince, the great chamberlain, the great general, the great Kârtâkritika, the Mahârâja, the illustrious Dhruvasena. . . . . . Written by Kikkaka. On the third lunar day of the dark half of Mâgha, Saṁvat 216."

Remarks.

The value of the grant lies in its great age. None among the published plates go further back than to Dharasena II, the great-grandson of Bhaṭârka, while here we have a document proceeding from his third son. Its date, I think, disposes of the theory that, the plates being dated according to the Śaka era,* the beginning of the Valabhî era, 318-9 A.D., coincides with the coronation of Droṇasiṁha. For, as the first two signs on this grant, 210, are perfectly certain, if dated in the Śaka era (even allowing for argument's sake the last figure to be 9), it could not be older than 297 A.D. Hence it would be dated *twenty-one* years *before* the beginning of the Valabhî era. I think that there is a good chance that many more Valabhî plates will shortly become accessible. I refrain, therefore, for the present from any positive suggestion on the *quæstio vexata* to what era the dates of the grants really refer.

Professor Bhaṇḍârkar has published extracts from two plates which show that the Valabhî kings, though worshippers of Brahmanical deities, extended their liberality to the Bauddhas. Hence the grant of Dhruvasena I. will excite no surprise, though it may appear strange, according to European ideas, that Dhruvasena's sister's daughter should have been a Bauddha devotee and should have founded a Buddhist monastery, while her uncle was a Vaishṇava. Indian history furnishes, however, many instances of great toleration on the part of kings, both in ancient and modern times. Another interesting fact which this grant reveals is that up to Dhruvasena's time the Valabhî kings were not entirely independent, but that they continued to acknowledge some other sovereign as lord paramount. No independent ruler would assume the titles Sâmanta, Pratîhâra, and Daṇḍanâyaka. It would seem that Droṇasiṁha's coronation had not cut off the connexion of his house with the supreme power, but only altered its name.

NOTE ON RÂJATARANGIṆÎ I, 176.

BY F. KIELHORN, PH. D.

चन्द्राचार्यादिभिर्लब्ध्वादेशं तस्मात्तदागमम्।
प्रवर्तितं महाभाष्यम्॥

Thus the passage is read both in the Calcutta and in the Paris edition. So far as I am aware, all scholars who have had occasion to refer to it (Lassen, *Indische Alterthumskunde*, II. p. 486; Böhtlingk, *Pâṇini*, vol. II. Introduction. p. xv.; Goldstücker, *Pâṇini*, p. 238, note; Weber, *Indische Studien*, vol. V. p. 166) agree in considering it to be corrupt; all of them have changed लब्ध्वादेश to लब्ध्वादेशं, and in addition to this, Professors Lassen, Böhtlingk, and Weber have substituted तदागमे for तदागमम्.

The translations which have been proposed are the following:—

Prof. Lassen: 'Chandra and other teachers introduced the Mahâbhâshya, after having received his (viz. Abhimanyu's) orders to fetch it.'

Profs. Böhtlingk and Weber: 'The teacher Chandra and others introduced the Mahâbhâshya, after having received his (viz. the king Abhimanyu's) orders to come there (or to him).'

Prof. Goldstücker: 'After Chandra and the other grammarians had received from him (the king Abhimanyu) the order, *they established a text of the Mahâbhâshya, such as it could be established by means of his MS. of this work* (*literally:* they established a Mahâbhâshya

* Conf. *Ind. Ant.* vol. I. pp. 45. 60, and vol. III. pp. 235, 303.—ED.

which possessed his—the king's—grammatical document, *or*, after they had received from him *the order and his MS. they established the text of the Mahábháshya*).'

None of these translations appears to me to be tenable; for, to omit other considerations, I do not believe that the words लब्ध्वादेशं तस्मात्तदागमं can convey the meaning ascribed to them by Lassen, Böhtlingk, and Weber, nor am I aware that the word आगम is ever used in the sense of 'a grammatical document' or 'a manuscript,' claimed for it by Prof. Goldstücker.

Left entirely to conjecture—for MS. copies of the *Rájataranginí* do not seem to exist in this part of India—I propose to read the above passage

चन्द्राचार्यादिभिर्लब्ध्वा देशान्तरात्तदागमम् ।
प्रवर्तितं महाभाष्यम् ॥

and to translate thus:

'At that time Chandrâchârya and others brought into use the Mahâbhâshya, after having received its doctrine or traditional interpretation (आगमम्) from another (part of the) country.'

In support of this alteration and translation I must refer to the verse from the *Vákyapadíya*.

पर्वतादागमं लब्ध्वा भाष्यबीजानुसारिभिः ।
स नीतो बहुशाखत्वं चन्द्राचार्यादिभिः पुनः ॥'

which I have reprinted in the *Indian Antiquary*, vol. II. (Oct. 1874) p. 286. Those scholars in India and Europe to whom MSS. of the *Rájataranginí* are accessible will easily be able to ascertain how far my conjecture may be supported by the authority of the MSS., and none can be more willing than myself to adopt whatever other intelligible reading may be suggested by the latter: of hasty conjectures we have, I think, in Sanskrit enough already.

I cannot conclude this short note without protesting against the statement, which I find repeated over and over again, that at some time or other the *text* of the *Mahábháshya* had been lost, that it had to be reconstructed, &c. All we know at present amounts to this, that for some period of time Patanjali's great work was not studied generally, and had consequently ceased to be understood. We may perhaps allow a break so far as regards its traditional interpretation, but for the present we are bound to regard the text of the *Mahábháshya* as given by our MSS. to be the same as it existed about two thousand years ago.

Deccan College, February 1875.

ROUGH NOTES ON KHÂNDESH.

BY W. F. SINCLAIR, Bo. C. S.

The following notes on Khândesh are founded upon the same data as those contributed by me to the *Antiquary* respecting the races of the Puṇâ and Solapur Collectorates, viz. personal observation and communion with the people themselves, and are of course very much open to correction from any one who may have had better opportunities of forming an opinion.

The term Khândesh is of doubtful derivation. It has been supposed to refer to the title of Khân used by the Sultâns of Burhânpur, and has also been derived from Kâṇh-desh, 'land of Krishṇa' (conf. Kâṇhpur); from Tân-desh, 'the land of thirst,' in allusion to its arid plains and scanty rainfall; facetiously from Kâṇṭadesh, 'the land of thorns,' in which it certainly abounds: and finally the author of the *Ayîni Akbari* and other Musalmân writers allude to it as "Khândesh, otherwise called Dândesh," which might be derived from "Dâṅgdeśa," 'the mountain and the plain,' into which it is recognizedly divided in modern conversation; *e.g.* of two villages of the same name in the Pimpalner Tâlukâ, one lying in the hills is distinguished as Dâng-Sirwâra, and its more level neighbour as Deś-Sirwâra. I am inclined myself to believe in the derivation from Kâṇh, and to suppose that it was afterwards altered by the Musalmâns to the modern form. Krishṇa, under the name of Khaṇḍobâ, is at this day, and would seem to have long been, a favourite divinity in the country. And the taste of polite Musalmâns for alterations slight in sound but important in sense is well known to scholars: *e.g.* the Hindu Vetâlwari, or Devil's village, in this very country, is known to Musalmans as Beit-ul-bârâ—'the place of the house of God;' and the village of Bhosrî, near Puṇâ, remarkable for some miniature dolmens and stone circles and for its name—utterly untranslatable in polite pages—

was civilized by them into Bhojâpur, 'the town of the burden.'

The late district of Khândesh contained almost to an acre the country known in native conversation and to physical geography by that name—extending from the Sâtmâla, Chândor, or Ajaṇṭâ range (the first is the native name, Europeans use the other two) on the south to the Sâtpurâs on the north, and from the Hatî hills (which form the western face of the range that culminates at Gavilgaḍh) on the east to the Sahyâdrî on the west. These two latter boundaries are both broken at their northern extremities by the Tâptî and its alluvial plain, across which I would draw at each end an imaginary line—on the east a few miles east of Burhânpûr, though that city is now included in modern and official Nimâr; and on the west at the Haran Pâl of the Tâptî, a little west of Kukarmunda, though the boundary of the present district lies thirty miles further into what is really a part of Gujarât.

The country so described forms the first and easternmost member of that great fan-shaped drainage area the ribs or radii of which have for a centre or handle the Arabian Sea, and which may be said to extend from the above-mentioned Sâtmâla hills, south of which the sacred Gañgâ or Godâvarî flows eastwards into the Bay of Bengal, to the mountains which divide the Red Sea from the Basin of the Nile. The modern district, however, of which only I have any experience, has been shorn not merely of its ancient capital of Burhânpur and the upper plain of the Tâptî, but of three south-western tâlukâs—Nandgâṁ, Mâlegâṁ, and Bâglâna—added in 1869 to the Dekhan Collectorate of Nâsik. In recompense for this, it not only includes the Nowapur Peṭâ—in language, soil, and position, a part of Gujarât—but stretches an arm across the Sâtpurâs at its north-west corner to grasp the Akrânî Parganâ, whose waters flow into the Narmadâ.

There is no modern race that has made Khândesh its own, and the term Khândeśî expresses merely the accident of birth. Lying between Central India, Gujarât, and the Dekhan tableland, regions having each its distinctive population, the basin of the Tâptî has been colonized by immigrants from all these, so as to produce a wonderful mixture of tribes, prevented by the laws of caste from fusion into a homogeneous race, and using a patois like the speech of Sir Hudibras,

"A particoloured dress
Of patched and piebald languages."

It is a common thing there to hear a native address his neighbour in Marâṭhî, finishing the sentence in Hindustânî; and he will very likely be answered in a speech characterized by the use of the Gujarâtî genitive in '*na*.' The Marâṭhî, of course, prevails in the south-west, where the Marâṭhâ cultivators, called here Dekhanîs, form the bulk of the population. In the north-west Gujarâtî is the prevailing element, and in the north-east the colloquial speech of the poorest cultivators is much like the patois called Nemâḍi—a cross betwixt Marâṭhî and bad Hindî; but the Gujar element is there also very strong among the richer cultivators, and affects their speech, as might be expected.

The use, however, of Marâṭhî by the officers of the Peśwâs' and our Government and in Government schools is giving it a considerable ascendency; though Gujarâtî is here, as throughout the north of the Presidency, the language of commercial correspondence; and the Musalmâns of course stand, as usual, aloof, and disdain to learn the speech of idolaters—contenting themselves with a vocabulary as scanty as the ideas it is expected to express, and an atrociously corrupt pronunciation of what they are pleased to call Hindustânî. The most marked local tendency of all these languages, however, is to drop every possible consonant. Liquids go first, of course, as in *Ko'î* for *Kolî*, *Mâ'î* for *Mâlî;* but they are often followed by sibilants, as in *ra''ta* for *rasta*, and by gutturals, as in *Wa'jo* for *Wâgdeo*. Of course the lower you go in the social scale the stronger is this provincialism, which I cannot help endeavouring to trace to the influence of the aboriginal races, among whom it is most marked.

(*A.*) Brâhmaṇs.

(*B.*) Shankarjâtya, or mixed castes, chiefly traders and artizans.

These two classes much resemble their congeners in the Dekhan. In the third class, however, (*C*), that of military and cultivating races, we find a curious inversion of the conditions of the Marâṭhâ and Râjpût. For though the Marâṭhâs of Khândesh are not so exclusively military in disposition as the Râjpûts of the

Dekhan, they show a great approach to that character, especially in the northern part of the district, where they are least numerous; and throughout it they are known as Dekhanîs, in exactly the same way as the Râjpûts of Junnar, &c. are called Pardesîs. Although one can hardly say that their character is modified, still its shrewd unscrupulousness is perhaps more often highly developed among these descendants of emigrants and invaders than further south; while the Râjpûts, on the other hand, who are pretty numerous north of the Tâptî, are generally peaceable agriculturists, much more nearly resembling the Gujar Kunbîs, who dwell beside them, than the smart and hardy decendants of imperial armies in the Dekhan, or the martial Kshatriya of Hindustân. Many of them are *pâṭîls* and *chaudrîs* of villages; and of these a few enjoy among their own people the titles of "Râwat" and "Râwal," and something of the status of petty chieftains. These, of course, retain something of the military character of the race. These cultivating Râjpûts are never called Pardesîs in Khândesh. The Solaṅkhî, or Châlukya clan, is the most numerous. The name is here pronounced and written 'Saluṅke,' which is also the Marâṭhî name of the common *Mainâ* (*Graculus religiosus*), but whether there is any connexion between the bird and the clan I do not know.

The Gujar Kunbîs are very numerous throughout most part of Khândesh, and in the north-west the land is almost entirely in their hands. They are skilful agriculturists, and, being fully a match in acuteness and roguery for their countrymen the Wâṇîs, are more free from debt—and indeed more apt to have others in theirs—than any other body of cultivators that I know. There are several castes of them not easily distinguishable, but the following are the chief divisions:—The Rewas derive their name from the goddess-river Rewa or Narmadâ, whom they reverence exceedingly. They are, I believe, identical with the caste called 'Lewa' in Ahmadâbâd, but inquiries made in 1872 proved them to be free from the practice of infanticide, of which these last are accused.

The Pâznîs claim to be a branch of the Rewas, which the latter do not admit. Neither of these eat meat; a third caste, the Dodhe Gujars, do—in some villages, at any rate.

The Therol Kunbis profess to be immigrants from a place called Therol, in Hindustân, which I have never been able to identify. There is a place of this name on the Pûrna river in the Edalâbâd Peṭâ of Khândesh itself. They also eat meat, and are not so strongly distinguished from the Marâṭhâs as are the three castes of Gujar Kunbis.

The late Major Forsyth, in his *Report upon the Settlement of Nimâr*, published by the Government of the Central Provinces, alludes cursorily to this caste, but also mentions another of the same name, descended from a colony said to have been imported by the Peśwâs from the Dekhan "in 600 carts;" of whom some settled in what is now British Nimâr, and some near Kargûnd, in Holkar's territory. These were probably Tilûri Kunbîs, a race well known in the North Koṅkan, but not (as far as I am aware) found above the Ghâṭs. I have already mentioned* that some villages on the Tâptî are inhabited and cultivated chiefly by Nahâvis or barbers, and some on the Gîrnâ by Parits or washermen. In both cases they are supposed to be immigrants from Hindustân or Central India, and in both they have become much assimilated to their agricultural neighbours. None of these cultivating races care much about the service of Government, either military or civil.

A peculiar race called Âlwâlâs cultivate the *Âl* (*Morinda citrifolia*) and nothing else. I do not know much of them personally, but there is a full account of them in Major Forsyth's *Report* already quoted. The Mâlîs are the same here as in the Dekhan, and there are no Liṅgâyat or Jain cultivators in Khândesh.

Râthoḍ Râjpûts from Mârwâr; Makrânîs; Arabs; Rohillâs, and Pathâns from the Panjâb and Afghanistân are found in the employ of merchants as treasure-guards.

* *Ind. Ant.* vol. III. p. 76.

THE DVAIASHARÂYA.

(*Continued from p. 77.*)

The Sixth Sarga.

Some time afterwards a son was born to Mularâja, named Châmand Râja. From his childhood this prince was very clever, and was fond of going to the Rudra Prasâda,† where the elders assembled, that he might hear the *Mahâ-*

† The Rudra Mâlâ Temple at Siddhapur.

bhârata. Once on a time, the prince, making his salutation to the Râja, sat down in the court: at that time the Râja of Aṅgadeśa brought a chariot to present to Mularâja. On his informing the stick-bearer, he came and told Mularâja of the offering the Aṅga Râja had brought to propitiate him. He described the presents of elephants, jewels, &c., and praised the jewels for their richness which the Râja, who lived on the sea-shore, had brought with him. "O Râja! the king of Vanavâsadeśa has brought a present with great submission: in his country much gold is found. O King! this Râja of Devagiri has come agreeing to pay a proper yearly tribute. The Râja of the great city of Kolhâpur has brought the *Padmaraya* and other jewels as a gift: the Kaśmir Râja has brought musk—much esteemed in his country. The Râja of Kurudeśa has brought a five-coloured *chattra* that may be used either in the heat or in the rains. Pânchâla Râja of Kampilya city in Pânchâladeśa has brought cows and slaves. Dvârapa Râja of Lâṭa, who enjoys the south country, has brought slaves and an elephant—one of a bad character." When he had said this, the Râja, looking at the Kuṅvarji, asked—"What kind of an elephant is this that is of a bad character?" The Kuṅvarji rising looked at the elephant, and, examining it according to the *śâstras* for that purpose composed by Bṛihaspati, said—"Its tail is like a dog's: whatever râja keeps it in his court destroys both himself and his race. The reason why the Râja of Lâṭadeśa has sent such an incarnation of death must be that he is envious, having heard of your fame. Send therefore an army to destroy him. I too am ready to go." When he heard this the Râja replied—"Son! the *muhurta* is not good now; wait a little." Then they gave back the elephant to them that brought it, with contempt of the Lâṭa people, who returned home without honour.

The next day Mularâja with his son and an army started to attack Lâṭadeśa. Mularâja advanced to the banks of the Śchabhravatî (श्वभ्रवती) (? Narmadâ), the limits of his kingdom. The women of Sûryapur who were washing in that river, seeing the troops of Mularâja, fled away. The women of Lâṭadeśa were thick-waisted, and therefore not good-looking, and dirty as if they were always beside the cooking-fires. On the banks of the Śchabhravatî is the city of Bhṛigukachhâ (Bharuch), of which the people, in dread of Mularâja's army, fled in all directions. The Râja of Lâṭa, bringing his army, prepared for a contest. To attack him Châmand Râja advanced. The Lâṭa Râja was not valorous, so Châmand Râja knew there would be no trouble in overcoming him. To his son's assistance Mularâja sent certain Râjas and troops. The Kuṅvar's army defeated that of Lâta. The island (*dvîpa*) kings were on the side of the Lâṭa Râja. In this contest the Kuṅvarji overcame, slaying his enemy. He returned to salute his father because of his victory. Mularâja embraced the Kuṅvar affectionately. Then came Mularâja and the Kuṅvar to Anahiḷḷapura. Mularâja sent for his principal ministers, the *gors*, the paṇḍits and the astrologers, in order to perform the inauguration of his son. They answered that Châmand Raja was worthy of the throne, and that the *muhurta* was favourable. Then the Râja caused the Kuṅvarji to be inaugurated.* After this Mularâja presented many kinds of gifts to the Brâhmaṇs at Śrîsthala (*Siddhapur*), on the banks of the Sarasvatî, and then mounted the funeral pile.

The Seventh Sarga.

After this Châmand Râja managed the affairs of the kingdom well. He increased his treasures, his army, and his fame. Châmand Râja was deficient in nothing, and he preserved the land-gift that his father had bequeathed to him. To Châmand a son named Vallabha Râja was born: he too became skilled in kingcraft and fit for the throne. This prince even in his childhood began to learn wisdom (*vidya*): in his amusements with the boys he played at apprehending thieves as well as at *gedi deḍa*, and practised martial exercises with a little bow and arrows. Vallabha Râja grew up condescending and brave: therefore the king was greatly pleased in heart, and the enemies, who had looked forward in expectation of living in quiet after Châmand Râja's decease, lost that hope. Châmand Râja had another son, named Durlabha Râja: he too became so full of exploits, that for fear of him no Asura could lift up his head. When the Joshîs examined this Kuṅvar's *janmotrî*, they pronounced with confidence that the prince would

* In A.D. 997.

be celebrated for great exploits: that he would conquer his enemies, encourage the practice of wisdom, and become a Mahârâjâdhirâja.

Durlabha Râja and his elder brother Vallabha Râja pursued their studies together, and had great affection for each other, setting their father before them as an example. Afterwards Châmand Râja had a third son, named Nâga Râja.

Once on a time Châmand Râja, inflamed by sensual passion, did wrong to his sister Châchiṇi Devî: to expiate this sin he placed Vallabha Râja on the throne, and went on a pilgrimage to Kâśi. By the way the Râja of Mâlwâ took from him the umbrella, *châmar*, and other insignia of royalty. Châmand, having accomplished his pilgrimage to Kâśi, returned to Paṭṭan, and said to Vallabha Râja—"If you are my son, go and punish the Mâlwâ Râja." In obedience to this order, Vallabha Râja, taking his army, advanced towards Mâlwâ.

On his way to Mâlwâ several kings, bringing presents in their hands, came to meet Vallabha Râja. They said to him—"Going by this route the Pârâpârâ river and the Sindhuśindhu river must be crossed: therefore be pleased to take the way of Kuntaladeśa,* and you will not have to cross these rivers." Then he went by that road. Afterwards, as fate had decreed, Vallabha Râja was afflicted in his person with the disease called *śîtalâ* (small-pox), which no physician was able to cure. Then Vallabha Râja, abandoning the hope of battle, began to pray to Parmeśvara and to perform religious rites. The Pradhân and the Senâpati then said to Vallabha Râja—"Let us now return to Anahiḷḷapur:" and Vallabha Râja replied—"If at this time you do not manage with great care, you will cause the loss of the throne of Anahiḷḷapur to my race. Wherefore, without allowing the news of my death to get abroad, do you go back to Anahiḷḷapur." Saying thus, Vallabha Râja sent the army back and died there (A.D. 1010).

With great sorrow the army returned home, and entered Paṭṭan, and with deep grief related the whole matter to Râja Châmand. For his son the Râja lamented much. Then, in order to depart to Śukla Tîrtha to perform penances, the Râja seated Durlabha on the throne, and retired to Śukla Tîrtha,† on the banks of the Narmadâ, where he died.

After that Durlabha Râja managed the affairs of the kingdom after a good fashion. This Durlabha Râja bravely conquered the Asuras, and performed religious acts, building temples, &c.

Śrî Jineśvara Suri gave instructions to this Durlabha Râja: therefore, being informed in the rudiments of the Jaina religion, he travelled in the good way of pity for living things.

After this Durlabha Râja's sister, as a Swayamvara, chose Mahendra, the Râja of Mârwâḍ, for her husband.

According to the practice of his ancestors, this Durlabha also employed himself in defeating his enemies, &c. Once it happened that Durlabha Râja went in great splendour into Mârvâḍdeśa, to the Râja of Naduldeśa, and to the city of Mahendra Râja. Then Mahendra Râja advanced many *kos* to meet him, received him with due respect, and laid presents before him. Durlabha Râja wished to marry Mahendra Râja's sister. Durlabha was exceedingly handsome: the *Swayamvara-maṇḍapa* was erected for the nuptials of Mahendra Râja's sister: into the *maṇḍapa* Durlabha entered and seated himself, wherefore the *Swayamvara-maṇḍapa* appeared very splendid. Many other kings also graced the *maṇḍapa* with their presence. Into that assembly came Durlabha Devî, the sister of Mahendra Râja, to select as bridegroom him that pleased her. She was attended by a *chobdâr's* wife, who, naming the Râjas, enabled her to recognize them. When they saw Durlabha Devî, each of the Râjas wished in his heart that the damsel would speedily select him. In this assembly were the Râjas of Aṅgadeśa, of Kâśi, of Ujjaina, of Vaidîdeśa, of Kurudeśa, of Mâthuradeśa, of Andradeśa. The Chobdâr's wife kept telling the Kuṅvarî of the actions of all these Râjas; afterwards she said to her,—"This is the king of Gujarâtdeśa, in whose country Lakshmî and Sarasvatî dwell together in union: this king's name is Durlabha Râja—the meaning of which is that she who has performed much penance will obtain him. Your name too is Durlabha Devî, therefore there is a union of the

* Part of Belâri or Advânî? see *As. Res.* vol. IX. p. 435.

† Near Bharuch.

names of you both, which according to the *jyotishyaśâstra* is very fortunate."

Then Durlabha Devî threw on the Râja's neck the *varmâlâ* that she held in her hand. Then were all the other kings enraged at Durlabha Râja. The Brâhmaṇs now advancing performed, according to the *Śâstra* rules, the marriage ceremony. Mahendra Râja gave horses, &c. with much wealth, to the Châlukya as *peherâmaṇî*. Afterwards Mahendra Râja married his younger sister to Nâga Râja, the younger brother of Durlabha. With their brides, Durlabha Râja and Nâga Râja set off towards Paṭṭan, Mahendra Râja attending them for many a *kos*.

The Râjas who had come in the hope of gaining Durlabha Devî in marriage had already taken the road, in order to fight with Durlabha Râja. They came prepared for battle. The armies of enemies rose up on all sides as fire in the forest; but Durlabha Râja was noways dismayed. Ashamed of fighting with these shameless ones,—instead of fighting with them, Durlabha at that time merely warded off their weapons. Some of the kings, however, Durlabha Râja smote with arrows. The Râja of Aṅgadeśa gave up the fight and submitted to Durlabha Râja; the Mâlwâ Râja threw down his weapons; the Râja of Hundeśa fled away; the Mâthura Râja went to call to his aid the Turks and mountaineers: the Râja of Andradeśa was wounded; the Vaidia Râja, the Kuru Râja, and the Kâśî Râja, with others, fled with blackened faces. Thus gaining the victory, with great splendour Durlabha Râja entered Paṭṭan.

The Eighth Sarga.

After this Durlabha's younger brother, Nâga Râja, had a son named Bhima.* Mortals owe three debts,—First, *Brahmakshana;* second, *Devakshana;* third, *Pitṛikshana.* Brahmakshana is paid by chastity and the cultivation of wisdom: Devakshan by the performance of fire-sacrifice; Pitṛikshana by begetting a son:—so is it written in the *Karma Khaṇḍa.* When therefore Bhima was born, on account of the debt to the Pitṛis having been paid, Durlabha Râja and Nâga Râja joyfully held high festival at the court. At the time of the Kuṅvarji's birth a voice from the sky proclaimed—"Whatever Râja does not keep friends with this Bhima will Bhima imprison, or slay, or fight with; to himself will he subdue certain lands and seas. This Bhima will practise science extensively, and the people who are of *Nâstika* (atheistical) opinions, or who reckon that neither good nor evil arises from religion or irreligion, will he utterly destroy."

Very dear was this Kuṅvar to Durlabha Râja: therefore he used to make him lie on his own couch, to give him mangoes and fruits to eat, and to play with him; the half of the revenues of his kingdom he used to spend on the Kuṅvar. On his neck the Kuṅwar wore an ornament of gold set with diamonds—very beautiful to behold. When the Kuṅwar grew up, he used to go to the chase, but he would only cut the horns and hoofs of the deer, not take their lives. He so learnt the pugilistic art that no pugilist was able to fight with him.

Once on a time Durlabha Râja said in great joy—"O Bhima! take you the management of this kingdom and fight with its enemies; I will now go to a place of pilgrimage and perform penances for the happiness of my soul." When the Kuṅvarji heard this, he answered with tears in his eyes — "In your lifetime I will not consent to royalty; besides, you talk of performing penances, but the fruit of penance is royalty, which to the full extent you have obtained and may obtain,—therefore there needs not to perform penance. And if perchance it be from desire of svarga that you wish to perform penance, know then that according to the *Kshetra Dharma*, by turning not back from the enemy you have gained the victory,—you will therefore without doubt obtain svarga: in this view too it is unnecessary to perform penance." Hearing these words the king replied,—"It is written in the *Smṛitis* that when a son becomes of age to manage royalty the father should resign to him the throne and go to perform penance; therefore now that I am grown old, I am not fit to retain royalty, but if Nâga Râja will manage the kingdom, then too it is well." Nâga Râja, hearing these words, said—"As when Yudhishṭhira went to perform penance, his younger brothers went with him, so I too, refusing royalty, will accompany you." Afterwards Durlabha Râja and Nâga Râja, persuading Bhima, performed his installation. Then fell a rain

* This is summarized in *Rás Málá*, vol. I. pp. 70, 71.

of flowers from the sky. After that Durlabha Râja* and Nâgarâja made *svargavâsa* at Pattan.

Bhima Deva ruled well, and refused pardon to the crime of incontinency. He apprehended thieves cleverly, and punished them, so that the offences of depredation diminished in his reign. This Bhima was called Râja of Râjas, and entertained such exceeding pity for life that even the wolf in the forest was restrained from taking life. Some kings fleeing from fear of their enemies lived under the protection of Bhima, some took service with him. The Râja of Pundradeśa sent presents: the Raja of Andradeśa sent him a necklace: Bhima's fame spread into Magadhadeśa also, therefore the poets of that country began to celebrate his exploits in the Mâgadha language. In other languages also were books written relating the story of Bhima. From these books having been spread abroad in distant countries, the fame of Bhima became known familiarly to men in remote lands.

Once on a time some one said to Bhima—"O Râja! on the earth the Sindh Râja and the Râja of Chedîdeśa,* in their pride, alone regard not your fame, and cause books to be composed setting forth faults in you. The Sindh Râja says too that he will strike Bhima. This Râja of Sindh has conquered the Râja of Śivaśâṇa and made him his subject. The strength of this Sindh Râja and the projects of his heart cannot be estimated. Many lords of fortresses and râjas of islands have become subject to the Râja of Sindh. When his army sets out on *mulukgirî*, no Râja can restrain him, and Sindhdeśa and Chedîdeśa are under his sole control." Hearing these and other things from the mouth of this spy, Bhima, sending for his minister, began to ponder over this matter.

The king, having collected an army, set forth. Then Bhima went to the Panjâb, near to Sindh, where five rivers flow together; like a sea was the stream of these five rivers,—therefore the Râja had to consider how the whole army could be crossed over to the opposite bank. It was because of the strength of these floods, strong as a fortress, that the Sindh Râja slept in peace, having conquered his enemies. Then breaking down hills, with the great stones thereof they began to build a bridge. When they had begun the bridge, then the waters of the stream dividing began to take another channel, as milk upon the fire boils over. For the bridge they used green trees and dry, stones and earth. Bhima was pleased when he saw the work of the bridge finished, and to make all happy he distributed sugar and food to all. Then crossing the bridge they went to Sindh. The king of Sindh came to oppose them in battle: a fight of missiles ensued; the Chandravaṅśi Bhima fought well, he took prisoners many of the warriors of the Sindh Râja. In this way conquering in Sindh, he subjected to himself the Sindh Râja, whose name was Hammuk.

(*To be continued.*) p 232

SWORD-WORSHIP IN KÂCHÂR.

BY G. H. DAMANT, B.A., B C S., RANGPUR.

The most venerated of all the deities worshipped in Kâchâr is a goddess called Rân Chandi. She was the tutelary deity of the old Râjas of Kâchâr, and is held in the highest respect not only by the Kâchâris, but also by the Bengalis and other Hindus who have settled in the district. One of the queens of the last Raja, Govinda Chandra, who died in 1830, still survives, and she keeps up the image and worship of Rân Chandî. The image has never been shown to any one except the reigning Râja and the officiating Brâhmaṇ, as the goddess had ordered that she was not to be exhibited, and would strike dead any one who saw her; and her reputation has doubtless been greatly magnified by the mystery which has surrounded her.

* "The same story that is told by Hemâchârya of Châmand Râja is repeated by the author of the *Prabandha Chintâmaṇi* in reference to Durlabha Râja, who is stated to have proceeded on a pilgrimage to Banâras after having resigned the throne to Bhima Deva, and to have been obstructed in his passage through Mâlwâ by Munja Râja, who then ruled there, and who compelled him to lay aside the ensigns of royalty. Durlabha, it is said, proceeded on his pilgrimage in the attire of a monk, and died at Banaras,—having, however, caused Bhima Deva to become acquainted with the insulting conduct of the Raja of Mâlwa. From that time, it is added, there arose a root of enmity between the lord of Gujarât and the Mâlwâ king:" *Râs Mâlâ*, vol. I. p. 71. Conf. Tod, *Western India*, pp 170-1 Durlabh Sen ascended the throne in A D. 1010, and Bhima Deva in 1021.

* Chedi, says Forbes, has been conjectured to be the modern Chandail in Gondwânâ. It was the country of Śiśupâla, the enemy of Krishna. *Râs Mâlâ*, vol. I. p. 82. Conf. Tod, *Western India*, p. 331.

A few days ago, after representing to the Brâhmaṇs that we were the Râja for the time being, the Deputy Commissioner and I succeeded in seeing the celebrated goddess. She was kept in a small thatched house fenced in on every side, and no one but ourselves and the *pujârî* Brâhmaṇ was allowed to come near. The images were brought out, and we found there was a brass image of Rân Chandî and another of Shama, and two swords which were supposed to be incarnations (if such a phrase may be used) of the goddesses. The swords looked very ancient; one of them was pointed, and the other cut off straight at the point: they appeared to me to have been intended for sacrifices. They were entirely of iron, with no ornaments about them, but evidently kept with great care, and painted with red and white.

The story of Rân Chandî, as told me by the Kâchârîs, is as follows:—

There was once a Kâchârî Râja named Nirbhar Nârâyaṇ, who was renowned as a just and wise prince, but he only worshipped Vishṇu and never offered sacrifices, till one night Rân Chandî appeared to him in a dream and said, "To-morrow morning early you must go to the bank of the river Madma (the place is now called Chandighât) and there you will see a living creature: seize it fearlessly by the head and take it away in whatever form it may assume, and worship it and offer sacrifices to it: by doing this you will become great, and your children will reign after you." Next morning the king, as the goddess had commanded, went to the river-side and there he saw a terrible snake playing in the water: he was alarmed at the sight, and instead of seizing it by the head he caught it by the tail, and the goddess took the form of a sword and was worshipped under the name of Rân Chandî. But the king, thinking that the taking of life was the greatest sin he could commit, offered no sacrifices to the goddess, and she became angry with him and struck all his musical instruments, guns and cannons dumb, so that their sound could not be heard, and again appeared to him in a dream and said, "You will enjoy your kingdom no longer; so to-morrow cause instruments to be played and guns to be fired in every house, and in whosoever's house you hear the sound of instruments and guns, mount him on the throne and yourself cease from reigning." So the king did as he was ordered, and as he only found one man in whose house he could hear the sound of instruments and guns, he made him ascend the throne, and himself retired from the kingdom. This man, whose name was Uday Bhim Nârâyaṇ, pleased the goddess so much by offering her a lâkh of sacrifices and continually worshipping her, that his posterity, down to the time of Râja Govinda Chandra, have always sat on the throne of Kâchâr.

The goddess Shama, who is supposed to be embodied in the other sword, is said to have been captured from a king of the Dehâns, the hereditary bondsmen of the Kâchârîs, by Râja Boulla, a king who reigned at Maibong, a place in the North Kâchârî hills near Asalu, where ruins still exist, from Khâspur, the former capital of the Dehâns.

INSCRIPTIONS AT BAIL-HOṄGAL, IN THE SAMPGAUM TALUKÂ OF THE BELGAUM DISTRICT.

BY J. F. FLEET, Bo. C. S.

The temple at Bail-Hoṅgal, standing to the north of the town outside the walls, is now a Liṅga shrine, but appears to have been originally a Jain building. It has two inscriptions connected with it:—

No. 1. The first inscription is contained on a stone tablet standing on the right front of the temple, *i. e.* on the left hand of any one facing the temple. The emblems at the top of the stone are:—In the centre, a liṅga and priest; on their right, the sun; and on their left, a cow and calf with the moon beyond them. The inscription is in the Old Canarese characters and language. There are traces of about 73 lines averaging 46 letters each. The stone seems to be a schistose limestone, and the surface of it is full of small fissures and is very much worn away. With great labour the contents of the first twenty lines or so might be made out, but no connected transcription could possibly be made of the remainder; only a few letters are legible here and there. It is a Raṭṭa inscription, that family being mentioned in it by the older form of the name,—Râshṭrakûṭa. In

line 11 it refers itself to the time of the Châlukya king Trailôkyamalladêva,—either Sômêsvaradêva I. (Saka 962 ? to 991 ?) or Tailapadêva III. (Śaka 1072 to 1104), both of whom bore that title; as I have shewn in my paper on the Rattas that the chieftains of the Saundatti branch of that family were independent from about Śaka 1050, I conclude that the Trailôkyamalladêva here mentioned is Sômêsvaradêva I. However, I could not trace in this inscription the name of the particular chieftain whose grants are recorded; but the titles applied to him are very similar to those of the Kalhoḷi inscription.

No. 2 is another inscription in the Old Canarese characters and languages, consisting of 51 lines of about 39 letters each, and contained on a stone tablet which was lying in the hedge surrounding the town, but which I have had set upright on the left front of the temple. The emblems at the top of the stone are:—In the centre, a seated figure of Jinêndra; on its right, a standing figure, full front, with the moon above it; and on its left, a cow and calf with the sun above them. The stone is blacker and harder than the preceding, but the inscription on it is still more hopelessly effaced, and no transcription can be made of it. It is evidently a Ratta inscription, as it mentions a king Kârtavirya who was ruling "with the diversion of joyful conversations." Its date is given in line 36, and is the Śaka year 1086 (A.D. 1164-65), being the Târaṇa *saṁvatsara*. Accordingly the Kàrtavîrya here mentioned is the third of that name in my list of the Raṭṭas,—the Kattama for whom I had not previously succeeded in obtaining a date. Further on the inscription mentions a Jain Basadi, and probably records the building of the temple to which it is now attached and the allotment of grants to it.

KÂMANDAKI ON THE POISONING OF KINGS.

Whilst the eyes of all India are turned towards Baroda, and the inquiry which is now being conducted there, it may not be uninteresting to reproduce, in an English garb, the rules laid down two thousand years ago by Kâmandaki for the guidance of kings in the matter of poisoning. His ideas are exceedingly quaint, and have probably been disregarded for some centuries even by the most orthodox and conservative. The extract is taken from the seventh chapter of the *Nitisâra*. It is a pity that this work is not brought more prominently forward, and adopted in some measure as a substitute for the *Panchatantra*. The *Niti* of the latter was no doubt taken from Kâmandaki, and reset by Vishṇu Śarman in baser metal, more calculated, however, to please the weaker and more sensual minds of a later generation.

The only printed text of the *Nitisâra* obtainable in India is that edited in 1861 by Bâbû Râjendralâla Mitra. That scholar states in his preface that his text was prepared "from a modern but very correct manuscript obtained at Benares," collated with "an utterly unreliable" manuscript in the Library of the Asiatic Society, and with a commentary which was "of great use in settling the reading and meaning of a great number of technical terms." With all respect for the learned Bâbû, it would appear, however, that the MS. first named was not so very correct as he considered it to be; for over and over again the reading of the commentary is vastly superior to that adopted in the text, which is sometimes almost meaningless. It is time, however, to return to the more immediate subject of this paper, and allow the Paṇḍit to speak:—

"A king should everywhere be careful regarding his conveyance, couch, water, food, clothes and ornaments, discarding that which has been poisoned.

After bathing in water that is an antidote to poison, adorned with the poison-destroying gem, let him eat that which has been thoroughly examined, surrounded by physicians acquainted with poisons and their antidotes.

At the sight of a poisonous snake, the Malabar Shrike, the Parrot, and the Mainâ are terribly alarmed and scream out.

When beholding poison, the eyes of the partridge lose their natural colour, the curlew becomes clearly inebriated, the cuckoo dies; and in every case languor supervenes.

The king therefore should eat that which has been inspected by one of the above.

Snakes do not appear when peacocks and the

spotted antelope are let loose, so they ought always to be at large in a house.

Some of the food intended to be eaten should first, by way of test, be put into the fire, some be given to the birds, and the effects should then be observed.

If the food has been poisoned, the smoke and flame of the fire will be darkened and there will be a crackling noise,—the birds will die.

[The effects on the eater are] absence of perspiration, intoxication, sudden coldness, absence of colour; and the vapour arising from poisoned food is thick and dark.

Condiments speedily dry up, and when boiling assume a dark frothy appearance, changing also in smell, feeling, and taste.

When a liquid is defiled by poison, its lustre may be either increased or lessened, an upright streak appears, and a circle of froth.

In the midst of poisoned juice [as of sugarcane, &c.] a perpendicular dark-coloured streak appears, in milk a copper-coloured one, in intoxicating beverages and water one black as the cuckoo and irregular.

Under the influence of poison, a fresh [green] article of food quickly withers, and without cooking looks as if it had been boiled, and assumes a dark hue,—so the learned say.

Some say that a dry substance decays and loses its clearness of colour—that a hard [or pungent] thing may become soft [or mild], and *vice versâ*, so as to destroy small creatures.

Clothes and carpets infected with poison become covered with black circles,—and thread, hair and wool are destroyed.

Metals and gems become coated with dirt and mud, and their strength, brilliance, weight, colour, and feeling are affected.

An experienced man should note the following as indications of poisoning:—a dark hue on the face, change of voice, repeated yawning, stumbling, trembling, perspiration, agitation, staring vacantly in the air, restlessness when at work, and changing about from place to place.

The king should not touch medicines, beverages or food until those who prepared them have tasted them :—his ornaments and every article of attire should be brought by his own attendants, after being well examined and marked; and he should scrutinize everything received from another source."

Tâlib-ul-ilm.

CORRESPONDENCE AND MISCELLANEA.

SUPPOSED ASIATIC ORIGIN OF THE PRIMITIVE AMERICAN POPULATION.

Sir,—The remarks by Mr. Walhouse on the above subject in the February part of the *Indian Antiquary*, vol. IV. p. 46, suggest to me to communicate the following.

Last year I exhibited to the Asiatic Society a perforated stone which was obtained at the Mopani coal-mines, in the district of Narsingpur, Central Provinces. In my account of it I pointed out its resemblance to some figured and described in a work on lacustrine dwellings in the lake of Neufchâtel by M. Desor. Recently I have found that a still stronger resemblance exists between it—both in size and the special characters of its perforation—and some ancient stones which have been found in abundance in Virginia and other parts of North America. The latter have been very fully described in a journal called the *American Naturalist*, but I have not the exact reference by me at present.

I am inclined to believe that when more attention has been paid than hitherto in India to the distribution of stone implements having special characters, many useful inferences may be drawn as to the migrations of the primitive races who manufactured and used them. Only within the past few days I have received three *celts* from Dhalbhum (a zamindâri in Chotâ Nâgpur). Two of these are of the shouldered type hitherto, I believe, supposed to occur exclusively in Burma and the adjoining countries.

As in the case of the Burma implements which have been described by Mr. Theobald, the Rev. Mr. Mason, and Dr. Anderson, my specimens are supposed to be thunderbolts, and a mythical story connecting one of them with a particular thunderstorm has been sent to me.

V. Ball.

Camp viâ Sambalpur, 23rd February 1875.

BOTANICAL QUERY.

To the Editor of the "Indian Antiquary."

Sir,—I shall be much obliged for information as to the botanical name of a tree found occasionally growing wild in the Mathurâ district, and there called *Lâliyâri*. The name is not given in Brandis's *Forest Flora*, nor, so far as I can as-

* Vide *Proc. As. S. Beng.* April 1874, p. 96, Pl. V.

certain, is the tree there described. It grows to a moderate size—say 30 or 40 feet in height, has slightly drooping branches, with opposite lanceolate leaves, and is in full flower at the end of February, when it presents a handsome appearance; the flowers being largish in size, dull-red and yellowish in colour, and dragon-mouth in form, with three drooping and two erect petals; the calyx gamosepalous.

F. S. Growse.

Mathurá, N. W. P.,
February 25, 1875.

Query.

Can any reader of the *Antiquary* favour me with the scientific names of—

(1.) The *Kine* tree. This is a large tree common in the North Konkan. It has a dark heartwood, sometimes fraudulently substituted for blackwood.

(2.) *Khurâsanî.* This is a small oilseed belonging, I rather fancy, to the order Compositæ, much grown upon the lofty plateaux of the Mâwals, and also in the Konkan, especially by the forest tribes.

W. F. Sinclair.

BOOK NOTICES.

Religious and Moral Sentiments freely translated from Indian Writers, by J. Muir, D.C.L., LL.D., Ph.D. Edinburgh, 1874. (12mo. pp. viii. and 33.)

This pamphlet contains part of a much larger collection of maxims which the gifted author is preparing for translation into prose. Of the seventy-two published, fifty-eight have already appeared in these pages (*Ind. Ant.* vol. III. pp. 182, 241, 335 ff.). In the appendix Dr. Muir has added faithful prose versions of all the passages, "with the view of obviating the suspicion," he says, "which some may entertain, that in the metrical versions I have embellished the sentiments of the Indian writers, or imparted to them a closer resemblance to their Biblical counterparts than the tenor of the originals will justify."

The following are the additional sentiments:—

28. *Narrow and large heartedness.* Panchatantra V. 38 (and in other books); conf. Luke, x. 29 ff.:—

Small souls inquire "Belongs this man
To our own race, or class, or clan?"
But larger-hearted men embrace
As brothers all the human race.

The next is analogous to that given (vol. III. p. 183) from the *Mahâbhârata.* III. 13415, and will remind the reader of Coleridge's verse,—"He prayeth well who loveth well," &c.

43. *Austerities and rites are unavailing without purity.* Vriddha Chânakya, XV. 1:—

Those men alone the secret know
Which everlasting bliss will bring
Whose hearts with pity overflow,
And love to every living thing:—
Not those a beggar's garb who wear,
With ashes smeared, and matted hair.

The following three are closely related in idea:—

49. *The gods give wisdom to those whom they favour, and conversely.* Mahâbh. V. 1222 and II. 2679 ff.:—

The gods no club, like cowherds, wield
To guard the man they deign to shield:
On those to whom they grace will show
They understanding sound bestow;
But rob of sense and insight all
Of whom their wrath decrees the fall.
These wretched men, their mind deranged,
See all they see distorted, changed;
For good to them as evil looms,
And folly wisdom's form assumes.

Verse 2679, as the author remarks, "reminds us of the well-known Latin adage, '*Quos Deus vult perdere prius dementat*' The same thought is stated in the following Greek lines, quoted by Grotius in his *Annotationes* on the *Epistle to the Romans*, xi. 8:—

ὅταν γὰρ ὀργὴ δαιμόνων βλάπτῃ τινὰ,
τούτῳ τὸ πρῶτον ἐξαφαιρεῖται φρενῶν
τὸν νοῦν τὸν ἐσθλὸν, εἰς δὲ τὴν χείρω τρέπει
γνωμην, ἵν᾽ εἰδῇ μηδὲν ὧν ἁμαρτὰνει.

Compare *Eccl.* vii. 1, 3, 4, and 13; and *Rom.* xi. 18. Also 1 *Sam.* ii. 25. The converse is expressed in the *Mahâbh.* V. 1222"—given in the first four lines above.

50. *A doomed man is killed by anything.* Mahâbh. VII. 429:—

When men are doomed without respite,
Even straws like thunderbolts will smite.

51. *The same.* Mahâbh. XII. 7697:—

A man until his hour arrives,
Though pierced by hundred darts, survives;
While he whose hour of death is nigh
Touched only by a straw will die.

61. *Men love enjoyment, not virtue,* &c. Subhashitârnava, 43:—

In virtue men have small delight;
To them her fruits alone are dear;
The fruits of sin they hate and fear,
But sin pursue with all their might.

62. *Effects of habitual sin and virtue respectively.* Mahâbh. V. 1242-3 (Conf. Matt. xii. 43 ff., 2 Tim. iii. 13):—

Sin practised oft,—experience shows,—
Men's understanding steals at length;
And understanding gone, the strength
Of sin unchecked resistless grows.

But virtue ever practised lends
The understanding firmer sway;
And understanding day by day
More widely virtue's rule extends.

63. *Secret sin not unobserved.* Manu, VIII. 84 (conf. Mahâbh. I. 3015; Manu VIII. 91):—

"None sees me," so, when bent on sin,
The fool imagines, vainly bold:
For gods his evil deeds behold—
The soul, too, sees,—the man within.

The following maxim will be recognized as very different in its teaching from anything Biblical, and it is on one of the points that differentiate Christianity from other systems.

64. *Hopelessness of reclaiming the bad.* Bhâminîvilâsa, I. 93:—

Whoe'er the bad by kindness tries
To gain,—but vainly ploughs the skies,
The viewless wind with water laves,
And paints a picture on the waves.

The criminal law does not quite recognize the next as teaching the whole truth.

68. *Sin removed by repentance.* Manu, XI. 229-231:—

Whenever men with inward pain
And self-reproach their sins confess,
And stedfast, never more transgress,
Their souls are cleansed from every stain;
As serpents shed their worn-out skins,
These men are freed from cast-off sins.

69. *Noble Characters.* Sâhityadarpaṇa, 322:—

A man whom wealth has never spoiled,
A youth by reckless vice unsoiled,
A ruler wakeful,—self-controlled,
Be these among the great enrolled.

70. *The prosperity of others not to be envied.* Mahâbhârata, XII. 3880-1:—

On thee to smile though fortune never deign,
Her favourites' happier lot with calmness bear;
For prudent men from wealth they do not share,
But others' own, enjoyment ever gain.

71. *The saint should patiently await the time of his departure.* Manu, VI. 45, and Mahâbh. XII. 8929 (conf. Job, xiv. 14):—

Let not the hermit long for death,
Nor cling to this terrestrial state:
As slaves their master's summons wait,
So let him, called, resign his breath.

The next and last was well worth quoting on account of the parallel the lines offer to Horace's well-known verse—*Odes*, IV. ix. 25 ff.

72. "*Vivere fortes ante Agamemnona,*" &c. Bilhana in Sâr̃ngadhara Paddhati, Sâmânyakavipramsâ, 13 (12):—

Without a bard his deeds to sing
Can any prince be known to fame?
Of old lived many a valiant king
Of whom we know not even the name!

Comment is needless: the sentiments are rendered with great fidelity into easy verses, that will be read with much more interest than any mere prose version, however terse and pithy.

A portion of the preface has already been given (pp. 79-81). In it Dr. Muir observes that "it is worthy of remark how many more parallels to what have been commonly regarded as exclusively and peculiarly Christian maxims and precepts are presented by Indian than by Greek and Roman literature." Greek and Roman literature, however, is largely historical, and it is principally to philosophical writers and poets we must look for moral maxims. And the whole body of such classical authors who lived before the influence of Christianity began to tell on Roman thought, and whose works have come down to us, ought first to be compared in extent with the huge tomes of Sanskṛit philosophy and mythology; for, the larger the field over which the human mind has exercised its energies, the more traces may naturally be expected of its ethical beliefs. And secondly, is it not a mistake to suppose that sentiments such as those versified by Dr. Muir are to be regarded as exclusively and peculiarly Christian? If the Bible were to be looked on merely as a revelation of certain moral truths, it might be startling to find many of them anticipated in other quarters. But the case is very different: there were ethics before there were *Christian* ethics, and, as has been well remarked, "it would be a grievous deficiency" if Christianity, "as regards the whole anterior world except the Jewish, stood in relation to nothing which men had thought, or felt, or hoped, or believed; with no other co-efficient but the Jewish, and resting on no broader historic basis than that would supply." Christianity accepts these moral maxims, these presentiments of the truth, as being, so far as they are entitled to have weight, confirmations of it, witnessing to its suitableness to the moral wants and aspirations of humanity. But the goodliest maxim possesses no vital power save in its coherence to a body of truth. Such sayings as these collected by Dr. Muir, or by Von Bohlen (*Das Alte Indien*, vol. I. p. 364), abound in every code of morals, but they want the coherence which peculiarly distinguishes the ethical system of the Bible. As Lactantius remarks (*Inst. Div.* vii. 7): "Nullam sectam fuisse tam deviam, nec philosophorum quendam tam inanem, qui non viderit aliquid e vero. Quodsi extitisset aliquis, qui veritatem, sparsam per singulos, per sectas

diffusam, colligeret in unum, et redigeret *in corpus*, is profecto non dissentiret a nobis. Sed hoc nemo facere, nisi veri peritus ac sciens, potest: verum autem non nisi ejus scire est, qui sit doctus a Deo."

But the Christian Scriptures, while necessarily exhibiting a theory of morality, differing however in its completeness and unity from that of any other system, present themselves not as a revelation of morals, but of life and power, bridging over the gulf between the saying and the acting out of noble sentiments, and claiming to be able to transform even the bad.

La Langue et la Littérature hindoustanies en 1874. Revue Annuelle. Par M. Garcin de Tassy, Membre de l' Institut, Professeur à l'Ecole spéciale des langues orientales vivantes, &c. (Paris: Maisonneuve & Cie., 1875.)

We welcome with much pleasure the latest number of this interesting annual review, which M. Garcin de Tassy has compiled for a long series of years with such regularity and assiduity as to deserve the thanks not only of his own pupils, for whom it appears to be chiefly designed, but even of people in India who wish to possess a compact account of the chief publications issued, and of the literary movements which have occurred during the past year, connected with the Hindustâni language.

It is well known that for several years a contest has been going on in the upper provinces of India, where Urdu and Hindi are most current, as to which of these two rival idioms deserves the preference. The illustrious professor continues to defend Urdu against Hindi, and adduces authorities to support his opinion. There is no doubt that whatever part Government has taken, or may in future take, with reference to these two languages, its influence can never extend further than its own documents, and that those who have hitherto used Hindi in the Devanâgari character, or Urdu in the Persian, will continue to do so in spite of any Government orders to the contrary. Such things must be decided by the people themselves.

Besides extracts from Indian newspapers concerning the rivalry of the sister idioms, the review contains others on the present state of literary composition, chiefly poetry, and accounts of literary societies such as the Aligarh Institute, and the Anjuman of the Punjâb, which held a meeting called *Musha'ara* when pieces of original Urdu poetry were read by their authors under the presidency of Mr. Holroyd, the Director of Public Instruction, and under the patronage of the Panjâb Government.

Of the books published during the past year, the most notable are the *Tarikh-i Hindustân*, or History of India, by Munshi Muhammad Zukâ ullah Khân, at present Professor in the Muir College at Allahâbâd; *Façâna-i Hâmid*, the romantic adventures of Hâmed, by Sayyid Ghulâm Haydar Khân, who is pointed out by the Native press as one of the best authors of India; *Tibb-i Rahîm*, "the medicine of Rahim," containing 540 pages, and which has been adopted as a text-book by the Medical College of Lâhor. The other works are of minor importance, or mere translations from the English, and a few are controversial works of small bulk published as usual both on the Muhammadan and on the Christian side.

It appears that the fines lately inflicted on some booksellers of Lâhor for dealing in obscene books have so frightened the rest, that Paṇdit Krishṇa Lâl, a member of the Literary Society of the Panjâb, who was desirous to buy some books he required, says he could not in all the shops he visited find anything but almanacks, or works referring to laws and regulations.

"India together with Burmah possessed in 1873 not less than 478 journals; namely, 255 in the Native languages, 151 in English, and 67 bilingual ones, *i.e.* English and vernacular. In Bombay there were more than in the Bengal Presidency, as the former had 118 and the latter only 99. There were 84 in Madras, and 73 in the N. W. Provinces, 40 in the Panjâb, and only 3 in Râjpûtânâ."

Besides the old journals in Urdu, nearly twenty new ones are enumerated this year, but the most remarkable must be the *Shams unnahâr*, "Sun of the day," edited by Mirza Abdulali at Cabul, as that place never before produced anything like a newspaper,—an evident pioneer of civilization, to which even Afghanistan must shortly open. In that turbulent country neither authors nor patrons of literature seem to exist, but in India we have several Native princes who take a lively interest in the advancement of the country; the Mahârâjas of Pattiala, of Jaypur, of Kâshmir, and of Travankor are mentioned as founders of schools and encouragers of literature.

According to his usual custom, the venerable professor terminates his review for the year with a necrology, which consists, happily, of only four names:—H. H. Azimshâh Bahâdur, prince of Arkat, who died at the age of 72; Râja Kâli Krishna Bahâdur died at Banâras on the 18th April, aged 70; our lamented townsman Dr. Bhâu Dâji on May 30; and Bâbu Pyâri Mohan Bânarji, November 10th, 1874.

E. R.

GLIMPSES OF OLD INDIA AS SEEN THROUGH THE PAGES OF MANU.

BY THE HON'BLE MR. JUSTICE J. B. PHEAR, CALCUTTA.

The scheme of the *Dharma Śástra*, which we commonly term the *Institutes of Manu*, is as follows:—The divine sages (whoever they may have been) approach Manu, described as the greatest and most sublime of mortals, as he is reclining absorbed in the contemplation of God, and ask him to apprise them of the sacred laws which are to be observed by all classes in their several degrees, and also the duties of the mixed classes. It is evident that an advanced stage of social development must have been reached before a request of such a shape as this could have been preferred.

Manu at once proceeds to explain the creation of the world, commencing with a description of the nature of God, then narrating the production, or manifestation in a corporeal form, of Brahma, who first made the heaven above, and the earth beneath; and afterwards the great soul, consciousness, and the five perceptions,* altogether seven divine principles.

He goes on to say that Brahma assigned to all creatures distinct names, distinct acts, and distinct occupations, as they had been revealed in the pre-existing *Veda;* next that he milked out the three primordial *Vedas* from fire, air, and the Sun; gave divisions to time, distinguished between right and wrong, and assigned to every vital soul occupation and quality, which remained to it for ever through all forms of existence. In these passages, as they stand in Sir W. Jones's version of Manu, there is no little inconsistency; and the last of them assumes the doctrine of transmigration of souls, which is not expressly enunciated until the end of the *Śástra.* But by the kindness of Bábu Rájendralála Mitra I have been furnished with a translation of the 28th śloka, which under the gloss of Kullûka Bhatta amounts merely to a declaration of the permanency of species in animal nature, whatever be the specific character of the soul which animates the individual.

Manu next declares that Brahma, having made all creatures and him, Manu, was absorbed in the Supreme Spirit; and he concludes by saying that Brahma enacted the code of laws, and taught it to him: that he, Manu, taught it to Bhrigu, and that Bhrigu would repeat it to the sages.

Thereupon, Bhrigu takes up the discourse and gives a fresh dissertation on the scheme or method of creation and on natural philosophy, in which is manifested some knowledge of the revolution of the Moon and of the Earth: and a curious speculation on the relation between ether the cause of sound, air the cause of scents and touch, light, water, and earth. This ended, Bhrigu addresses himself to the enunciation of the *Śastrá* in eleven chapters.

The contrivance thus adopted for giving an ante-creation authority to the law, and to make out that it is the word of God dating from before all time, is not without ingenuity. But, by strange inadvertence, both Manu and Bhrigu betray the, relatively speaking, modern character of their stand-point, by appealing to the authority of the wise (p. 3, 17)†, and to the recognized validity of good usage based on immemorial customs (15, 110). In truth, it is not difficult to perceive, even through the English translation, that the *Dharma Śástra* of Manu, as we now have it, is the work of many hands, done at various dates. Interpolations, repetitions, and additions seem to be apparent in all parts of the book. Its value, however, in regard to my present purpose is not greatly affected by this circumstance; for it probably may be assumed, without much risk of error, that inasmuch as the character of the book is dogmatic, and not in any degree historical, the facts of society which are disclosed in it, and which sustain the fabric of instruction and commandment, did not materially differ from those which the last compiler or editor saw around him. I shall therefore suppose that such a picture of civilization and conditions of society as can be got from its pages will more or less correspond with a real original, and may be taken as rudely representing an India of a comparatively early period.

The philosophy of the time to which the book may be thus referred, with respect to the origin of all things, is a strange mixture of refined abstraction and absurdity, Returning to the first page, we find that Manu

* Smelling, hearing, seeing, feeling, tasting.

† The figures in these references are respectively the number of the page and verse in the quarto edition of Sir W. Jones's *Translation of Manu*, 1794.

describes the creation of the world, thus (p. 1, 5):—

"This universe existed only in darkness, imperceptible, undefinable, undiscoverable, undiscovered, as it were wholly immersed in sleep.

"Then the self-existing power, himself undiscerned but making this world discernible, with five elements and other principles appeared with undiminished glory, dispelling the gloom.

"He, whom the mind alone can perceive, whose essence eludes the external organs, who has no visible parts, who exists from eternity, even He, the soul of all beings, whom no being can comprehend, shone forth in person.

"He, having willed to produce various beings from his own divine substance, first with a thought created the waters, and placed in them a productive seed.

"That seed became an egg bright as gold, blazing like the luminary, with a thousand beams; and in that egg he was born himself, Brahma, the great forefather of all spirits.

"From *that which is*, the first cause, not the object of sense, existing, not existing, without beginning or end, was produced the divine male, famed in all worlds under the appellation of Brahma."

In these perhaps somewhat laboured passages Manu taught that God, the Author and Origin of all things, is to be conceived of as the great First Cause, a spiritual being, self-existent alone from eternity to eternity, without form or parts, incomprehensible and unknowable to man: and that in him the universe was involved as it were an idea, before it was caused by himself to be a discernible reality.

According to the foregoing account the Creator commenced the work of evolving or manifesting the world by willing the production of the waters from his own divine immaterial substance; upon them he developed himself, from the same substance, into the male form Brahma, the great forefather of all spirits, cognizable by man and famed in all worlds.

Brahma, after pausing a year on the waters,* proceeded with the work of creation in a course which seems at first limited to the production of certain abstract principles, or perhaps germs, of a metaphysical and moral kind. Manu's narrative, however, at this stage, is far from being clear. As has been already remarked, he makes Brahma assign (p. 4, 21) "to all creatures distinct names, distinct acts, and distinct occupations, as they had been revealed in the pre-existing *Veda*," without any previous mention of either the creatures themselves or the *Vedas*; for it is in the succeeding verses that he first says, "Brahma, the supreme ruler, created an assemblage of inferior deities with divine attributes and pure souls, and prescribed the sacrifice from the beginning." And "from fire and from the Sun he milked out the three primordial *Vedas*, named *Rig*, *Yajus*, and *Saman*, for the due performance of the sacrifice." After this, again, he states that Brahma "gave being to time and the divisions of time, to the stars also, and to the planets, to rivers, oceans, and mountains, to level plains and to uneven valleys." Then follows the establishment by Brahma of certain other metaphysical principles and moral qualities. And lastly (p. 5, 31), "that the human race might be multiplied, he caused the Brâhmaṇ, the Kshatriya, the Vaiśya, and the Śûdra to proceed from his mouth, his arm, his thigh, and his foot," and this having been effected, he brought about the production from himself of Manu, or, to use Manu's own words, of "me the framer of all this world."

Manu next goes on to say:—"It was I who, desirous of giving birth to a race of men, performed very difficult religious duties, and first produced ten lords of created beings, eminent in holiness, Marichi, Atri, &c. They, abundant in glory, produced seven other Manus, together with deities," great sages, genii, giants, savages, demons, serpents, snakes, birds of prey, separate companies of Pitris or progenitors of mankind, meteorological phenomena of all kinds, comets and luminaries, apes, fish, birds, cattle, deer, men, ravenous beasts, insects "Thus," Manu proceeds, "was this whole assemblage of stationary and moveable bodies framed by those high-minded beings, through the force of their own devotion, and at my command, with separate actions allotted to each. Whatever act is ordained for each of those creatures here below, I will now declare to you, together with their order in respect to birth."

* For which reason he is sometimes termed Nârâyaṇa, *i.e.* according to Kullûka's gloss "the spirit of God moving on the waters."

And accordingly a very short abstract of natural history follows.

It is worthy of remark that the ten lords, whom Manu here says he produced as the origin of the human race, are to this day recognized as Hindu law-writers of authority; and maxims attributed to six or eight of them are constantly quoted and relied upon in our law-courts. Most of them too, if not all, are even mentioned in the *Vedas!* The compiler of the *Dharma Sástra*, or at any rate the author of this passage, thus writing in the name of Manu, furnishes strong evidence of his work being published at a time posterior to the age of these sages,—indeed so long posterior that he could venture to speak of them as the first created of human beings. Also the creation, which Manu here asserts he effected, seems inconsistent with the prior creation effected by Brahma—though I believe that there are paṇdits learned enough to find an explanation—and is especially irreconcileable with the apparently previous production by Brahma of the Bràhmaṇ, the Kshatriya, the Vaiśya, and the Śûdra. It seems certain that there is more than one interpolation at this part of the introductory chapter; and it is not quite easy to determine which is the earlier doctrine in the conflict. Considerations, however, which may hereafter be referred to, lead to the conclusion that the caste creation is of the later date.

After the dissertation upon the animals comes this passage (verse 51), apparently in immediate relation with the 33rd verse, which produced Manu:—"He whose powers are incomprehensible, having thus created both me and this universe, was again absorbed in the Supreme Spirit, changing the time of energy for the time of repose."

Six verses devoted to an almost unintelligible discussion of the effect of Brahma's repose seem also to be by a different hand, and finally Manu says:—"He (Brahma), having enacted this code of laws himself, taught it fully to me in the beginning: afterwards I taught to M a r i c h i and the other holy sages." This "B h r i g u" (one of the ten sages) "will repeat the divine code to you without intermission; for that sage learned from me to recite the whole of it."

At this point the cosmogony of the *Institutes* ought naturally to terminate; but Bhrigu, taking up the narrative from Manu, gives a supplement to it, and then enunciates in great detail the whole body of the divine law, directory even of personal acts and conduct for everyday life.

The Hindu philosophers of Manu's time evidently felt the difficulty of passing from the abstract or spiritual God, which alone satisfied the intellect, to the personal agent, and ruler, who was apparently needed for the creation and the sustaining of the material universe. The first part of the exigency was satisfied by the temporary manifestation of Brahma, and the second by the creation of subordinate deities (or as we might term them archangels) to watch over and have charge of the several departments (so to speak) of the world. These are (p. 135, 96; p. 159, 4; p. 209, 86) spoken of as eight in number, the guardian deities of the world, or chief guardian deities, and so on. And indirectly their several functions are described in Manu's ninth book (p. 284). Besides these, there were inferior (p. 60, 72; p. 62, 84, &c.; p. 73, 164; p. 62, 81; p. 77, 193) deities and spirits; and the quasi-deified great progenitors of mankind.

The sole object of worship, however, was the one God revealed in the Vedas; all others were but created beings. The *Dharma Sástra* is careful to leave no room for doubt on this point (p. 356, 85). "Of all duties the principal is to acquire from the *Upanishads* a true knowledge of one Supreme God: that is the most exalted of all sciences, because it ensures immortality. In this life, indeed, as well as the next, the study of the *Veda* to acquire a knowledge of God is held the most efficacious of duties in procuring felicity to man; for in the knowledge and adoration of one God, which the *Veda* teaches, all the rules of good conduct are comprised."

The *Veda* was declared to be the direct (p. 18, 11, and p. 357, 94) revelation of God (Sruti), which could not have been reached by mere human faculties, and of supreme authority. It was to be viewed as the (p. 358, 97) sole source of all knowledge, secular as well as divine, containing everything necessary or possible for man to know. All outside it, or not derived from it in the *Dharma Sástra* by the perfect wisdom of Manu, was human, vain, and false, and would soon perish (p. 357, 96, and p. 358). Belief and knowledge of the *Veda* would

bring man near to the divine nature even in this world, and to beatitude in the next; while unbelief was deadly sin; and whoever, in reliance upon heretical books, questioned the divine authority of the revealed *Veda* and of the *Dharma Śástra* was to be treated as an atheist, and driven from the society of the virtuous (p. 18, 11).

The jealous care with which the study of the *Veda* was reserved to those privileged to use it, and the reverence with which it was to be approached and taught, accorded naturally with the sacred and exalted character thus ascribed to it. It was the especial function of the Bráhmaṇ to master, to dwell upon, and to study the holy book; the two other twice-born classes, however, were also privileged to have direct access to it. The strictest precautions were taken against the possibility of any free interpretations being arrived at even by these (p. 32, 116). Self-teaching was forbidden, under penalty of the severest future punishment. And only those who sought knowledge with a right (p. 31) spirit were allowed to receive instruction. It was sin to teach for pay (p. 72, 156); knowledge should be imparted gratuitously, as the gift of God, to those only who were worthy of it. A Śûdra might not be taught either temporal or divine knowledge, on pain of damnation both of teacher and pupil (p 99, 80). And if by any means a Śûdra acquired knowledge of the *Veda*, and presumed to teach, his pupil became involved in deadly sin (p. 72, 156). A woman also might not be taught. It was settled law that she had no business with the texts of the *Veda* (p. 247, 18).

Throughout the earlier part, and even in the body, of the *Institutes*, the *Dharma Śástra* of Manu is spoken of as the inspired exponent of the *Vedas* almost of equal (see p. 18 *et al.*) authority with them, and constituting with them the repository of all knowledge; but in the last chapter of the book is a passage (p. 359, 109) wherein the *Vedángas*, *Mimaṁsa*, *Nyáya*, *Dharma Śástra*, and *Puráṇas* are called the extended branches of the *Vedas*; and it is expressly directed that questions not capable of being solved by reference to the revealed law of the *Veda* shall be settled by a synod of Bráhmaṇs properly instructed and informed in this body of learning. In this list the *Dharma Śástra*, probably of Manu, occupies only the fourth place. Also in another (p. 207, 139) passage Manu and Vaśishṭha are spoken of as former lawgivers, and it can hardly be doubted that by the time the *Institutes* had taken their present form, there existed a philosophical and religious literature which was not all considered equally orthodox. There were also "heretical books" (p. 18, 11, and p. 72, 156), and even Śûdra teachers, which called for authoritative denunciation.

The religion inculcated in the *Dharma Śâstra*, which probably we may safely assume to have been the active religion of the better-educated classes, was in its essential features of an advanced and exalted character. The outlines of it may be sketched as follows:—After death comes a future state of existence, for which there is a region of bliss, and regions of torment. (See p. 74, 172, *et ubique*, and p. 165, 53.) In one verse (p. 99, 87) twenty-one different hells are named. Every man's future destination is matter of individual responsibility solely. Alone he must traverse the valley of the shadow of death. "In his passage to the next world," says the *Śástra* (p. 119, 239), "neither his father nor his mother, nor his wife nor his son, nor his kinsmen will remain in his company: his virtue alone will adhere to him. Single is each man born, single he dies; single he receives the reward of his good, and single the punishment of his evil deeds; when he leaves his corpse like a log, or a lump of clay, on the ground, his kindred retire with averted faces; but his virtue accompanies his soul. Continually, therefore, by degrees let him collect virtue, for the sake of securing an inseparable companion; since with virtue for his guide he will traverse a gloom how hard to be traversed!"

Happiness or misery in the next world follow by a strict law of retribution as a consequence of the life spent in this (p. 345, and p. 355, 81). Merit and right conduct meet with immediate reward. The righteous man enters at once upon everlasting beatitude (p. 352, 54). The evil doer passes for a space into the regions of torment, and having there undergone his assigned punishment is born again into this world in some living form, animal or human, varying with the circumstances of his former misdoings.

The mode in which the process of transition is explained, involves some minute analysis. The living body is constituted (p. 346, 12) of a

material substance animated with a vital spirit; to these a conscious or reasonable soul is united on the birth of every living being, and the supreme spirit or divine essence pervades all. On death the material body is dissolved, and the two essences, reasonable soul and supreme spirit, closely scrutinize and examine the vital soul; if it turn out that the vital spirit had practised virtue for the most part and vice in a small degree, then the two essences remain with it, and, clothed in a new body of pure material, enjoy delight in celestial abodes. But if the vital spirit had generally been addicted to vice and seldom attended to virtue, then it will be deserted by the pure elements, and in a body formed for the purpose will suffer the pains to which Yama will doom it, and then again the two essences will rejoin it.

Yama is the one of the eight guardian deities or principal angels, whose province it is to award to every ill-doer the due punishment to be undergone by him in the next world. He is the minister of God, meting out terminable and purifying correction to the offenders against divine law in strict accordance with the measure of their offences.

The merit, right conduct, or virtue which alone will carry man to the region of bliss is continually the subject of expatiation throughout the *Institutes*. A few references will serve to indicate its nature. It must be founded on the knowledge of one God (p. 356). The essence of conduct is the motive which prompts it (p. 119, 234). Truthfulness, devotion, and purity of thought, word and deed transcend all ceremonial cleansing or washings of water (p. 136, 106, *et seq.*). Vice is worse than death (p. 165, 53). Intellectual service of God is better than sacrifice or oblations (p. 91, 22 *et seq.*), for scriptural knowledge is the root of every ceremonial observance. A true believer can extract good out of evil (p. 47, 238). By forgiveness of injuries the learned (in the scriptures) are purified (p. 136, 107). Courtesy and consideration for others are repeatedly enjoined (p. 106, 138). "Let a man say what is true, but let him say what is pleasing; let him speak no disagreeable truth, nor let him speak agreeable falsehood; this is a primæval rule. Let him say 'well and good,' or let him say 'well' only, but let him not maintain fruitless enmity and altercation with 'any man.'" Again, we find the importance of perseverance (p. 106, 137, p. 109, 159) and self-dependence strongly insisted upon, restraint of the passions constantly enforced (see pp. 29 and 30), and the practice of the virtues, gentleness (p. 37, 159), diffidence, modesty, and humility commanded (p. 38, 163). "The scorned may sleep with pleasure; with pleasure may he awake; with pleasure may he pass through this life; but the scorner utterly perishes." And the effects of sin committed may be got rid of by true repentance (p. 339, 228). "By open confession, by repentance, by devotion, and by reading the scripture, a sinner may be released from his guilt. * * In proportion as a man who has committed a sin shall truly and voluntarily confess it, so far is he disengaged from that offence like a snake from his slough; and in proportion as his heart sincerely loathes his evil deed, so far shall his vital spirit be freed from the taint of it. If he commit sin, and actually repent, that sin shall be removed from him; but if he merely say: 'I will sin thus no more,' he can only be released by an actual abstinence from guilt. Thus revolving in his mind the certainty of retribution in a future state, let him be constantly good in thoughts, words, and actions."

If the Hindu religious writers had stopped at this stage, and left the form and manner of the retribution in the hands of God's minister, Yama, their system would have ranked deservedly high. But, fortunately for the historical inquirer, they were not mere speculative philosophers or moralists. It was their object to develope a code which should be operative and have practical effect upon society. Therefore, Manu seemingly felt it necessary, in order to influence men's conduct, to declare that the vital spirit after death will be united to a material body very sensitive of pain, and to attach to every class of transgression a specific material punishment. I will not now follow him into the details of this portion of his task, for they are very loathsome and repulsive. In the course of it, however, he takes us very much behind the scenes of everyday life, and I shall speak of the apparent results presently. He also discloses the leading feature of Hindu philosophy, namely, its realism. The consequence is almost invariably knit to the antecedent by a sort of *lex talionis*. So far as possible the punishment is made analogous to, or cor-

respondent with, the evil action. The man who permits an unworthy guest to be present at a *śráddha* which he celebrates (p. 68, 133), must swallow in the next world as many red-hot iron balls as the mouthfuls swallowed at the feast by that guest. If one, through ignorance of the law (p. 110, 167), sheds blood from the body of a Brâhmaṇ not engaged in battle, as many particles of dust as the blood shall roll up from the ground, for so many years shall the shedder of that blood be mangled by other animals in the next birth. The action inevitably brings its own retribution. Another remarkable feature of the system is the transfer of merit and demerit (p. 171, 94). If one man wrongs another, he takes upon himself the sins of the latter, while the injured man on his side acquires all the good conduct which the injurer had previously stored up for a future life. And a singular advantage or efficacy was attributed to just punishment in this world at the hands of the civil power: for Manu says (p. 230, 318) "men who have committed offences and have received from kings the punishment due to them go pure to heaven, and become as clear as those who have done well."

Although the *Institutes* afford us many items of information relative to the existing state of society, in view of which they were composed, these are insufficient to enable us to reproduce it as a whole. We get but glimpses of it. Amongst other things, the people are represented as made up of (p. 289, 4) four principal classes or groups—termed the *pure* castes—namely, the Brâhmaṇ, the Kshatriya, the Vaiśya, and the Śûdra. The separate creation attributed to each of these may be taken to indicate that, so far back as popular tradition reached, these classes had maintained themselves in substance hereditarily distinct, and also separate in occupation, pursuits, and employment.

The separation of the people into these four classes was certainly an existing fact even in the Vedic period, for it is mentioned in the hymn to Purusha,—one of the hymns of the *Ṛig Veda*, where each of the classes is allegorically represented as constituting that part of Purusha (or Brahma), from which Manu afterwards, and later still other *Smṛitis* and *Purâṇas*, said that they were severally produced. In the *Mahâbhârata*, however, there is a passage which asserts expressly that originally there was no distinction of castes, the existing distribution having arisen out of differences of character and occupation,—a view of the matter which is, no doubt, substantially correct. In the *Vishṇu Purâṇa*, too, occur several instances of the different sons of one parent coming to be of different castes by reason of their several occupations. The whole of this interesting topic is exhausted by Dr. Muir (*Sanskrit Texts*, vol. I. 2nd ed. p. 160), who says "we may fairly conclude that the separate origination of the four castes was far from being an article of belief universally received by Indian antiquity." So far as I can judge from the English version of the *Institutes*, the passage in which Manu appears to ascribe each class to a separate creation is a comparatively late interpolation, inconsistent with the general tenor of the original text. The division of the social functions of these classes is described for us in Manu's *Dharma Śâstra* several times over (p. 12, 88 *et seq.* and p. 286), plainly pictured from the reality; and doubtless there was then no memory of any different state of things. The description itself discloses an advanced stage of civilization, and we have not the means of judging how that situation had been arrived at. However, it may probably not be unreasonable to assume that the Brâhmaṇs were a sacerdotal class, sprung originally from one family, or group of families, like the tribe of Levites among the Jews; the Kshatriyas an hereditary aristocracy, the rulers and administrators of the land, somewhat resembling the Patrician Order at Rome, or that which the nobles of the feudal times came to be; the Vaiśyas all the remaining free Âryans, who—engaged in the more respectable and well-to-do occupations of working life, such as trade, agriculture, &c. in fact the capitalists of a primitive society—succeeded in maintaining privilege of birth; and the Śûdras, a comparatively servile class, composed of all lower ranks of Âryans, and perhaps of subject aborigines. It may not here be out of place to remark that as the stream of Âryan immigration into India flowed on from the north-west, it no doubt, in course of time, became more and more intermixed with the existing population of the country, and from this obtained, among other things, the ingredient of the dark skin. The result of the intermixture

would be reckoned as Âryan, or rather as Hindu, in comparison with the aborigines, and a gradation of colour and features would be effected such as is now to be seen in passing from Peshâwar along the Gangetic trough to Orissa. Also, by survival of the fittest, the darker tints accompanying an Âryan physiognomy would come to prevail in the tracts of the tropical deltas. But it is not likely that any large proportion of this more extended growth would be recognized as belonging to the older privileged orders. It seems more reasonable to suppose that it would remain, as a rule, undistinguished from the general mass of the unprivileged, and would go to swell the body of Śûdras. There appears to have been, too, a lower social stratum still (p. 268, 179), not dignified by the designation of caste, the members of which were slaves to the Śûdras. Or, perhaps, some Śûdras managed to attain to a position of wealth and freedom, and then could command the services of other Śûdras, as if themselves actually members of a higher class. Besides these four principal castes, and in a sense comprehended within them, was a very considerable body of so-called mixed castes (p. 290 *et seq.*), which, Manu is at great pains to explain, arose from the irregular intermingling of the others: but he betrays the true cause of their formation and perpetuation when he says that they may all be known by their occupations (p. 294, 40). We see that in all countries during the earlier stages of civilization there is a universal tendency in the various businesses and occupations to be hereditary; as the father is, so is the son, and it is seldom that any one takes up, or indeed has the opportunity of engaging in, a business different from that followed by his father; marriages also commonly take place within the limits of the families which pursue the same avocation, and every man is known or spoken of by the name of his calling. From this cause such designations as Smith, Pinder, Hayward, Pedlar, Taylor, Glover, and so on, became surnames in England. In India, even at this day, the family has not yet disintegrated into its constituent members. Individuals are held together in a family, and families are connected together in groups by the operation of forces of conservation which have long ceased to exist in the Western Âryan races. Given a community of origin, whether personal, local, or other, sufficiently marked to constitute a characteristic, and a community of occupation or situation, the elements are present out of which a caste with its own peculiar customs and traditions will grow; and castes do in this way originate and grow under our eyes, even in these modern times. It is obvious that the mixed castes of Manu are essentially different in kind from the great tribal castes of Brâhmaṇs, Kshatriyas, &c.; they are, in truth, rather sub-castes than mixed castes, and bear the same relation to the tribal castes which the genera of plants in systematic botany do to the classes. Also, it seems probable that the very reasons which gave rise to the sub-caste designation would generally in the long run cause it to prevail over the tribal. With the great body of the people the family and its employment must have been of a greatly more distinguishing importance than the tribe. It would be mainly the upper classes of society who, wanting in the particular discriminating element furnished by the employment, would keep up the distinction of tribe.

It might perhaps be imagined that the religious rite of institution, and the privilege attached to its observance of wearing the thread, which marked off the three Âryan tribal divisions from the Śûdras, and constituted the quality of twice-born, would have been clung to and never lost. Nevertheless, this was not so: for Manu himself says (p. 294, 43): "The following races" (afterwards naming them) "of Kshatriyas, by their omission of holy rites, and by seeing no Brâhmaṇs, have gradually sunk among men to the lowest of the four classes." And, again, he says three verses lower: "Those sons of the twice-born who are said to be degraded, and who are considered as low-born, shall subsist only by such employments as the twice-born despise." He also discloses the fact that the converse process was going on in his time, when he declares (p. 294, 42) "By the force of extreme devotion and of exalted fathers, all of them" (the issue of certain specified marriages) "may rise to high birth;" and in another passage (p. 297, 64): "Should the tribe sprung from a Brâhmaṇ by a Śûdra woman produce children by the marriages of its women with other Brâhmaṇs, the low tribe shall be raised to the highest in the seventh generation." It was a principal object with Manu to glorify the Brâhmaṇs, and to preserve the

purity of the twice-born classes by restraining mixed marriages as far as possible; it therefore lay upon him to make out that cross-breeding, so to speak, was the sole and efficient cause of all caste distinction. But it seems apparent, on his own showing, that there were natural forces in action under which sub-castes gradually arose, grew, and altered their relations *inter se*. The course which society had hitherto run can be readily imagined: there had been a period of time during which the Âryans had developed into three broad hereditary classes,—a sacerdotal class, an aristocracy, and a free plebeian class, while a fourth class comprised all who were foreign, subject, or not free. But the development did not end here; this arrangement could not possess finality. For instance, an ever-increasing exclusive aristocracy could not possibly, in its integrity, maintain its place, and accordingly the Kshatriyas had, as we may infer from the passage just now quoted, early broken down. Something of the like kind had also evidently happened to the Brâhmaṇs, for many passages of the *Institutes* (p. 59, p. 64, 89, 3, and p. 299) are directed to the saving of class to Brâhmaṇs, as well as to the members of the other two twice-born classes, who under emergency might betake themselves to secular or abnormal pursuits. Then followed a second period, when the small sub-castes had come to be the real practical social divisions, and the former broader divisions were comparatively disregarded. Indeed, as time went on, these became obliterated or merged into one; on the one hand, sub-castes dropped wholly out of them, as in the case of Kshatriyas mentioned by Manu, and were indistinguishable by privilege from the sub-castes of the Śûdra class. On the other hand, sub-castes, which managed to usurp or gain privilege, took care to attach themselves to the class of highest reputation, namely, the Brâhmaṇs. There was no longer cause effective to keep separate the three privileged classes of Brâhmaṇs, Kshatriyas, Vaiśyas, when each had been broken into sub-castes, and neither of them, except in a degree the Brâhmaṇ, retained any exclusive area of employment. All that was then left was the line of demarcation between those who claimed to be privileged and those who were not privileged. In the end all the former came to be reckoned Brâhmaṇs, and all the latter Śûdras, the Kshatriyas and Vaiśyas having disappeared as distinct classes. And this pretty well represents the state of things subsisting in India in the present day.

A very large portion of the *Dharma Śâstra* is devoted to the instruction of Brâhmaṇs in their proper daily conduct throughout the whole period of life, from the cradle to the grave; and probably the picture thus sketched out may rightly be taken to represent the ideal perfection of man of that day. It is not, however, altogether a pleasant one to contemplate. Although humanity, truthfulness, honesty, cleanliness and chastity* are in so many words inculcated as the cardinal duties incumbent upon all men, the Lawgiver is not content to leave the understanding and discharge of them to his hearers' judgment; he prescribes the utmost details of conduct to which they lead, and thus takes occasion to make us acquainted with much that is gross and offensive. Indeed, the discipline and petty observances to which the model Brâhmaṇ was subjected during the two first stages of his life, *i. e.* the periods of studentship and of housekeeping, must have gone far to make him ready to embrace the asceticism which was prescribed to him as his last stage, had he been there left to himself; but, unfortunately, Manu followed him to the jungle and made his last days even a worse state of slavery to mortifying rule than his previous life had been. It is almost impossible to believe that any general body of men, such as a whole tribal division of the people, could have actually lived their lives in any close conformity with the minute injunctions of the *Dharma Śâstra*: and with the conscientious the failure to carry out the practice enjoined must have greatly weakened the desire and endeavour to realize the principle. The result which was apparently aimed at, irrespective of the means, is instructive. The child of the Brâhmaṇ class was to be placed under a spiritual preceptor, whom he should reverence almost as a deity, certainly with a respect superior to that which he owed to his own parents (p. 46, 225 ff.). "A teacher of the *Veda* is the image of God, a natural father the image of Brahma, a mother the image of the earth. . . . Let every man constantly do what may please his parents, and on all occasions

* p. 296, 63, the Five Commandments of Manu.

what may please his preceptor: when those three are satisfied, his whole course of devotion is accomplished. Due reverence to those three is considered as the highest devotion, and without their approbation he must perform no other duty. . . He who neglects not those three when he becomes a housekeeper will ultimately obtain dominion over the three worlds, and, his body being irradiated like a god, he will enjoy supreme bliss in heaven. By honouring his mother he gains this world, by honouring his father the intermediate, and by assiduous attention to his preceptor even the world of Brahma." With his preceptor the student remained a varying time, but at any rate until he was prepared to keep house on his own account. During the whole of this time he was bound to submit himself to a Spartan discipline (p. 45, 220). He rose before the sun, his diet was spare, and only such as he could obtain by begging (p. 40, 183). He was to abstain from every possible form of physical enjoyment (p. 39, 175 *et seq.*), and to keep aloof from all the pleasures of the world. In the presence of his preceptor his demeanour was to be downcast and humble (p. 45, 218). "As he who digs deep with a spade comes to a spring of water, so the student, who humbly serves his teacher, attains the knowledge which lies deep in his teacher's mind." And when the days of studentship are ended, and the young Brâhmaṇ has entered upon housekeeping duties (p. 97, 63), he must cultivate and maintain an impassive and dignified bearing; he must be strictly pure and formal in his daily life; he must, before all things, be liberal in his hospitality to Brâhmaṇs (p. 60, 72, p. 64 *et seq.*, p. 92, 29) and uninvited guests, and to those dependent on him, for duty's sake. To these must be postponed his own familiar friends, because kindness rendered on the incitement of friendship or selfishness brings no fruit in the next world (p. 66, 113, p. 69, 139). His very salutations must be in conventional words, according to the class of the person greeted. Finally (p. 145, 1, p. 156), "having thus remained in the order of a housekeeper, as the law ordains, let the twice-born man who had before completed his studentship dwell in a forest, his faith being firm, and his organs wholly subdued. When the father of a family perceives his muscles become flaccid and his hair grey, and sees the child of his child, then let him seek refuge in a forest."

We have thus presented to us in a sad and gloomy aspect that which the Hindu Âryan considered the perfection of human life. If there is any truth in the modern theory, that the tone of man's thought and the working of his imaginative faculties is largely influenced by the natural phenomena amid which the cradle of his race was placed, we ought to attribute to the Sanskrit people original experiences akin to those of their Teutonic cousins, rather than those which conferred upon the Âryans of Southern Europe their present characteristic light-hearted levity.*

At the time of the *Institutes*, Sanskṛit, according to a gloss of Kullûka, was not generally understood by men, and seemingly not at all by women (p. 33, 123). Probably, if it ever was a vernacular in the polished and scientifically constructed form under which we know it, it had then ceased to be so. No doubt, the language commonly spoken varied with the district, and was a dialect of a Sanskṛit original.

There were, however, foreign languages prevalent, non-Âryan, *i.e.* distinguished from that of the Âryans, and it is very noteworthy that Manu seems to reckon some who spoke these as descendants, though out-castes, from the four classes" (p. 294, 45).

That the people were poor, even as compared with Hindus of the present day, is abundantly clear. For a while their industry was mainly pastoral, and their acquired wealth took the shape of herds. In one portion of the *Institutes*, when property is spoken of (as when a present to a Brâhmaṇ is mentioned, or when a partition between brothers is to be effected), cattle has the principal place and importance attributed to it. But at a later period agriculture and trade acquired considerable development. There is a Deuteronomy in the *Dharma Śâstra*, and a comparison of the two expositions brings this advance to view.

The people lived in large families under one roof, or in one dwelling-place, as they do now; and there is little indication of luxury about them. Talking birds were to be found in a king's palace (p. 177, 149), and a wealthy householder might have a riding-horse or carriage and ornaments (p. 264, 150:) "A field, or gold, a jewel,

* See Buckle, Taine, &c.

a cow, or a horse, an umbrella, a pair of sandals, a stool, corn, cloths, or even any very excellent vegetable" (p. 48, 246) is the list of articles any one of which was a fitting present to be made by a young man to his preceptor at the close of his student's career, and it may therefore be imagined to comprehend most of the valuables of the time. The *Dharma Sástra* nowhere contains any direct allusion to music or to any of the fine arts, and in this respect is in strong contrast with the Hebrew Bible. Gold-workers, however, are spoken of: and rings and jewels are slightly alluded to. In one passage (p. 133, 129) the hand of an artist is said to be always pure, an evident concession to the exigencies of his employment. Manners were very primitive, and not a little coarse. Sexual sensuality must have prevailed largely, if one may judge from the repeated prohibitions of it to be met with in the *Sástra* under every variety of form. Clothing was scanty, and it was necessary to authoritatively command the student to appear decently apparelled in the presence of his preceptor (p. 42, 193). Domestic utensils seem to have been of the most simple kind, of various metals, *i.e.* of copper, iron, brass, pewter, tin, and lead, and generally of earthenware (p. 137, 114), but the latter was not glazed. Leather even was used (p. 138, 119). Minute directions are given by Manu for the cleansing of these articles; and the natural inference to be drawn from the character of these is that great simplicity of life prevailed in all classes.

From Manu's prescription for a feast proper to be given to Brâhmans on the occasion of a *śráddha*, we learn what in those times was considered choice food, and also the order of serving the viands (p. 89, 225). The most prominent dish in the first course was a large bowl of rice; this was accompanied by soup (or broth) and vegetables, and was eaten with milk and curds, clarified butter and honey. After this came spiced puddings, milky messes of various sorts, roots of herbs and ripe fruits; and then savoury meats and sweet-smelling or aromatic drinks. Venison, mutton, the flesh of wild boars, of wild buffaloes, and even of rhinoceros, was greatly esteemed as food (p. 86, 268 *et seq.*). And it seems pretty clear that in earlier days there was no restraint upon eating meat; though in the time of Manu it was not considered lawful to eat any flesh which had not been sacrificed (p. 116, 213). Manu says (p. 129, 48) "flesh-meat cannot be procured without injury to animals, and the slaughter of animals obstructs the path to beatitude; from flesh-meat therefore let man abstain." But we must probably look beyond the religious precept in order to find an effective cause for the abstinence of a whole people.

Rural life, as opposed to town life, has great prominence given to it in the *Institutes*. The village, girt with a belt of common pasture-ground, and cultivated *khets* beyond, constituted the unit of agricultural occupation or possession (p. 220, 237). The land within the village boundaries belonged generally to the village: thus we have Manu saying (p. 221, 245): "If a contest arise between two villages concerning a boundary, let the king ascertain the limits in the month of Jaishṭha, when the landmarks are seen more distinctly;" and Kûlluka's gloss 'or land-holders' after the words 'two villages' serves only to make this fact more plain; doubtless, in his time some villages had lost their independent communal character, and come to be reckoned as the property of an individual owner, and hence the necessity for the enlargement of the sentence. But the arable fields, wells, tanks, gardens, and houses were appropriated to the different householders of the village and treated as their private property (p. 223, 262). The *mandirs* and public pools or tanks stood on the common ground (p. 222, 248).

The subjection of women to men was almost servile in its character (p. 141, 147, p. 245, &c.). Manu himself declares over and over again that "woman is never fit for independence," though the general tendency to look upon them as mere chattels met with reprehension from him; and he found himself obliged to forbid their being bought (p. 58, 52, p. 257, 98, but *vide* p. 216, 204 and 205) and sold in marriage, and (p. 192, 29) vindicated such rights of property as they had against spoliation at the hands of the male members of the family. A woman was liable to be personally chastised like a child by her husband (p. 228, 299), and was forbidden to be instructed. She is represented in the *Sástra* as completely animal in her passions, and entirely unable to resist temptation (p. 247, 15): wherefore she must be guarded, amused, and gratified at home, so that she may not go astray (p. 58,

55 *et seq.*). She is not to be trusted with a secret (p. 177, 150), and gets no benefit from either the instructional or the expiatory portions of scripture (p. 247, 18), so that a bad woman is bad indeed.

Nevertheless, there seems to have been a nearer approach to social intercourse between men and women than is the case now. And courtesy of demeanour towards the latter was enjoined. Way should be made for a woman when she is met in a road (p. 35, 138). And at meal-time precedence, even before guests, should be given to a bride and to a damsel (p. 66, 114). This spirit seems hardly to have survived to the present day. At the village tanks and wells, and at the stand-pipes of Calcutta, the women coming for water are kept in the background until the men who may be there have served themselves—a marked contrast in the eye of the foreigner to that which occurs at the fountains and pumps of the country villages in Europe.

It is noticeable that a great quantity of hair was not considered a beauty in a woman (p. 52, 8 and 10), and that the flexuous motion of a young elephant's limbs was thought the model of graceful gait! Hair with a red tinge was ranked as a deformity.

Marriage was a contract of mutual fidelity (p. 258, 101) and was indissoluble (p. 251, 46), and the essence of it did not consist in the ceremony, but in the husband's gift. Marriages of adults, dictated by inclination on both sides, could take place; p. 219, 224; p. 256; p. 257, 93 and 95), though Manu also says (p. 25, 791) "a man aged thirty years may marry a girl of twelve dear to his heart, or a man of twenty-four years a damsel of eight: but if the duties would otherwise be impeded let him marry immediately." A woman was forbidden to remarry (p. 143, 162). Indeed, with the system of the joint family and agnatic succession remarriage of the woman is impossible, except with a brother or near relative of her late husband. Manu, however, admits that it had formerly been different.† Men, on the other hand, could marry more than once (p. 53, 12). Several passages in the *Dharma Sástra* (p. 144, 168; p. 255, 80) would support the inference that the second wife could only be taken when the first was dead, or when an event had happened upon the occurrence of which the husband could supersede her; but there are also other passages which certainly authorize polygamy (p. 256, 85 and 86), at any rate if the wives other than the principal wife are of a lower class. And throughout the book it is assumed that a man of the twice-born classes may have a legitimate wife of a lower class in addition to the wife of his own class, a fact which of itself almost demonstrates that Manu's attempt at maintaining a rigid line of demarcation between each of the four classes was most hollow. A different ceremony was prescribed for the marriage according as the union was that of a Brâhmaṇ man with a Kshatriya woman, a Kshatriya man with a Vaiśya woman, and so on (p. 57, 43 *et seq.*). And unless the nuptial rites were blameless, it could not be expected that the offspring would be so (p. 56, 42).

Although Manu in several passages combated the general tendency to reckon woman as a mere chattel, he held to the doctrine that the husband was the marital owner of the wife, and from this by elaborate scholastic reasoning he deduced the conclusion that all her children are necessarily her husband's, whoever the real father might have been (p. 251, 48 *et seq.*). And upon the same ground, whatever a woman earns during marriage is acquired by her for the benefit of her husband (p 242, 416); although it is at the same time abundantly clear that a woman might have separate property of her own derived from other sources (p. 58, 52), at any rate after her husband's death, which the king was bound to assure to her in default of efficient protectors at home.

The three so-called twice-born classes, that is, the pure Âryans of unmixed descent, endeavoured, so far as was possible, to maintain their race-distinction by observance of the solemn rite of institution (p. 21, 36 to p. 25, 68). It consisted in the investiture of the recipient with a girdle, leathern mantle, staff, sacrificial cord, and *lotá*, hallowed by the *gayatri*, or mystic sentence from the *Veda*, (p. 27, 77), and other ceremonies (p. 22, 38). Unless this rite was performed in the case of a priest before the sixteenth year, of a soldier before the twenty-second, and of a merchant before the twenty-fourth, it could not properly be performed at

† p. 253, 66, and see p. 73, 166.

all; and the uninvested youth became an outcast, degraded from the *gayatri* and despised; for the second birth, or peculiar stamp, of the superior race consisted in this institution (p. 25, 68) by force of an ordinance of revealed law (p. 39, 172). "The young man is on a level with a Śûdra before his new birth from the revealed scripture." Women secured their second birth in a similar manner. "The same ceremonies," says Manu (p. 25, 66), "must be duly performed for women at the same age and in the same order, that the body may be made perfect; but, without any texts from the *Veda*, the nuptial ceremony is considered as the complete institution of women, ordained for them in the *Veda*, together with reverence to their husbands, dwelling first in their father's family, the business of the house, and attention to sacred fire." Kullûka's gloss excepts from the ceremonies for women "that of the sacrificial thread," and probably this exception corresponded with an increased inferiority in the situation of women subsequently to the time when the original passage was written. The omission of the Vedic texts was the natural consequence of the exclusion of women from the direct application of the revealed scripture

The observance of this rite seems to be historic, or rather memorial, in its intrinsic characteristics. It is analogous in this respect to the Passover of the Jews: and we are carried back by it to a time when the Âryan entered the land a stranger or new-comer, with his loins girt and staff in hand, clad in leathern jacket, the pioneer of a new civilization. How or when the rite sprang into being, or grew into political and religious importance, we have not the materials in Manu wherefrom to form a judgment. But it is possibly not without significance that in the leading passages which describe the ceremony we find the three classes spoken of or referred to quite as often as priest, soldier, and merchant as Brâhman, Kshatriya, and Vaiśya. In the time of the writer they could scarcely have been viewed as the subjects of separate creation.

Funeral ceremonies and feasts receive most elaborate treatment in the *Dharma Śâstra* (p. 67, p. 80, 226) and we thus become acquainted with the surprising extent to which priestcraft was carried, and the great hold upon the people which the Brâhman class succeeded in obtaining by reason of their practical monopoly of learning and education.

The people in general must have been exceedingly credulous and superstitious; for the authors of the *Śâstra* themselves give sanction to many ignorant beliefs. They taught (p. 21, 30) that there were fortunate and unfortunate days of the moon, lucky and unlucky hours, and that the stars exercised good or bad influences according to their qualities. Also that an auspicious name was valuable (p. 21, 33, p. 52, 9 and 10). To sacred texts and to gems of certain kinds extraordinary virtues were ascribed (p. 27, 76 to 85). They were prescribed as charms (p. 187, 217 and 218) and as antidotes to poison. Thunder and lightning were looked upon as portents (p. 103, 115, p. 102, 106). Signs and omens were to be regarded. On the appearance of a beast used in agriculture, a frog, a cat, a dog, a snake, an ichneumon, or a rat, the reading of the *Veda* must be intermitted for a day and a night (p. 105, 26): and much more of the like kind. Strangely enough, any one who observed a rainbow in the sky was forbidden to draw the attention of any other person to it!

There is little or nothing which deserves the name of natural science in the *Institutes*: an interpolation in the narrative of the creation (p. 6, 13 to 49) pretends to be a general classification of animals and vegetables, but it is of a very crude character and betrays no real classification of fact. Gold and silver were supposed to be products of fire and water combined (p. 137, 113). The celestial phenomena go almost without notice. The only exception is to be found in the following remarkable passage, which occurs seemingly as an interpolation in Bhrigu's preface (p. 9, 64 *et seq.*): "eighteen *nimeshas** are one *kashthas*, thirty *kashthas* one *kala*, thirty *kalas* one *muhurta*, and just so many *muhurtas* let mankind consider as the duration of their day and night. The sun causes the distribution of day and night both divine and human: night being for the repose of beings, and day for their exertion. A month is a day and a night of the Pitris, and the division being into equal halves; the half beginning from the

* 1 *nimesha* = a little more than 1/6".
1 *kashtha* = 3⅕".
1 *kala* = 1⅗'.
1 *muhurta* = ⅘ of an hour.

full moon is their day for actions, and that beginning from the new-moon is their night for slumber. A year is a day and a night of the gods, and again their division is this: their day is the northern, and their night the southern, course of the sun." One can hardly avoid the inference that the writer of this was aware of the relative motions of the sun, moon, and earth; and also of the earth's revolution about her axis. The effort at a systematic scale of time-measures is very noteworthy, the more so as later in the book (p. 206, 131 *et seq.*), and also entirely out of place, appears a similar, though very much longer, scale of weights based on an imaginary atomic unit, namely, "the very small mote which may be discerned in a sunbeam passing through a lattice, and is the least visible quantity" (p. 206, 132). The hereditary transmission of disease had been observed (p. 52, 7). And in Bhrigu's account of the creation there is an attempt at explaining the phenomena of sound, light, and so on. From intellect called into action by the will of Brahma emerges the subtile ether to which philosophers ascribe the quality of sound (p. 10, 75); from ether transmuted in form proceeds air, the vehicle of all scents, and endued with the quality of touch. Then from air changed rises light, making objects visible, and having the quality of figure; and from light changed comes water, with the quality of taste; and from water earth, with the quality of smell. Besides this there is a curious speculation upon a peculiar branch of physiology, which is, however, nothing better than pure guess-work (p. 57, 49).

The government of the country, and the general political administration, was in the hands of the hereditary aristocracy, *i.e.* the Kshatriya class. There was an absolute king of this class who reigned of divine right (p. 159, 3, and p. 160, 8), and was represented as being formed (p. 135, 96; p. 159, 4) by the ruler of the universe out of particles drawn from the eight guardian deities, and as therefore pure and surpassing all mortals in glory. "Even though a child (p. 160, 8), he must not be treated lightly, from the idea that he is a mere mortal: no; he is a powerful divinity who appears in a human shape." His highest attribute is criminal justice (p. 162, 28, and p. 191, 16), which is again in fact itself a deity. He governed by the aid of a council (p. 163, 36; p. 165, 54) of seven or eight sworn ministers. But (p. 163, 37; p. 166, 58) it was right that he should be influenced by the opinions of discreet Brâhmans, and in particular he ought to take the most distinguished of them all as his confidential adviser. Manu is very earnest and specific in warning a king against the common vices of those possessed of irresponsible power, and it is somewhat startling to find *hunting* characterized as one of the four most pernicious vices in the set which love of pleasure occasions (p. 165, 50). The stability of the royal authority does not appear to have been great, notwithstanding the divinity of the king's person; for Manu enjoins extraordinary precautions for the purpose both of ensuring the security of the king's residence (p. 167, 69 *et seq.*), and of guarding him from possible violence or treachery on the part of his immediate attendants (p. 187, 217 to 223). The daily routine of the royal business is given in some detail by Manu, broken by a dissertation upon military and other matters. It may be abstracted thus:—The king rose in the last watch of the night, and after making oblations, and paying due respect to the priests, he entered his audience-hall decently splendid" (p. 177, 145). There he showed himself to the people for their gratification, and then retired with his ministers to some private place, in order to consult with them unobserved, and special care was taken that no one should be within hearing who was considered "apt to betray secret counsel." Having thus consulted with his ministers upon all the public matters demanding his attention, he next took his exercise; and then after bathing he entered at noon his private apartments for the purpose of taking food. The meal over, he diverted himself with his women in the recesses of his palace; and having thus "idled a reasonable time" he again addressed himself to public affairs. Probably, his apparel within the palace was somewhat scanty, for it is said at this point that "he dressed himself completely" and proceeded to review his troops. At sunset he performed some religious duties, after which he received in a private inner apartment informers and emissaries employed by him to gather intelligence secretly. And this business being despatched, he went, "attended by women, to the inmost recess of his mansion for the sake of his evening meal. There, having a second

time eaten a little, and having been recreated with musical strains," he went to rest early, in order that he might rise refreshed from his labour.

Of the ministers the two principal persons were the Foreign Minister and the Commander-in-Chief (p. 167, 64, 65). Home affairs appear to have been chiefly transacted by the king in person. The qualifications for the post of foreign minister and the principles of foreign policy are dwelt upon in the *Institutes* at great length, and the art of war is expounded very fully. Even the order of the march and the best mode of commencing a general action are laid down. Some very prudent advice is given relative to the conduct of a war; actual fighting was to be resorted to only as the last expedient: "Let him," says Manu (p. 184, 197), speaking of the king, "secretly bring over to his party all such as he can safely bring over; let him be informed of all that his enemies are doing: and, when a fortunate moment is offered by heaven, let him give battle, pushing on to conquest, and abandoning fear: yet he should be more sedulous to reduce his enemies by negotiation, by well-applied gifts, and by creating divisions, using either all or some of those methods, than by hazarding at any time a decisive action, since victory or defeat are not surely foreseen on either side when two armies engage in the field: let the king then avoid a pitched battle; but should there be no means of applying the three expedients, let him, after due preparation, fight so valiantly that his enemy may be totally routed." Manu goes on (p. 184, 201) to enjoin that in a conquered country the religion should be respected, the established laws maintained, and the rights of property so far as possible be undisturbed. It is evident that war and the enlargement of dominion formed a subject which had engaged the attention and been studied successfully by men of advanced intelligence in the time of Manu.

It is unfortunate that the executive administration of the internal affairs of the kingdom did not offer the like attraction to the author or compiler of the *Institutes*. We hardly get the smallest glimpse of the Civil Service system. Detachments of troops commanded by trustworthy officers were quartered in military stations over the country, in order to protect the people (p. 173, 114). Besides these, there was a civil head or governor to every town, or rather village, with its district; and over a group of ten towns or villages was a superior officer to whom these were subordinate; higher again was the lord of one hundred towns, and so on. To the head of a village was assigned for his maintenance the food, drink, wood and other articles which were by law daily due from the inhabitants to the king (p. 173, 118). The head of a group of ten villages was entitled to "the produce of two plough lands" (that is, of so much land as required two ploughs for its cultivation); "the lord of twenty that of five plough lands; the lord of a hundred that of a village or small town; the lord of a thousand that of a large town" (p. 174, 119). It is by no means clear what were the exact functions of the officers in this graded system. No doubt it devolved upon them to maintain general peace and order (p. 173, 116), but what sort or staff of police force each had at his command for this purpose is not apparent. The affairs of the townships and districts (whatever this word 'affairs' may comprehend) were transacted by them (p. 174, 120). And probably the king's revenue was collected by them. Seemingly this machinery was somewhat of a rough and ready character, and approached that patriarchal form which is generally very delightful to the governors, and imagined by them to be perfectly adapted to secure the happiness and welfare of the governed. Wide latitude of discretion, only controlled by the will of a superior officer, did not, however, in those days lead to the most happy results. Manu himself says (p. 174, 123): "Since the servants of the king whom he has appointed guardians of districts are generally knaves, who seize what belongs to other men, from such knaves let him defend his people; from such evil-minded servants as wring wealth from subjects* attending them on business, let the king confiscate all the possessions, and banish them from his realm." With the object of keeping the local officers to their duties, and protecting the people from oppression at their hands, there was an entirely separate body of inspectors, and also in every large town a superintendent of affairs (p. 174, 121), elevated in rank, formed in power, distinguished "as a planet amongst stars," —a sort of exalted commissioner of division.

* Since come to be *rogues*.

It may with much probability be inferred from data which are to be found in the instructions for carrying on war, and which I have not quoted, that the kingdoms (so to speak) in view of which the compilers of Manu wrote, more nearly resembled large *râjs* than separate countries in the modern sense. Indeed, it is very noteworthy that the foregoing sketch corresponds closely with the state of things which prevailed quite in historical times among the non-Âryan people, the Kolhs and Oraons of the Chutiyâ Nâgpur plateau. There, as the consequence of the conditions under which each village was founded, * it had a priestly head (*pâhan*), a secular head (*mundar* or *mahton*), and often a third officer, all hereditary, and entitled by right of office to a certain portion of land, the origin of the existing Bhuniya tenures. The *mahton*, to use Manu's language, transacted the affairs of the village. Three or four, or more, of these villages in a group were subordinated to the *mahton* of most influence within them under the name of *manki*, and ultimately the biggest *manki* in a district became the râja or king, the ordinary people of the villages paying him a sort of rent in kind, or money, and the headmen doing public service in consideration of their free land.

To return to Manu. The king's revenue was derived from several sources. In the first place, certain rations of food, drink, &c. were rendered to the king daily by every township (p. 173, 118 : p. 229, 307), and constituted the maintenance of the head or governor of the town or village. There was also a land revenue amounting to an eighth, or a sixth, or a twelfth part of the grain produce, and a sixth part of most other things (p. 175, 130) ; also one-fiftieth part of certain capital stock, as cattle, gems, gold, silver, &c. In times of emergency (p. 304, 118) the revenue might be raised to even one-fourth of the produce. Besides these there were *ad valorem* taxes upon marketable (p. 240, 398) commodities, ferry and other tolls, market dues, &c., and a small poll-tax upon the classes who paid nothing else. And fines imposed in the administration of criminal justice went to increase the public revenue.

But if the information which we can gather from Manu relative to the civil and fiscal administration of the country is meagre, the case is quite otherwise with regard to the department of municipal law. In addition to a divine code of morals, the compilers of the *Institutes* have given us a criminal and a civil law at great length, and have also afforded us some insight into the mode in which it was administered. There was a High Court (p. 190, 10), commonly called the Court of Brahmâ, constituted of a Chief Judge appointed by the king, and three Assessors. The Chief Judge might be drawn from any of the twice-born classes, though he ought the more properly to be a Brâhmaṇ (p. 191, 20), but the king was prohibited from appointing a Śûdra to this office. The trial was had in open court, and was effected by the examination of witnesses in the presence of the parties concerned (p. 199, 79). In civil suits the plaintiff first made his complaint, and then the defendant was summoned to answer it. It was apparently incumbent upon the plaintiff to put in a written plaint (p. 196, 58), and if he delayed to do so, he was liable to be corporally punished, or to be fined. In a suit to recover property, if the defendant denied the truth of the plaintiff's claim, then the latter had to establish it by the mouths of three witnesses (p. 196, 60) at least who could speak to the facts. In the event (p. 195, 53, 54 *et seq.*) of the plaintiff, by his witnesses or otherwise, varying the case upon which he based his suit, or asserting confused and contradictory facts, or disclaiming a witness whom he had intentionally called, or calling a witness who was not present at the time and place of the occurrences to which he was to depose, or improperly conversing with his witnesses, or refusing to answer a proper question, and so on, the judge was bound to declare him non-suited. On the other hand, (p. 196, 58) if the defendant did not plead within six weeks of being summoned, he was condemned for default. And (p. 196, 59) both a plaintiff who made a false claim, and a defendant who falsely denied the truth of a claim, were alike fined double the amount of the claim. After the examination of the witnesses, the judge heard argument on both sides (p. 189, 3, and p. 194, 44) ; and, finally, having arrived at the truth of the facts by a most careful consideration of the demeanour of the parties (p. 192, 25 and 26) and their witnesses, and of their testimony, he decided the matter in contest strictly according to the law which was applicable to the case (p. 192, 24).

* Colonel Dalton's *Ethnology of Bengal*, and Act II. of 1869, Bengal Code.

This procedure and doctrine as to the duty of this court leaves hardly anything to be desired, and seems to be indicative of an advanced stage of civilization, a high appretiation of established law, and a considerable amount of juridical culture. It is to be feared, however, that the integrity of the kings, judges, and the veracity of litigants and witnesses was not of the same exalted character. Passage after passage in the *Institutes* is devoted to impressing upon the king and his officers the awful nature of the obligation to judge the people righteously, and the tremendous consequences here and hereafter of disregarding it. And whole pages are exhausted in contrasting the fates of those who are the witnesses of truth and the witnesses of falsehood. Thus we have (p. 199, 81)—"A witness who gives evidence with truth shall attain exalted seats of beatitude above, and the highest fame here below: such testimony is revered by Brahmâ himself. The witness who speaks falsely shall be fast bound in the cords of Varuṇa, and be wholly deprived of power during a hundred transmigrations: let mankind, therefore, give no false testimony. By truth is a witness cleared from sin; by truth is justice advanced: truth must therefore be spoken by witnesses of every class. The soul itself is its own witness; the soul itself is its own refuge: offend not thy conscious soul, the supreme eternal witness of men! The sinful have said in their hearts, 'None sees us.' Yes, the gods distinctly see them, and so does the spirit within their breasts. The guardian deities of the firmament, of the earth, of the waters, of the human heart, of the moon, of the sun and fire, of punishment after death, of the winds, of night, of both twilights, and of justice, perfectly know the state of all spirits clothed with bodies." And in calling upon a Śûdra to give his evidence the judge is enjoined to exhort him to truth in a homily of some length, which contains passages such as the following:—"The fruit of every virtuous act which thou hast done, O good man, since thy birth, shall depart from thee to dogs if thou deviate in speech from the truth" (p. 201, 90 *et seq.*). "Naked and shorn, tormented with hunger and thirst, and deprived of sight, shall the man who gives false evidence go with a potsherd to beg food at the door of his enemy." "Headlong in utter darkness shall the impious wretch tumble into hell, who, being interrogated in a judicial inquiry, answers one question falsely." The standard of truthfulness could hardly have been high where continual exhortation of this kind was needed. And perhaps the effect of this teaching may have been marred by the qualification (p. 202, 103 and 104) that "In some cases a giver of false evidence from a pious motive, even though he know the truth, shall not lose a seat in heaven: such evidence wise men call the speech of the gods. Whenever the death of a man, either of the servile, the commercial, the military, or the sacerdotal class, would be occasioned by true evidence, falsehood may be spoken: it is even preferable to truth,"—a qualification not unknown to tender-hearted British jurymen, though seldom admitted even by them, so dangerous is the doctrine felt to be.

It is worthy of note that in the *Institutes* the creditor is expressly authorized to recover his property (p. 195, 49 and 50), if he can, by his own arm, without having recourse to a court of law, and if on his doing so the original wrong-doer complains, the latter becomes liable to be fined (p. 212, 176), and also (p. 204, 117) that "whenever false evidence has been given in any suit the king must reverse the judgment, and whatever has been done must be considered as undone," two facts which go far to suggest that the regular action of the courts was not altogether satisfactory in its results. And this seems to be confirmed by the alternative, which it was thought necessary to allow them, of reaching their decision by the short cut of a solemn oath, or of ordeal: "In cases where no witness can be had between two parties opposing each other, the judge may acquire a knowledge of the truth by the oath of the parties, if he cannot perfectly ascertain it" (p. 203, 109). "Or, let him cause the party to hold fire, or to dive under water, or severally to touch the heads of his children and wife. He whom the blazing fire burns not, whom the water soon forces not up, or who meets with no speedy misfortune, must be held veracious in his testimony on oath" (p. 204, 114).

In all this it is more than probable that we have a relatively modern method of pleading and trial superimposed upon a primitive proceeding; for in the next topic to which we come, namely, municipal law, it appears plainly manifest that something of the like kind has taken place,

a new material has been added to, and mixed up with, an old.

The remark has already been made that there is a deuteronomy in the *Institutes*: this does not occur in the shape of an acknowledged second utterance of the law, but by way of interpolation in, and gloss upon, that which was the earlier delivered. It is not easy, without making very large quotations, to show how this is apparent. The original writer had set out with declaring that the whole law was comprised under eighteen titles (p. 189, 3), which he named in order, and "that those eighteen titles of law are settled as the groundwork of all judicial proceeding in this world" (p. 190, 7). This declaration was followed by the due enunciation of the law accordingly, in the course of which the beginning and ending of each title was expressly mentioned in so many words. All this still stands. But subsequent writers have introduced into the body of some of the titles much new matter, supplemental of the old, and have also interpolated between neighbouring titles topics and authoritative statements relevant to neither; and after the last of the titles, *i.e.* Gaming, have added a considerable body of law which could not by any contrivance be built up upon the limited groundwork of the titles, notwithstanding that the author of them had solemnly announced their all-comprehensiveness. It is in many instances amusing to see the shifts in the way of analogy to which the later lawgiver has been reduced in order to connect a matter of law with a particular title; and it is especially instructive to compare the improvements and additions with the meagreness of the code as it must have originally presented itself. The very titles themselves betray the—comparatively speaking—early stage of civilization at which they were framed to represent the entirety of the civil and criminal law. The lending of money on interest, hiring out of a useful chattel, deposit of an article for safe custody, sale of property without title, remuneration for work done by several jointly, recovery of money or goods given for that which is not rendered, wages when work is not done, non-fulfilment of an agreement by a trader, rescission of contract of sale after transfer of subject, dispute between herdsmen and cattle-owners, confusion of boundaries, assault, defamation, robbery with violence, adultery and unchastity, the relation between husband and wife, inheritance, and gaming, all taken in the narrowest sense, covered every cause of dispute and every form of crime. On the other hand, in that which appears to be added matter, we find the lawgiver dealing with lost property, standard weights, suretyship, market ouvert, adulteration, liability of master for servant's acts, burglary, cutpurses, injuries done by unskilful physicians, fraudulent goldsmiths and corn-factors, rights of water, detective police, &c. The prison and the pillory come in as new modes of punishment, and by specification of certain forms of imposture and cheating, and of the places in which vice flourishes, we are introduced to a society which had reached an advanced position in the course of development. In short, between the dates of the first and of the final delivery of the law, society had passed from the condition of which the pastoral village is the type, to that of an agricultural community in which town life, with its industries and its vices, has begun its course of growth.

We have a pretty accurate clue in the *Dharma Śástra* to the general geographical situation of the people for whom it was compiled. In a well-known often-quoted passage it is written (p. 19, 21): "That country which lies between Himavat and Vindhyâ, to the east of Vinasana and to the west of Prayâga* is celebrated by the title of Madhya-deśa. As far as the Eastern and as far as the Western oceans, between the two mountains just mentioned, lies the tract which the wise have named Aryavarta. That land on which the black antelope naturally grazes is held fit for the performance of sacrifices; but the land of the Mlechhas differs widely from it. Let the three first classes invariably dwell in those before-mentioned countries; but a Śûdra distressed for subsistence may sojourn wherever he chooses." The middle district here spoken of appears to correspond roughly with the Doab of the Ganges and Jamnâ, together with the tracts between the latter river and the Sutlej, and was probably the principal centre of Âryan activity. The Âryans had also evidently pushed themselves down the valley of the Ganges as far as the Bay of Bengal on the one side, and down the Indus as far as the Indian Ocean on the other;

* Allahabad.

but they had not progressed far south towards the centre of the Indian Peninsula; and doubtless the Himâlayas completely shut them in on the north. Apart from the above-cited express statement, we meet with very few collateral or incidental facts in the *Institutes* calculated to support any inference as to the physical condition of the country occupied by Manu's people. High ground is seldom alluded to. In one place the king is recommended to fix his abode in a champaign country, abounding in grain, and having, if possible, a fortress of mountains (p. 167, 69). On the other hand, the writer more than once displays a familiarity with low-lying lands. The simile "As he who digs deep with a spade comes to a spring of water" bespeaks a prevailing state of things such as obtains in the valley of a great river (p. 45, 218). And the direction (p. 221, 245)—"If a contest arise between two villages concerning a boundary, let the king ascertain the limits in the month of Jyêshtha, when the landmarks are seen more distinctly," seems to point to a land which is flooded during the season of the rains. All this accords very well with the supposition that those to whom the *Dharma Śâstra* was addressed lived principally, if not almost exclusively, in the upper half of the Gangetic trough. Although it is stated that the Âryans might dwell anywhere between the two oceans, the Eastern and the Western, and therefore it may be inferred that they had in some degree extended themselves to these limits, still it is very clear that they had little or nothing to do with the sea. "A navigator of the ocean" was the subject of abhorrence (p. 72, 158), and was ranked with a house-burner, a poisoner, and a suborner of perjury. Sea-borne goods are however mentioned; and in a passage of the —comparatively speaking—more modern portion of the law relative to the charges which might be made at ferries, and for the conveyance of goods by water, we have: "For a long passage the freight must be proportioned to places and times, but this must be understood of the passages up and down rivers; at sea there can be no settled freight" (p. 241, 406). But the fact seems to be that the Indian Âryans in Manu's age were essentially an inland people, and had not yet reached the shores of Bengal and Orissa. They had been settled long enough to suffice for the growth in different localities of tribes or sub-races respectively marked and distinguished by known characteristics—an element in the development of caste already dwelt upon. Thus the men of the Brahmarshi district (perhaps the neighbourhood of Dehli to the south) had acquired a special reputation for courage, and it is not unlikely that they then represented the oldest and best Aryan blood.* Nepâl (p. 82, 235 and 234, and p. 138, 120) was famous for its blankets; but whether it was reckoned a foreign country or not, or whether the Âryans had obtained any hold over it, there is no information afforded us from which we can judge. There were cities governed by Śûdra kings (p 96, 61), resembling perhaps a small *râj*, independent of the Âryan, but possessing a coordinate civilization. The Âryans themselves must also have been split up into various kingdoms, or *râjs*: for in Manu's dissertation on the art of war the king is instructed how to conduct himself in certain contingencies towards neighbouring powers (p. 167, 64), and in the event of his being pressed on all sides by hostile troops he is told to seek the protection of a just and powerful monarch (p. 181, 174).

A LEGEND OF OLD BELGÂM.

BY GILMOUR M'CORKELL, Bo. C.S.

The accompanying popular account of the foundation of **Belgâm** and its subsequent capture by the Musalmán powers, although not historically accurate, may not be without some interest to the student of the early history of the Southern Mahratta Country.

No doubt the Belgâm which along with **Sâpûr** was called **Jîrṇaśîtapura** was what is spoken of further on as Old Belgâm, of which we still find the remains of the embankment of the mud fort close to the second milestone on the Dhârwâḍ road; and about one mile from Belgâm on the Khânâpur road we pass along the *bând* of a large tank, of which the name was **Nâgarakere**, and it is, doubtless, identical with the lake of **Nâga-**

* p. 183, 193; p 19, 19; and see Cunningham, vol I. p. 340.

sarovara, given as the scene of the sudden death of king Śânta. Old Belgâṁ is said to have been founded by a Jaina king; but the earliest notice that we have of it is to be found in the Gulhaḷḷi inscription.* It was then (*circa* A.D. 1160) the chief town of the district known as the Veḷugrâmma Seventy, and was governed, under the Châlukya kings, by the Kâdamba chieftain Śivachitta or Pêrmâḍidevâ. Shortly after this date it was acquired by the Raṭṭa chieftains, who made it their capital instead of Saundatti. It will be seen that one of these Raṭṭa chieftains, Mallikârjuna by name, is mentioned in the accompanying legend, but it is erroneously stated therein that he was the last of his race to exercise sovereignty; Mr. Fleet's researches show that Mallikârjuna's elder brother, Kârtavîrya IV., with whom Mallikârjuna had been associated in the government as Yuvarâja, was still ruling after Mallikârjuna's death, and that Lakshmidêva II.,† the son of Kârtavîrya IV., enjoyed regal powers before the supremacy of the Raṭṭas ceased. When this event occurred, Belgâṁ, together with the adjoining country, appears to have fallen under the sway of the Yâdava kings of Devagiri. What was next the fate of the country is not yet known definitely; further researches on this subject are needed to enable us to complete a sketch of the history of this period.

The legendary account—however far from the truth—of the deposition of the Raṭṭa chieftain Mallikârjuna brings us in the next place to consider the Musalmân period. The first mention of Belgâṁ in Ferishtah‡ is under the date A.D. 1375. Asaḍ Khân flourished in the first half of the 16th century, as is shown by the Persian inscription on the mosque which he erected in the Fort of Belgâṁ,§ wherein the date given is equivalent to A.D. 1519; and Ferishtah || states that Belgâṁ was taken from the Râya of Vijayanagara in A.D. 1471.

The etymology which is given of the name Belgâṁ is more ingenious than trustworthy; but I would suggest that it is quite within the bounds of possibility that *Beḷ*,—which is a corruption of *Veḷu* or more properly *Veṇu*,¶ the first portion of the name,—may embalm for us the name of some ancient Jaina king of whom or whose deeds we possess no further record. Veṇu is, in fact, the name of one of the kings of the Yâdava race. I advance this opinion with all diffidence, in view of the elaborate explanation and etymology of the name given by Mr. Stokes at p. 18 of his *Historical Account of the Belgaum District.*

With respect to the 108 Jain temples, which are said to have been built by the pious king in expiation of the accidental cremation of so many Jaina sages, it cannot now be determined where they stood; but even at the present day within the walls of the Fort of Belgâṁ there are two entire Jaina temples and a priest's house, and, built into the ramparts of the fort, we find many remnants of beautifully carved stones which once undoubtedly adorned the pillars and façades of old Jaina temples.

I cannot at present localize the forest of Anagoḷa, but hope at some future time to be in a position to do so.

Yalûr is a small village lying at the foot of the hill on which is built Yalûrgaḍ, a strong hill-fort lying almost due south of Belgâṁ. The river Sandarśana is in all probability a branch or tributary of the modern Mâlaprabhâ, which in its early course runs in a southerly direction passing nearly equidistantly between Santi-Bastvâḍ and Yalûrgaḍ.

The Legend.

There was a poet, by name Sarasijabhavanandana, belonging to the ancient Jaina caste, an inhabitant of Belgâṁ. He has composed in the Old Kanarese language a short history of kings. Having, by means of rhetorical figures and an ornate Sanskrit expression, applied such epithets as ripen as if

* Edited by Mr. J. F. Fleet, Bo. C.S., in *Jour. Bomb. Br. R. As. Soc.* vol. IX. p. 296.

† Kârtavîrya and his brother Mallikârjuna, sons of Lakshmi Bhupati, are both mentioned in the Belgâṁ inscription dated Śaka 1127 (A.D. 1205); and Lakshmideva II. in one at Saundatti, dated Ś. 1151 (A.D. 1229). Conf. *Report of the Archæological Survey in the Belgâṁ and Kaladgi Districts*, pp. 2, 12.—ED.

‡ Mr. Stokes' *Historical Account of Belgaum*, p. 15.

§ *Ibid.* p. 24 || *Ibid.* pp. 19, 20.

¶ Venugrâma or Veḷugrâma is the name of Belgâṁ in the inscriptions already referred to.—ED.

they were plentiful grain in the Karṇâṭaka country, he has compiled an account of Beḷgâṁ. In it we obtain full information of those kings who formerly were, their names, their good qualities, their castes, and the virtuous deeds that they performed. And memorials of the acts which were done by those same kings are to be met with, even in the present day, in Beḷgâṁ, and are as written below:—

Śâpur and Beḷgâṁ were formerly collectively called Jîrṇaśîtapura, and there lived there the governor of the city of Sâmantapattaṇa, whose name was Kuntamarâya, a Jaina by caste, very religious and compassionate. So the people had great joy and happiness. One day (it happened that) one hundred and eight Jaina sages,—who had come from the South Country into the forest of Anagoḷa, of which the name was formerly Hrasvagiri—remained there all night, because their rules did not permit them to advance a single footstep during the darkness. When this news reached Kuntamarâya, the king, with the expressed assent of his wife Guṇavatî, went out to the sages and, having performed respectful obeisance, besought them as follows:—"O mighty saints, take pity upon me and bestow your favour upon me, so that my reign may become famous." But, as their custom was never to say anything at night, they held no converse with the king. Accordingly the king returned home in great despondency, (and, as he was going,) sparks of fire fell from the torches, and the dry forest was set on fire, and all those sages were burnt to ashes.

On the following day, in the early morning the king again went into the forest and saw that all those Jaina sages had been consumed. When they saw this, both husband and wife were much terrified, and began to consider. Accordingly, there and then, he proposed a plan to Guṇavatî, whereby those Jaina sages might attain the state of final emancipation,—as follows. "Let us bring stones and build 108 temples, and, when we have performed worship to them, I shall accomplish the propagation of offspring." When he had so said, they returned home, and, and in accordance with the above plan, he caused to be built 108 Jaina temples at that very place where there are even at the present day some Jaina temples in the Fort of Beḷgâṁ. After he had been initiated into the mysteries of the Jaina faith and had reigned for some time, Guṇavatî at length became pregnant. And now, although he had been very anxious that his wife should have children, his dread of not having any offspring vanished. On this account he gave to Beḷgâṁ the name of Vaṁśapura. Now the word in Marâṭhî for *Vaṁśa* is *Beḷ*. In this manner we arrive at the name Beḷgâṁ.

Afterwards there lived in Old Beḷgâṁ, Śânta the son of Kuntama the king of Savantavâḍì, famous, deeply learned in the mysteries of the Jaina religion, thoroughly skilled in the worship of the gods of his forefathers, very brave, and lauded by princes who are born in the races of the Sun and Moon, a supporter of the rules of faith of the Kshatriyas, a protector of Jaina sages, very skilful in bestowing on the temples of Jinendra that wealth which consists in courtesans, &c. He had fourteen wives. The chief of these wives, by name Padmavatî, was very famous. She had a son by Śânta named Anantavîrya. One day, attended by his retinue of maid-servants, &c., he (Śânta) went to the river Sudarśana near Yalûr for the purpose of playing in the water, and in the lake of Nâgasarovara he met his death by a thunderbolt. Then three ministers of state came from Sâvantavâḍì and crowned Anantavîrya king. He also reigned according to the customs of his fathers. One day many sages, among whom Sudarśana was the chief, arrived. When he had made respectful obeisance to them, Anantavîrya inquired concerning his ancestors, and those sages recounted from their *Purâṇas* the above story in which has been related the fate of king Śânta.

Afterwards there was a king of his race and lineage by name Mallikârjuna. During his reign a famous Musalmân by name Asta Khân (Asad Khân) came from Bengal, and, having acquired the kingdom by treachery, he deposed him (Mallikârjuna), overthrew those one hundred and eight temples, and built a fort. Even at the present time we find stones (belonging to those in the Fort).

BIOGRAPHIES OF AŚVAGOSHA, NÂGARJUṆA, ÂRYADEVA, AND VASUBANDHU.

Translated from Vassilief's work on Buddhism, by Miss E. Lyall.

Aśvagosha* (in Chinese *Ma-mine*, 'voice of the horse') was a disciple of the venerable Pârśva. Pârśva, on arriving in Central India from the North, learned that the clergy of that district dared not strike the *Gaṇṭá*,† a privilege, as we know, which had been granted to the religions which prevailed or which had obtained preponderance. The cause of this humiliation was Aśvagosha, who, belonging to the most learned Tîrthikas, had demanded that the Buddhists should not be permitted to strike the *Gaṇṭá* so long as they had not refuted him. Pârśva ordered it to be struck; he entered into discussion with Aśvagosha, and first asked him this simple question :—'What is to be desired in order that the universe may enjoy peace, the sovereign long life, the countries abundance, and that people may no longer have to submit to miseries?' A turn so unexpected, to which it was necessary to reply, according to the laws of discussion, confounded Aśvagosha, and after the meeting he became a disciple of Pârśva, who counselled him to teach Buddhism, and then returned to his native town. Aśvagosha remained in Central India, and made himself celebrated by his superior talents.

It happened that the king of Little *Yu-chyi*, in Northern India, invaded Magadha, and demanded the cups of Buddha and Aśvagosha to be given up to him. The nobles grumbled against the king because he had set much too high a value on the latter; in order to convince them of their merit, the king took seven horses, and after having starved them for six days, he led them to the place in which Aśvagosha was teaching, and ordered fodder to be given to them, but when the horses heard the preacher they shed tears, and would not eat. Aśvagosha became celebrated because the horses had understood his voice, and because of this he received the name of Aśvagosha (voice of a horse).

2. Nâgârjuṇa was born in Southern India. He was descended from a Brahmanical family; he was naturally endowed with eminent qualities; and whilst yet a child he taught the four Vedas, each of which contained 40,000 *gâthas* (each of which is composed of 42 letters or syllables). He travelled into various kingdoms, and learned all the secular sciences, such as astronomy, geography, secret and magical powers; then he entered into friendship with three very distinguished men, and, having obtained power to render himself invisible, he glided with them into royal palaces, where he began to disgrace the women. Their presence was discovered by the print of their feet; the three companions of Nâgârjuṇa were hewn to pieces, and he himself was saved only by first making a vow to adopt the spiritual state (Buddhist). Accordingly, having arrived on the mountains, at the *stûpa* of Buddha, he uttered his vows, and in ninety days he learned the three *Piṭakas*, the deepest meaning of which he penetrated. Then he began to search for the other *Sûtras*, but he found them nowhere; it was only on the summit of the Snowy Mountains that a very old Bhikshu gave him *The Sûtra of Mahâyâna*, the depth of the meaning of which he comprehended, without being able to discover the detailed explanations of it. All the opinions of the Tîrthikas and Śramaṇas seemed to him worthless; in his pride he supposed himself a founder of a new religion, and invented new vows and a new costume for his disciples. Then Nâgarâja (King of the Dragons) concentrated himself in him, took him with him to his palace at the bottom of the sea, and showed him there seven deposits of precious objects, with the Vaipulya books and other Sûtras of a deep and mystical meaning; Nâgârjuṇa read them for ninety consecutive days, and then returned to the earth with a casket. There was at this time in Southern India a king who knew very little of the true doctrine; Nâgârjuṇa, wishing to attract all his attention, appeared before him for seven years with a red flag, and when the king, in course of a prolonged conversation with him, asked him, as a proof of his universal knowledge, to tell him what was going on in heaven, Nâgârjuṇa declared that there was war between the Asuras and the Devas, and to confirm his words there fell from heaven an arm and some mutilated limbs of the Asuras.

* The biographies of the first three were translated into Chinese under the dynasty of Yao-tzine, A.D. 384-417, by Kumâraśya (Kumâraśila?); and the last, that of Vasubandhu, appeared under the Chene dynasty (A.D. 557-588), by the celebrated Chene-ti. From these M. Vassilief derives the following abridged lives (pp. 210-222 of the Russian ed.).

† A sort of bell for calling to religious exercises.

Then the king was convinced, and ten thousand Brâhmaṇs gave up wearing their hair in knots (that is to say, they were shaved), and made the vows of perfection (that is, of the spiritual calling). Then Nâgârjuna spread Buddhism widely in Southern India: he humbled the Tîrthikas, and to explain the doctrines of the Mahâyâna he composed the *Upadeśa*, of 100,000 *gâthas*; besides that, he composed *Chyuane iune fo lao lune*, 'The Sublime Path of Buddha,' consisting of 5,000 *gâthas*; *Da tzi fune biane lune*, 'The Art of Pity,' consisting of 50 *gâthas* (5,000?). It was by means of these that the doctrine of the Mahâyâna spread on all sides in Southern India. Besides these he composed *U vëi lune*, 'Meditations on Intrepidity,' in 100,000 *gâthas*.* A Brâhmaṇ who had entered into discussion with him produced a magic pond in the middle of which was a water-lily with a thousand leaves, but Nâgârjuna produced a magic elephant which overturned the pond. At length, upon a chief of the Hînayâna showing a desire that Nâgârjuna should die, he shut himself up in his solitary chamber and disappeared. For a hundred years temples were raised in his honour in all the kingdoms of India, and people began to worship him as they did Buddha. As his mother had borne him under an *Arjuna* tree, he received the name of Arjuna, and as after that a Nâga (dragon) had taken part in his conversion, the name Nâga was added, whence has resulted the name Nâgârjuna (in Chinese *Lune-chu*, dragon-tree; the Thibetans translate it 'converted by a dragon'). He was the thirteenth patriarch, and administered religion more than three hundred years.†

3. Deva (Âryadeva) was descended from a Brahmanical family of Southern India. He rendered himself celebrated by his general knowledge. There was in his kingdom a golden image of Maheśvara two *sagenes*‡ high; whoever, in asking a favour, turned himself towards it, had his prayer granted in the present life. All who presented themselves were not admitted to the image, but Deva insisted that he should be allowed to enter, and when the angry spirit began to roll his eyes, he pulled one of them out. Another day Maheśvara appeared to him in a festival and promised him that the people should believe his words. Deva came to the pagoda of Nâgârjuna,§ advanced into the spiritual state, and then began to enlighten the people. But that did not satisfy him; he was possessed with the desire to convert the king himself. For that purpose he went to the bodyguards, and after having gained their attention he asked permission to enter into discussion with some heretics, every one of whom he overcame. Deva composed *Bo-lune erl-chi ping*, 'The Hundred-fold Meditation,' and *Ci bo lune* (400 *gâthas*) for the overthrow of error, but a Tîrthika laid open his stomach and he died. As he had before this given one of his eyes to Maheśvara when he met him at the festival, he remained blind of an eye, and was surnamed Kâṇadeva.

4. Vasubandhu was born in the kingdom of Purushapura,‖ in Northern India. In the history of the god Vishṇu the following is related:—Vishṇu was the younger brother of Indra, who had sent him into Jambudvîpa to conquer the Asura: he was born as son to the king Vâsudeva. At this time the Asura existed under the name of Indradamana¶ (conqueror of Indra), a name which he had received because of his war against Indra. In the *Vyâkaraṇa** it is said that the Asura asserts that it is not a good thing for people to amuse themselves by giving opposition to the gods who find enjoyment in well doing. This Asura had a sister named Prabhâvatî† (sovereign of light), who was very beautiful. The Asura, wishing to injure Vishṇu, placed his sister in a prominent position, and himself told her that if any one wished to marry her she was to propose that he should seek a quarrel with her brother. Vishṇu came to this place; he fell in love with Prabhâvatî, and, as all the gods had married daughters of the Asuras, he proposed marriage to her: he was in consequence forced to fight a duel with the Asura. Vishṇu, as the body of Nârâyaṇa, was invulnerable; the Asura also continued to live though Vishṇu had cut off his head, hands, and other limbs, which returned anew to their places. The fight continued till night, and the strength of Vishṇu was beginning to fail, when his wife, fearing lest he should be beaten, took

* We do not now find all these works of Nâgârjuna either in Chinese or Thibetan, though there are others that go under his name.

† This note is found in the Chinese biography.

‡ The 'sagene' is a Russian measure of 6 ft 9·2 in.

§ Yet we do not know that Nâgârjuna was still alive, though the usual legends make Âryadeva the personal disciple of Nâgârjuna.

‖ *Fu-lou-cha-fu-lo.*

¶ *Inet-ola-to-mo-na*; *to-ma-na* signifying vanquisher.

* *Bi-kia-lo.*

† *Po-lo-po-no-di.*

an *Utpala* leaf, and tearing it in two pieces, threw them on different sides, and began to walk in the middle. Vishṇu, understanding the meaning of this action, tore the body of the Asura into two pieces and passed between them; then the Asura died. He had formerly obtained from a Ṛishi the privilege that if any of his limbs should be cut off they should reunite, but the Ṛishi had not promised that his body would be joined together again if it should be torn asunder. As Vishṇu had shown here the courage of a man, the kingdom was thus named Purusha. There was in this kingdom a royal chief who was a Brâhmaṇ of the Kauśika* family. He had three sons who bore the single name Vasubandhu, which was common to them, and which signifies 'celestial parent' (*Tiane-tzine*). It is the custom in India to give all children only one name, which is common to them, and besides that, in order to distinguish them, another one is added as a special distinction. The third son Vasubandhu had advanced into the spiritual calling at the Sarvâstivâda school. He became an Arhana and was named Bi-lin-chi Vatsya (*ba-po*); Bilinchi was his mother's name, and Vatsya signifies 'son;' but it is thus that the children of servants, cattle and specially calves are called. The eldest son Vasubandhu advanced equally in the spiritual calling at the Sarvâstivâda school, and although he might have escaped suffering he could not understand the idea, and wished to put himself to death; but the Arhana Pindola, who dwelt in the eastern Videhadvipa, having seen him, came to him and instructed him in the contemplation of the void of the Hînayâna; but Vasubandhu, not being satisfied with that, sent a messenger into the heaven named Tushita to make special inquiries of Maitreya, and after having received from him an explanation of the void of the Mahâyâna, he returned to Jambudvipa, where, having given himself up to study, he received the gift of foresight, and because of that he was surnamed Asañga (*U-thyo*, 'unimpeded'). He still went sometimes into Tushita to Maitreya to make particular inquiries about the meaning of the *Sûtras* of the Mahâyâna; but when he explained to others what he had learned they did not believe him, and he was obliged to ask Maitreya to return to the earth, to which he consented. For four months Maitreya was found in the temple of preaching, addressing the people upon the *Sûtra of Seventeen Worlds*, and explaining the meaning of it clearly; nobody but Asañga could see him,—the others could only hear the preaching,—and every one believed in the Mahâyâna. Maitreya taught Asañga the Samâdhi of the solar ray; then everything became intelligible to him, and he composed in Jambudvipa the *Upadeśa* upon the *Sûtras* of the Mahâyâna.

The second son Vasubandhu advanced also in the spiritual calling at the Sarvâstivâda school: in the extent of his learning, the number of the subjects which he understood, and his knowledge of books, he was unequalled. As his brothers had received other names, the name of Vasubandhu remained to him alone.

Towards the five-hundredth year after the *nirvâṇa* of Buddha, the Arhana Katyâyaṇaputra, who had advanced in the spiritual calling at the Sarvâstivâda school, lived. He was purely Indian, but in course of time he came into the kingdom of Kipine (Kofene, Cabul), which is on the north-west of India, where at the same time there were 500 Arhanas and 500 Bodhisatvas (?). He began to compose the *Abhidharma* of the Sarvâstivâda school, which consists of 8 *grantas*. A declaration was published everywhere that those who knew anything of the *Abhidharma* of Buddha should tell what they knew of it. Then men, gods, dragons, Yakshas, and even the inhabitants of the heaven Akanishṭa communicated everything that they knew, were it only a phrase of a verse. Katyâyaṇaputra, with the Arhanas and the Bodhisatvas, chose out of all what was not contradictory to the *Sûtras* and to the *Vinaya;* they formed of it a composition which they divided into eight parts, in which there were 50,000 ślokas. Then they wished to compose the *Vaibhâshya* to explain the *Abhidharma*. At this time Aśvagosha was living in India, a native of the *Po-dyi-do* country in the kingdom of Śravasti; he understood eight parts of the *Vyâkaraṇa*, the four *Vedas*, the six sciences, and the three *Piṭakas* of eighteen schools: so Katyâyaṇaputra sent an ambassador to Śravasti to invite Aśvagosha to correct the writing of the proposed *Vaibhâshya*. For twelve consecutive years after his arrival in Kipine Aśvagosha was occupied with the work of which Katyâ-

* *Kiao-chi-kia*, one of the names of Indra himself.

yaṇaputra and the other Arhanas and Bodhisatvas had given him charge; the whole *Vaibhâshya* contained a million of *gâthas*. After their composition, Katyâyaṇaputra engraved a command on stone that no person, knowing this doctrine, should cause it to spread out of Kipine, and also that the composition itself should not pass beyond the frontier. He also took care that the other schools and the Mahâyâna should not profane or change this pure doctrine. This command was also confirmed by the king. The kingdom of Kipine was surrounded on all sides by mountains, and there were gates only on one side: all the prelates had set their guard of Yakshas as sentinels to allow all those who wished to be instructed to pass in, but not to allow them to go out again. In the kingdom of Ayodhya lived the master Vasasubhadra,* who was gifted with intelligence and a good memory; as he wished to learn the *Vaibhâshya*, he feigned madness and repaired to Kipine, where he listened for twelve consecutive years. Sometimes while they were explaining to him he began to inquire about the *Râmâyaṇa;* and on that account he was disdained by all, and was allowed to go out of Kipine, although the Yakshas had prevented the priests. After his return to his birthplace he declared that every one should hasten to learn of him the *Vaibhâshya* of Kipine, and, as he was old, his disciples wrote as quickly as he spoke, and in short everything was conducted towards a good end.

About the ninth century after the death of Buddha the Tìrthika Vindhyâkavasa lived; he demanded the work *Sene-ge-lune* from the dragon who dwelt near the lake at the foot of the Vindhya mountains, and after having adapted it to his point of view, he came to Ayodhya and asked king Vikramâditya to allow him to enter into discussion with the Buddhist priests. At this time the great masters, such as Maṇirata, Vasubandhu, and others, were away in other kingdoms. The only one remaining was Buddhamitra, the master of Vasubandhu, a very old and feeble man, but one who had deep knowledge; he was called to argue, but he could only repeat what the Tìrthika had said, and he was vanquished. The king recompensed the Tìrthika, who, upon returning to the Vindhya mountain, was changed into a pillar of stone, but his work *Sene-ge-lune* has been preserved till the present day. When, upon his return, Vasubandhu learned this circumstance, he caused a search to be made for the Tìrthika; but as he had been changed into stone, Vasubandhu composed the *Tzi-shi-chyane-shi-lune*, in which he refuted all the propositions of the *Sene-ge-lune*, and for that he received from the king a gift of three *lakshas* of gold, with which he set up three idols,—one for the Bhikshunìs, another for the Sarvâstivâda school, and the third for the school of the Mahâyâna; after that the true doctrine (that is to say Buddhism) was established anew. Vasubandhu first studied the meaning of the *Vaibhâshya;* then, having adopted this teaching, he composed every day a *gâtha* in which was contained the meaning of all he had been teaching during that day; after having written this *gâtha* on a leaf of copper, he caused it to be carried about on the head of an intoxicated elephant, and called by the beating of a drum those who wished to dispute the meaning of the *gâtha;* but no one was found able to refute it. In this way more than 600 *gâthas* were composed, which contain all the meaning of the *Vaibhâshya;* it is the *Kośakarina*, or the *Kośa* in verse. When Vasubandhu had *added* to it fifty pounds in gold, he sent it to Kipine to all those who were masters of the *Abhidharma*, who were greatly rejoiced that their true doctrine was spread abroad; but as they found in the verses some incomprehensible passages, they themselves added other fifty pounds in gold, and desired Vasubandhu to write an explanation in prose; he then composed the *Abhidarmakośa*, in which he has introduced the Sarvâstivâdine ideas, and refuted whatever deviated from the principles of the *Sûtras*. When this composition arrived at Kipine, the masters in these districts were irritated at seeing their opinions overturned.

The son of king Vikramâditya, who bore the name of Prâditya ('new sun') made his vows to Vasubandhu; and his mother, who entered the religious calling, became his pupil. When Prâditya mounted the throne, the mother and son besought Vasubandhu to stay at Ayodhya and enjoy their fortune, which he consented to do; but the brother-in-law of Prâditya, the Brâhmaṇ Vasurata, who had

* *Po-soso-sun-bo-to-lo.*

married his sister, was a master of the Tîrthikas and was versed in *Vyâkaraṇa*, according to the principles of which he composed a refutation of the *Kośa*, a work of Vasubandhu, who for his defence wrote *Sane-shi-erle-ping* (32 Articles), in which he refuted all the objections. The *Vyâkaraṇa* was lost, and there remained only the other composition. The king gave him as a reward a *laksha* of gold, and his mother gave him two; with this Vasubandhu erected an idol in each of the three kingdoms of Kipine, Purushapura, and Ayodhya. The Tîrthika, red with shame, wishing to humble Vasubandhu, brought from India to Ayodhya the master Siñhabhadra, who composed two works to refute the *Kośa*: in the one (*Gurne-sane-ma-iê*), in 10,000 *gâthas*, he explained the meaning of the *Vaibhâshya*; and in the other (*Sui-shi-lune*), in 12,000 *gâthas*, he defended himself and overturned the opinions of the *Kośa*. After having finished these works, Siñhabhadra provoked Vasubandhu to discussions, but the latter removed himself under pretext of his old age, referring them to wise people to judge them. At first this master, who had plunged into the study of the ideas of eighteen schools, had devoted himself to the Hînayâna, and did not believe in the Mahâyâna,—he said that the doctrine of Buddha was not in it. Asañga, apprehending that his brother would write a refutation of the Mahâyâna, called Vasubandhu to Purushapura, where he himself dwelt, and converted him to the Mahâyâna. Vasubandhu repented of his former criticisms of the Mahâyâna and wished to cut out his tongue, but his brother sought to persuade him that it would be better to write an explanation of the Mahâyâna, which he indeed composed after the death of Asañga. It is to him that the commentaries on the *Avantansaka*, the *Nirvâṇa*, the *Saddharmapundarika*, the *Prajnâpâramitâ*, the *Vimalakirti*, and other *Sûtras* belong; besides these he composed *Veï-shi-lune*, in which is contained the whole conception of the whole Mahâyâna, and also *Gane-lu-mine* and the other *Śâstras* of the Mahâyâna. All that was composed by this master is distinguished for excellence of style and ideas: it is for that reason that, not only in India, but also in other countries, beyond the frontiers, the partizans both of the Hînayâna and the Mahâyâna have adopted his works as authoritative. Heretics grow pale with fear when they hear his name. He died at Ayodhya, at the age of 80 years.

SPECULATIONS ON THE ORIGIN OF THE CHÂVAḌAS.

BY MAJOR J. W. WATSON.

The celebrated clan of the Châvaḍas differs in one respect from the other Râjput races. Of these a portion, the Suryavaṅśas, claim descent from the Sun; while an equally illustrious branch, the Chandravaṅśas, claim the Moon as their common ancestor. Other famous tribes derive their origin from the Âbu fire-fount, while some of more obscure lineage claim to be sprung from celebrated sages. But the Châvaḍas, while many different origins have been assigned to them, are by no means unanimous on this point. Though as celebrated a race as any in India, and though their alliance is still eagerly sought by the proudest houses, while the Châvaḍa kings of Âṇhallawâḍâ fill a prominent place in history, yet the important question of their origin is still involved in obscurity. Colonel Tod seems to think that the Châvaḍas were a foreign race who landed in Saurâshṭrâ, and thence spread northwards until Vanarâja founded the kingdom of Paṭṭan. Mr. Kinloch Forbes in his interesting volumes speaks of "the still mysterious race of Kanaksen," but does not allude to this point. I am myself inclined to think that the Châvaḍas may be a branch of the wide-spread race of Parmâr, who everywhere seem to underlie modern races, so much so indeed as to have given rise in former times to the well-known saying, "The world is the Parmâr's." Throughout Gujarât it is difficult to mention any famous town or chiefdom which was not originally held by Parmârs. Thus Paṭṭan is said before the advent of the Châvaḍas to have been ruled by Parmârs proper, and it is said that Âṇhal, in truth, merely discovered a large hoard of the ancient Parmâr sovereigns in the ruins of their capital, which was known by the name of Paṭṭan. Paṭṭan is said to have been laid waste by a northern invader—possibly the same who

destroyed Valabhi. Vanarâja, on acquiring these hoards through the agency of Ânhal, founded a new city, which he named after him, on the old site of Pattan, whence the name Ânhallawâdâ Pattan. Âbu and Chandrâvati were both from the remotest time held by this tribe, and so were Bhinmâl (formerly called Srimâl), Pàlanpur, Tharâd, etc. Even in Saurâshtrâ we find traces of the Parmârs. Wadhwân, supposed to be the ancient Vardhamânpur, is said to have been ruledby Parmârs in very ancient times; and an inscription lately discovered in the south of this province shows that a Parmâr sovereign ruled in Wâlâkshetra, the modern Wàlâk. In the *Administration Report* of the Pàlanpur Superintendency for1873-74 I alluded to the local tradition that Chàdchat, properly Châvadchat, is said to have derived its name from the Châds or Châvadas, a branch of the Parmâr tribe; and there seem other reasons for thinking that the Châvadas were indeed a branch of the Parmârs. There is a notorious tendency in the Rajput and other tribes to break up into sub-tribes, and those sub-tribes to go on subdividing, until the original name is lost. Thus if you ask a modern Rajput his tribe, he will tell you that he is a Devâni, Vàchâni, &c., and it is only on cross-examination that you can elicit that the Devànis are a sub-tribe of (say) the Jhâdejas, while but (comparatively) few Jhâdejàs know that the Jhâdejâs are only a sub-tribe of the Yàdava race. Like instances may be quoted of the Râthod, Chohàn, and other famous tribes, where the original tribe appellation has been completely or nearly lost and submerged in the fame of the sub-tribe. Thus the Wâjâs, who still survive at Jhânjhmer and elsewhere in Saurâshtra, are really of the Râthod clan, but none of the tribe would call himself a Râthod unless pressed. And so the Sirohi chieftains and their clansmen, who wrested from the Parmârs Abu and Chandrâvati, though Chohâns, are universally known by the name of their sub-tribe. the Devrâ. In a race of such undoubted antiquity as the Parmâr, especially where (supposing these speculations correct) one branch, the Châvadas, attained as sovereigns of Ânhallawâdâ such undoubted preëminence, one might, I think, expect to find the name of the original clan obliterated by the surpassing glory of the sub-tribe. The genealogy of Vanarâja is, as is well known, traced to Vachrâja Châvada, the father of Venirâja the lord of Divagadh, now held by the Portuguese. The legend relates that Vacharâja founded the Châvada sovereignty of Div, where he, and after him Venirâja, ruled. Venirâja betrayed the trust of a merchant who had entrusted him with the valuable cargoes of his vessels, after having taken the Arabian Sea to witness as to the truth of his protestations that the merchandise should remain at Div in safety. The Ocean, indignant at his name being thus taken in vain, overwhelmed Div, Venirâja being drowned in the deluge, which converted Div into an island, and has left its traces all along the southern coast of Saurâshtra, especially at Div, the Shiâl Island, Piram, Jhânjhmer, &c. It was on this occasion that the mother of Vanarâja, being, it is said, forewarned in a dream of the destruction which was imminent, fled to Panchâsar. and after the destruction of that township by the sovereign of Kanauj (?) or Kalyâna (?) she sought refuge in the dense jungle which then clothed that part of Gujarât, and eventually at Chandur gave birth to Vanarâja, who on growing to man's estate became a renowned freebooter and associate of all the discontented characters of the country, and succeeded on one occasion in intercepting the Kanauj tribute. The acquisition of so large a sum enabled him to be liberal to his followers and to entertain a larger band; and on the discovery to him of the hidden treasures of Pattan by Ânhal the herdsman, he was enabled to found the city of Ânhallawâdâ Pattan, afterwards so famous. The genius of the Hindu race has ever been to describe historical events in verse, and there exists a famous poem describing the sovereignty of the Châvadas at Div, the founding of Pattan, and the rule of the sovereigns of that famous city. On disputed points of history, if a disputant can quote a verse of any well-known poem or even a well-known couplet, it is usually accepted among Bhâts, Chârans, &c. as conclusive, and in one of the verses of this poem Vanarâjâ is distinctly mentioned as being a Parmâr. I have never met any one who knew the whole poem, which is somewhat long, but the following verses will perhaps be sufficient to show the tradition regarding the destruction of Div, and the fact of Vanarâja being a Parmâr:—

कवित ॥ दीवगढदुंग ॥ चटरतनागरत्रटे ॥
राजडीयो रघुनथ ॥ आणीयो चावडो भटे ॥

वेणीने वछराज ॥ राज इफोनर कीधो ॥
सुभाफेर सुलतान ॥ धरा जीनी दंड लीधो ॥
सुवर्ण फुलबाथी सरठ ॥ भारथनकोदोभे जाभडे ॥
संवत सात सतासीभे ॥ कोट दीव कीधो कडे ॥ १ ॥

The impregnable fortress of Divagadh, on the shore of the Arabian Sea,
Raghunâth granted them the sovereignty, and thus the Châvadas came here.
Venirâja and Vacharâja reigned for 71 years.
Having conquered the subâh and the sultân,
They conquered the land and levied fines;
They established the rule of Sorath like a golden flower, and against them no one could prevail.
In Saṁvat seven hundred and eighty-seven they acquired Divakot.

एकसमे अणवार ॥ वंहेवारीयो एकज आयो ॥
मछलीबंदर गाम ॥ कोटीधज कमळशी कहायो ॥
केसर मोती कपुर ॥ झाझवो दीसे झाझो ॥
दीव मळ्यो दरबार ॥ भाव्य वेणी रो आझो ॥
चावडो राण चुके नही ॥ लाज अमांणी लोपीए ॥
समखाधा समूद्रतणा ॥ कोभरतनागर कोपीए ॥२॥

Once upon a time a merchant came hither
From Machlibandar town, by name Kamalshi, the owner of a *kror*;
His ships appeared numerous, and were laden with saffron, pearls, and camphor.
He met the Darbâr of Div, and placed trust in Venirâja,
(He thought) The Châvado Râṇâ will not fail me, and will not betray my trust.
He (Venirâja) swore the oath of the sea, and the ocean* was violently inflamed with anger,—

समखाधा समूद्र ॥ अभवरतनागर अप्यो ॥
माल उनार्यो मंडीये ॥ नाणो त्यांहां नल्हीनप्यो
स्वपनुभाव्यु एकसही ॥ राजपटोश्वर राणी ॥
नाशनाशनरेंद्र ॥ जवादऊं नजने जाणी ॥
ओभानसोन नारीअसी ॥ शीवपरमेश्वर सोंपीये ॥
सांढयबेसार राणीसखी ॥ कोभ रतनागर कोपीयो ॥३॥

He swore by the sea, and placed the ocean as security between them.
The merchant unloaded his merchandize at the custom-house, but (the Râja) did not pay the value of a sesamum seed.
A dream came in truth to the Pat Râṇî of the state:
Flee, flee, O Lord of men! (said he), else I knowingly shall fly, leaving thee.
Together with the child in her womb fled the woman, having entrusted her affairs to Śiva, the supreme lord.
The female slave seated the Râṇî on a camel, while the ocean was inflamed with anger.

संवतआट बीलोतरे ॥ नगरएक वश्यो निरंतर ॥
महावदसातम ॥ सबळ जो वार शनीश्वर ॥
भणेकवीजे चंद्र ॥ जोसजोवंतेजनी ॥
पोर एक पाछले ॥ वणराज आणवरती ॥
आयखुं एबांध्यु नगर ॥ जन्मांतरी जगसेजुवे ॥
संवत नवसतांणवे ॥ अणहलपरऊजडहुए ॥ १ ॥

In Saṁvat eight hundred and two an eternal city was founded.
On the seventh of the dark half of Mâhâ, on the day of the powerful Saturn.
Jechandra the poet says that the Jotis commenced to search for favourable omens.
But one watch of the day was remaining when the *ân* of Vanarâja was proclaimed.
This existence was fixed for the city, by examining the horoscope of its birth with care,
That in Saṁvat nine hundred and ninety-seven Ânhallapur shall be desolate.

प्रथम चाळचडेश ॥ शब्द गणसेण सुणायो ॥
अरबुद दीधी आंण ॥ हेमभोतरदीशभायो ॥
परवरीयो परमार ॥ वासभीन माळवसायो ॥
नवकोटी करनेत्र ॥ खेत्र गाजणो खसायो ॥
भोगवेभोग शत्रुभणां ॥ रणायत तणे राखीयो रंग ॥
वणराज कुवरे वाशीयो ॥ दसमो अणहलपुर दुरंग ॥२॥

First he prepared his army, and sounded various kinds of music;
He proclaimed his *ân* on Ârbudha, and reached the Himâlayas towards the north.
The Parmâr prospered, and populated the city of Bhinmâl,
He brought the nine fortresses of Mârwâḍ under his rule, and repulsed the inhabitants of Gâjnâ.
The enemy endures suffering, he kept up the honour of the Râṇâs.
Vanarâjâ Kuṅwar founded a tenth impregnable fort in Anhallapur.

The allusion in this verse to Vanarâja as a Parmâr is unmistakeable, but it seems doubtful whether Gâjnâ refers to Gazni in Afghânistân, or to Khambhât (the modern Cambay), of which it is an ancient appellation. The allusion to the Râṇâs evidently means the Châvadas, who are called by this title in the second verse

* The sea was indignant at being sworn by falsely.

while the nine fortresses of Mârwâḍ—the *no koṭi Mârwâḍ* are too well known to need any allusion to them here.

There is doubtless a verse, if not verses, missing between the third and fourth of those quoted, and they would probably describe the destruction of Div, the death of Venirâja, and the subsequent adventures of the mother of Vanarâja and of her son. I have seen a *vaṁśâvali* in which the parentage of Vanarâja is traced up through Venirâja and Vacharâja to Vikramâditya of the Parmâr tribe. I have not this *vaṁśâvali* with me, and unfortunately do not remember whether the name of Kanaksen occurs among the progenitors of Vanarâja. Kanaksen is supposed to have made his first settlement in Saurâshtra at Katpur, the ancient Kanakavati, whence to Div, along the sea-coast, of which the Châvaḍas were specially fond, is but fifty miles. There seems, therefore, no impossibility in the Châvaḍas having been able to extend their possessions along the coast, until in the time of Vacharâja they acquired possession of Div. Katpur is in Wâlâk, and in Wâlâk, we learn from a recently discovered inscription, a Parmâr sovereign ruled in ancient times. On looking at the *Râs Mâlâ*, I see that Mr Forbes quotes one of the bardic verses mentioned in this paper at page 38 of vol. I. of that interesting work, though he differs slightly in the translation, and gives a different date. As, however, he does not quote the original, it is probable that the difference in the date was in the original verse from which he translated. Either date, however, satisfies the conditions required, for if Ânhalḷawâḍâ was laid waste by the armies of Alâuddîn in Saṁvat 1297, the Châvaḍa race was expelled, and their monarch and his followers massacred by the merciless Mularâja, in 997. It was on this occasion that Mularâja, at the instigation of Bij Solaṅkhi, slew his own mother, and her bleeding head rolled down the palace stairs; when it had rolled down seven steps, Mulrâj prevented it rolling farther. Bij Solaṅkhi, on hearing of this, reproved Mulrâj, saying, "Had you not prevented the head rolling to the foot of the stairs, your race would have reigned for ever at Pattan, but now they will only reign for seven generations." Although the above traditions, &c. are not sufficient grounds to assert positively that the Châvaḍas are a branch of the Parmârs, yet they seem to convey the possibility of this being the case; and these crude speculations may induce others, possessing more accurate sources of information, to thoroughly elucidate the question, and finally settle the origin of one of the most famous Râjput tribes in India.

TRANSLATION OF BHARTṚIHARI'S NÎTI ŚATAKAM.

BY PROF. C. H. TAWNEY, M.A., CALCUTTA.

(*Continued from p. 71.*)

The Praise of the Good Man.

All-hail to those who love the good,
And sinful men eschew,
Who honour their religious head,
And sacred lore pursue,
Who undisturbed their neighbours' wives,
And neighbours' merits view,
Who firm on Siva fix their faith,
And vain desires subdue!

Firmness when fall'n on evil days, restraint when fortune smiles,
Courage to look with steady eye on war's embattled files,
Persuasive speech in council, and a burning thirst for fame,
Joined with a love of holy writ, th' heroic soul proclaim.

Alms to bestow in secret, and the houseless wanderer feed,
To hide one's own and loud proclaim another's kindly deed,
Humbly to bear prosperity, and mourn with those who weep—
Behold a vow which all the saints as yet have failed to keep!

Charity best adorns the hand,
And reverence the head,
Truth is the virtue of the mouth,
In th' ears is scripture read,
Valour lends glory to the arms,
Virtue exalts the heart,—
Thus lofty souls, though poor, are decked
With grace in every part.

In times of joy the hero's soul
Is soft as lotus-flower,
But when misfortune's billows roll
Stands stiff as granite tower.

Raindrops on heated iron flung dissolve in airy steam,
The same on lotus-leaflets hung like rows of diamonds gleam,
In sea-shells, if Arcturus shine, they harden into pearl,—
E'en so doth intercourse refine and elevate the churl.

He only can be called a son who gratifies his sire,
She only is a wife who doth to please her lord aspire,
He only is a friend who bides the same in weal and woe,—
These blessings three the righteous gods on virtuous men bestow.

The world conspires to honour those
Who rise by gentle arts,
Who show their own heroic strain
By praising others' parts,
Who patiently reproaches bear,
Nor scorned revile again,
Who still to selfish ends prefer
The good of other men.

*The Path of Altruism.**

Trees are bowed down with weight of fruit,
Clouds big with rain hang low,
So good men humbly bear success,
Nor overweening grow.

No earrings deck the good man's ears, which still on scripture feed;
His hands, still open to the poor, no golden bracelets need;
The perfume of his kindly acts, like flowers in leaves concealed,
Exceeds the fragrant scent which nard and sandal unguents yield.

He brings thee joy, thy foes he slays,
Thy secrets hides, proclaims thy praise,
With timely gifts relieves thy need,
Thus may'st thou know the "friend indeed."

The sun awakes the lotus-bower,
The moon cheers up her favourite flower,
The cloud unasked its rain bestows,
Self-moved the good man's bounty flows.

Some generous souls forbear their own, and seek another's gain;
Most men, neglecting not their own, their neighbour's cause maintain;
Those are mere demons who would build their wealth on other's loss,
But what are those who profitless their neighbour's interest cross?

Milk to the water with it mixed its native virtues gave,
Which, pitying sore its tortured friend, rushed on a flaming grave;
The milk, unwilling to be left, must share its fellow's fate,—
True friendship envy cannot reach, nor fiery pains abate.†

Here Vishṇu sleeps, and there his foes,‡
Yonder the suppliant hills repose,§
Here lurk the quenchless fires of doom,—
Ocean's broad breast for all hath room.

Subdue desire, and vanquish pride,
Bear scorn, in wrong take no delight,
Speak truth, for sages' wants provide,
And follow still the path of right,
Honour the worthy, love thy foes,
Hide thy own virtues, cheer the faint,
Pursue renown till life doth close,
Such conduct marks the perfect saint.

How few there are in mind and speech and body free from stain,
Who fill with linked benefits earth, heaven, and Pluto's reign,
Who, telling others' virtuous acts, small grains to hills increase,
In whose unruffled soul expands the flower of sinless peace!

Nor Meru nor Himâdri's heights adore,
Where trees are simply trees and nothing more,—
For Malaya's nobler mount thy praises keep,
Whose woods sweet gums and odorous balsams weep.

(Here ends the section devoted to Altruism.)

* In the original *paropakârapaddhati.*
† This stanza, says Kâśînâth Trimbak Telang, gives a moral aspect to an actual physical phenomenon.

§ Kâśînâth Trimbak Telang says he is not aware that any mountain except Mainâka sought shelter in the ocean.
‡ *i.e.* the demons.

The praise of Firmness.

The gods with priceless jewels were not bought,
Nor with the poison-chalice made aghast,
Nor ceased until they held the nectar fast*,—
The firm forsake not what they once have sought.

Sleeping sometimes upon the ground, sometimes on gorgeous bed,
Sometimes with simple herbs content, sometimes on dainties fed,
One moment clothed in rags, anon ruffling in gallant show,
The hero, following still his end, recks not of joy or woe.

Mercy's the ornament of power, of courage courteous rede,
Of learning modesty, of wealth bounty to those that need,
Of hermits gentleness and truth, long-suffering of a king,
Of all men virtuous character, whence all these glories spring.

Let cunning statesmen praise or blame,
Let Fortune turn or go her way,
Come instant death, or lingering shame,
Firm souls from virtue will not stray.

A snake lay helpless in the box pining for lack of meat,
A rat by night gnaws through the side, and yields his foe a treat,
With strength recruited then the snake by that same hole escapes,—
Behold how vain our efforts are! Fate all our fortune shapes.†

Flung down with force, the higher springs the ball,
So good men rise victorious from their fall.

Sloth is the foe that makes our souls his lair,
Vigour the friend that saves us from despair.

The moon her wasted orb renews,
The tree when pruned puts forth fresh leaf.
Th' afflicted sage this course pursues,
Nor yields to unavailing grief.
(*Here ends the praise of Firmness.*)

* An allusion to the churning of the ocean to obtain the Amrita. The fable has been rendered in English verse by Mr Griffith of Banâras.

† Kâsinâth Trimbak Telang observes that this stanza inculcates fatalism pure and simple, and is out of place here.

THE LUNAR MANSIONS OF THE MUHAMMADANS.

BY E. REHATSEK, M.C.E., Hon. Mem. B. Br. R.A.S.

My attention was drawn to this subject by Professor Keru L. Chhatre's paper in the *Indian Antiquary*, vol. III. p. 206, wherein he gives the European names of the principal stars of the Hindu nakshatras. I need scarcely observe that after eliminating many Arabic names and Europeanizing others, numbers still remain, and will, as long as science exists, continue to bear testimony to the vast influence of the Arabs on European astronomy. In the lunar mansions given in the paper just alluded to, seven still retain their Arabic names; but the Muhammadans count 28 mansions, which are as follows:—

I. شرطان Shartân; two stars in Aries constituting its horns. There is a smaller star between them called نطح Natth; this is α Arietis. Some call these three stars together الاشراط Allashrât. Probably they are α, β, and γ

II. بطين Batin; three small stars in the shape of a triangle, in the belly (according to some, in the tail) of Aries.

III. ثريا Seria: the Pleiades, said to consist of six stars, and not of seven, as commonly believed and sung by poets.*

IV. الدبران Aldebarân; a large, bright, red star in the eastern eye of Taurus; this star is also called *the Follower*, because it comes after the Pleiades.

V. هقعة Haka't; three stars close to each other in the head of Orion. Doubtless Bellatrix, Betelgueux, and λ.

VI. هنعة Hana't; five stars arranged on the left shoulder of Orion; but according to some this mansion consists of three stars opposite to those just mentioned, and is called التحاى Altahâi.

VII. ذراع Zerâa', the arms. Two bright stars in the head of Gemini, the distance between them

* "Quæ septem dici, sex tamen esse solent."—ED.

being the same as between the شرطين Sharṯin of the first mansion. Among the Arabs the mansion is called ذرع مبسوط Zerâa' mabsûṯ, *i.e.* stretched arm (here foreleg) of the Lion, with the star Regulus—a European corruption from رجل Rijl, *foot* (not Rigel in the foot of Orion), to distinguish it from the ذرع مقبوض Zeṟâa' makbûẕ of Canis major, in which Sirius is situated.

VIII. نثرة Nasrat, called also انف الاسد Anf allasad, nose of the lion; two small stars in Cancer, called the two nostrils; they have between them a nebulous star which is by some called the lair of Leo; but the Greeks are said to have named these two little stars the two asses, and the nebula between them their manger (Præsepè).

IX. طرفه Ṯurfat, *i.e.* the eye; this is λ Leonis, with the outsider ξ.

X. جبهة Jabhat, *i.e.* forehead of the lion; properly γ Leonis, spelt in European catalogues Al Gieba, is the name of this mansion, which consists of four stars forming an irregular quadrangle.

XI. زبرة Zubarat; two stars between the shoulders of the lion, *i.e.* δ and θ Leonis.

XII. الصرفة Alṣarfat. According to some this is Cor Leonis, and according to others ذنب Ẕenebor, the tail—spelt Denib in European star-maps; some call it also هلبة Hulbat, bristles or hairs, viz. at the end of the tail, but some stars in Ursa Major are also called by this latter name.

XIII. عوا A'wwâ. The "wow-wow" of dogs. Four stars in a curve from north to south, where they present the appearance of the letter Lam ل: they are on the breast of Virgo, and the Arabs say they are dogs barking after the lion.

XIV. سماک الاعزل Semâk alla'zál. This is Spica Virginis, which before the translation of Ptolemy's Almagest by the Arabs was considered to be on the two legs of Leo, but after that all the translators agreed to call it سنبلة Sunbulat, the Sheaf, and the whole constellation (which is the sixth of the Zodiac) the Virgin.

XV. غفر Ghafr: Young wild kid, the stars θ, ι, κ, on the foot of Virgo; but, according to some, only two stars.

XVI. زباني Zubâni. The name of this mansion is no doubt Persian, designating "the tongue" of the scales; now, however, it is in the pans, and consists of α and β Libræ; often they are designated by the dual زبانيان Zubânian or زبانتان Zubânetan.

XVII. اكليل Eklil or افسر Efser, *i.e.* diadem, consists of three bright stars on the head of Scorpio, forming a somewhat curved line.

XVIII. قلب العقرب Kalb ala'ḵrab, Cor Scorpionis, a red twinkling star; before it is another smaller star, and also after it, three forming a somewhat curved line.

XIX. شولة Shulat, meaning the erect tail of the Scorpion, and consisting of λ and υ Scorpionis, in the sting of the scorpion.

XX. نعايم Na'âim, *i.e.* ostriches, consisting of four bright stars forming a quadrangle in the constellation Sagittarius; but the Arabs compared the Milky Way to a river, and these stars to ostriches coming to drink water. They were formerly called نعايم وارد Na'âim vâred, *i.e.* arriving ostriches, whilst four other stars, opposite to them and likewise forming a quadrangle, were called نعايم صادر Na'âim ṣâder, *i.e.* ostriches returning from the water.

XXI. بلدة Baldat, the region, &c. This is said to be a tract of the sky without any stars, and to have therefore been compared to a desert, as well as to the interval between the two eyebrows of a man, which is likewise called Baldat. This mansion consists of six stars called قلادة ḵillâdat—a necklace, forming a curve on the western border of this area situated between the نعايم Na'âim and the سعد الذابح Sa'd al-ẕâbiḥ, *i.e.* the 20th and the 22nd mansions.

XXII. سعد الذابح Sa'd al-ẕabiḥ; Sa'd, the slayer. Two stars close to each other,—they are not bright,—and near them is a third; the Arabs say that this is the sheep which Sa'd slays. These three stars are all on the head of Capricornus.

XXIII. سعد بلع Sa'd bala', Sa'd has swallowed. Two stars on the left hand of Aquarius, and between them a third.

XXIV. سعد السعود Sa'd alsu'ud—three small stars, β, ξ in Aquarius, and *c* in the tail of Capricorn.

XXV. سعد الأخبية Sa'd Allakhbiat,—four stars on the right hand of Aquarius; three of them represent a triangle,—they are ducks,—and the fourth within is Sa'd himself: the three first stars are sometimes also called the house. The Sa'ds among the Arabs are nine or ten; the majority of them are not mansions of the moon, but are scattered about in various constellations.

XXVI. and XXVII. فرع الدول المقدم Fera' al-dûl almukaddim, the anterior interval between the handles of the urn from which the water is poured out, and فرع الدول المؤخر Fera' al-dûl almuwakhkhar, the posterior interval. Each of these mansions consists of two bright stars at some distance from each other; they are all in Pegasus and appear to be α, or Markab; γ, or Algenib; Alperab, and β.

XXVIII. بطن الحوت Bâtn al-hût, belly of the fish. This is a bright star with small ones near it. A woman with a chain is said to have represented this constellation; but the Arabs made a fish of it, in the body of which this star is; it is no doubt the one marked "Baten Kaitos" in our catalogues. Some have named this mansion الرشا Ershâ, the rope, so that the urn should not be without one.

In conclusion I may observe that astronomers differ somewhat, in the description of several of the mansions, but on the whole this list will be found pretty correct, and I only regret that in drawing it up I could not avail myself of Ideler's *Untersuchungen über die Sternnamen*, which would no doubt have made it a great deal better than it is.

CORRESPONDENCE AND MISCELLANEA.

VERSE 33 OF CHAND'S 27TH CANTO.

(*Ante*, vol. III. p. 339).

SIR,—I cannot offer a better apology than that which Mr. Growse has embodied in the prefatory remarks to his "Notes on the 27th Canto of Chand" for attempting a translation of verse 33, especially its last line, in order to rescue it, if I can, from the obscurity which envelopes it. In a verse so highly technical, the solution of the difficulty may be sought for in the particular development which Hindu astrology has received, and the stand-point which the poet has assumed.

Hindu astrologers have conceived certain abstract situations in connexion with the position which planets assume in the course of their rotation, which, individually, they hold up as productive of the highest excellence which falls to the share of a person whose birth coincides with the conjunction, in the department to which the situation may be referred. By analogy, the influence of these situations is extended to the perfect success of particular achievements taken up at a moment when the conjunction is predicted to happen. The situations are reduced to three heads; namely, *Srishti*, Wisdom; *Sthiti*, Royalty; *Samhár*, Victory.

The poet had undoubtedly in view the last category when he constructed the 33rd verse. The figure constructed in the margin makes an approach to the ideal of *Victory*. Figure No. 2 may be constructed from the unequivocal materials which enter into the composition of the verse in question.

Fig. 1.

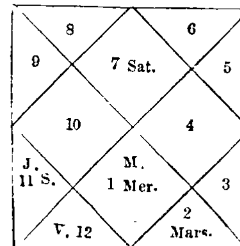
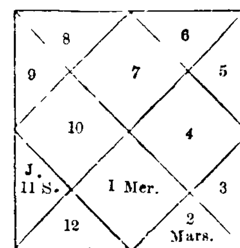


Fig. 2.



Exceptions excepted, it accords with the situation to which victory is ascribed. From a comparison of the two figures, it appears that Saturn, the most powerful, and the Moon, the most important planet in such calculations, and Venus, have no place assigned to them in the 2nd figure. This is accounted for by attention to some of the technical and synonymous terms the poet uses. Thus *bharath bhal* is synonymous with the Moon, *bharath* having the signification of 'deer.' The word *chakra* in the following line bears this out, it being commonly the Moon's weapon, as the trident is of Mercury. Further, the context assigns the same place to the Moon as it gives to Mercury. The epithet *baliya* marks out *Krur* as Saturn; the lesser *krurs*, *i.e.* the Sun and Mars, have already their houses assigned to them. *Udaya* is *lagna*, and Saturn at once takes its proper place. Moreover, it is in its own house where it is

highest (svauchch), and consequently no place could have been better for it. The position of Venus is easily inferred from the position of the Sun, and the necessity for securing it a place beyond the range of the ken (*dṛiśti*) of the other planets. We have only to fill in these apparently missing planets in the second figure, which gives at once a counterpart of the first figure.

With this explanation the passage is divested of obscurity. Mr. Growse's translation (p. 341) may therefore be read with the following emendation :—

*** Mercury *carrying the trident in his hand and the Moon's powerful disc*, &c. Omit "*for one*, &c. to *sámudrika*." ** *with Saturn in the* lagna (this itself shows the highly powerful character of the *lagna* when the king marched out to battle). Omit "*at sunrise*, &c. to *might*."

It may be remarked that the assumption of an allusion to palmistry in a verse strictly astrological is rather irrelevant in explaining an author who plumes himself on his knowledge of astrology. To correct an inaccuracy :—the eight outside houses are not collectively called *Apoklima*. *Panphar* is the first outside house, and *Apoklima* the second, and so on.

L. Y. Askhedkar, B.A.

Miraj, 16th February 1875.

MANICHÆANS ON THE MALABAR COAST.

The Pahlavi Inscriptions at the Mount and at Koṭṭayâm are not, if we accept Mr. Burnell's own interpretation, Manichæan.* They simply, therefore, connect the Malabar Christians with Persia during some period of the Sassanian dynasty. Now this connection with Persia we are, I think, already pretty clear about, without supposing it to have been in the hands of Manichæans. There are Syrian documents which tell us that the Christians of Malabar were early connected with Urrhoi or Edessa. They speak of men of note reaching Malabar from Bagdad and Babylon too, as well as from Syria. We have no difficulty in understanding that these men would know the Pahlavi language, which was the court language of Persia at that time. And the nature of the Pahlavi Inscriptions, so far as they can be understood, would seem to indicate that the writers were rather Eutychians or Nestorians than Manichæans.

I can quite follow Dr. Burnell when he says that "all the trustworthy facts up to the tenth century" "go to show that the earliest Christian settlements in India were Persian." But I cannot follow to the sudden conclusion that they "probably, therefore, were Manichæan or Gnostic." The connection of the early Christian Church of South India with Urrhoi or Edessa is enough to account for any amount of Persian antiquities now discoverable, without the supposition that the only Persian arrivals were Manichæans.

The testimony of Abû Zaid, in 805 A.D., as to the presence of "Jews and people of other religions, especially Manichæans" in Ceylon, is no doubt valid. But even this mention of Manichæans is to be received *cum grano salis*. For it is a remarkable fact that through the Middle Ages *the term of opprobrium in fashion*, in relation to any despised company of Christians, was Manichæan. See a very valuable note on this subject in Elliott's *Horæ Apocalypticæ*, in an appendix to vol. II., on the charge of Manichæism against the Paulikians. Mr. Elliott says: "At the rise of Paulikianism, and afterwards, Manichee was the opprobrious term most in vogue. The Eutychian and Monophysite were reviled as Manichees; the Iconoclast as a Manichee. What else then the Paulikian dissident? The charge once originated, the bigotry of the apostate churches in Greek and Roman Christendom pretty much ensured its continuance. So at least through the Middle Ages." In a note to this Mr. Elliott adds, "In latter times Pope Boniface VIII. even condemned as Manichees all that asserted the prerogative of kings as independent of and not subject to the Pope."† Abû Zaid would only therefore have been following the fashion of the time if he called Eutychian, Nestorian, or any class of Christians he might meet in the East, Manichæans. The only safe conclusion we can draw from his testimony is, I fancy, that there were Christians in Ceylon.

Again, as to the name of the place Mâṇigrâmaṁ, where Iravi Korttan, who was probably a Syrian or Persian Christian, settled, I think it is very unlikely to have received its name from the heresiarch Manes. The meaning of Mânigrâmaṁ is more likely, I think, to be *village of students*. The Mâṇi was the Brahmachâri or Brâhmaṇ student. Another form of the same root is the common word in I suppose all (certainly in *many*) Tamiḻ villages for any scholar —Mâṇâkkan or Mâṇawakan, the origin being no doubt the Sanskṛit *Mánava*, a child. Moreover the name *Grámaṁ*, if my memory serves me, was applied in Malabar chiefly, if not solely, to villages of Brâhmaṇs. However here I write under correction, since at the present moment I cannot verify my belief in the matter.

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* See *Ind. Ant.* vol. III, pp 308—316.

† Conf. Gibbon, *Hist.* vol. VI. pp. 47, 57, vol. VII. pp. 136, 138, 142, &c.; also Elliott's *Horæ Apocalypticæ*, vol. II. p. 306 (3rd ed.).

But I may add that from the description in Mr. Whitehouse's most exhaustive little book of the Mânigrâmakar, I am confirmed in my belief that they were *Brâhman converts*—or at least partial converts—perhaps to Iravi Korttan himself. Mr. Whitehouse points out that they were "connected with native law-courts," and that they became "trustees and protectors of lands and churches." They were also, under Knân Thômâ, appointed to "regulate and manage all that related to the *social position* and *caste* questions" of certain "artizans" This is all very natural if they were Brâhman converts. but why Manichæans should be chosen for such positions it is hard to imagine. Mr. Whitehouse further points out that the corpse of the last priest of the Mânigrâmakar at Kâyenkulam was burnt—evidently a reversion to the Hindu customs of their forefathers. Still further he tells us that in the neighbourhood of Quilon their priests, who were called Namarchchan (by the way quite a Hindu appellation) were buried in a "sitting posture," and this is the way in which certain very high caste Nambûris are buried to this day. I am inclined to think, therefore, that there is more evidence that the *Mânigrâmakar* were high-caste Brâhmân converts, who originated from Mânigrâmam, the *student-village*, which may have been one of the chief seats of Hindu learning at the time, than that they were Manichæans; which supposition appears to me to rest solely on the fact that the name of the place begins with *Mâni*.

Again, there was the troublesome character Mânikavâchakar,* who did much evil as a *sorcerer* in the early days of the Christian Church in Malabar. Now I do not think that this man had any connection whatever with the Mânigrâmakar, though his name does begin with Mâni. He was in all probability a Tamil sorcerer: and I am not aware that the Manichæans were ever given to sorcery—at least there is no hint of the kind in Bishop Archelaus's disputation with Manes himself, nor in the Treatise of Alexander, Bishop of Lycopolis, nor in any subsequent description of the Manichæans I can find. Mânikavâchakar is a surname still existing among the Tamils. The name is to be found to-day in Jaffna, and no doubt elsewhere Other Tamil names have a similar origin. For instance one of our own native pastors has for his original family name Chînivâchakar, the meaning of which is not far to find, *Chîni* being 'sugar,' and *vâchakam* 'speech:' Chînivâchakar therefore means *sugar-tongued*; and Mânikavâchakar is 'Jewel-tongued,' *Mânikya* or *Mânika* being a 'ruby,' or generally a *jewel*. Mânikavâchakar is therefore a purely Tamil name, and the man who bore it was, I think, simply a *Tamil sorcerer*. I may as well here confess that I myself once suspected that this man might have been Thomas the Manichee, of whom there has been some ground for supposing that he was once in Malabar. But I now think that the name and character of Mânikavâchakar is a sufficient answer in the negative.

I conclude, therefore, that neither Mânigrâmam, not Mânikavâchakar, nor the Pahlavi records, point with the least degree of probability to Manes and his followers.

There may indeed have been Manichæans in South India and in Ceylon; but I do not think we have found any certain trace of them at present, and we shall most certainly be misled if we begin to look up all the words beginning with Mâni. There is no ground whatever for supposing that Knân Thômâ was Manichæan; nor does it follow that because Mâr Sâphôr and Mar Aphrôttu came from Babylon that they were Manichæans. The *Epistle of Manes* to India might give some colour to the supposition that he had followers in some part of the country, but if neither the Mânigrâmakar, nor the perverts of Mânikavâchakar, nor the writers of the Pahlavi Inscriptions were Manichæans, where are we to find any trace of the sect on the Malabar coast?

With regard to the Apostle Thomas's visit to Malabar, Dr. Burnell says there is "no warrant for supposing that St. Thomas visited South India—an idea which appears to have arisen in the Middle Ages, and has been since supported on fanciful grounds by some missionaries." But it appears to me that the grounds for supposing that the Manichæans were the "*first* Christian missionaries" to India—at least to Malabar—are much "more fanciful." For this fact we absolutely have no evidence. For though Sulaimân may have found Manichæans in Ceylon in 850 A.D. (which nevertheless I have shown to be somewhat doubtful), this does not deny the probability of there having been Christians already in Malabar. Indeed we have evidence, quite as trustworthy as that of Abû Zaid, that there were Christians in Malabar long before 850 A.D. And even with regard to the advent of St. Thomas himself, the evidence is certainly not so 'fanciful' as that Mânigrâmam is the 'village of Manes.' Cosmas in the 6th century found Christians in Malabar; but he says nothing of Manichæans. Pantænus speaks in the 2nd century of a Gospel of St. Matthew being in India, and of the visit of *an apostle*; and Manes was not then born. The report that St. Thomas had been martyred in India was known in England at least as early

* Not indeed mentioned in Dr. Burnell's paper, but described at length in Mr. Whitehouse's *Lingerings of Light*.

as the 9th century. The Syrians themselves speak of the care of the Edessans for them. And Eusebius and other Church historians tell us that St. Thomas was the Apostle of Edessa. It is remarkable too that Pseudo-Abdias, in his account of the Consummation of Thomas, adds to the original that St. Thomas's bones were taken by his brethren after his martyrdom, and buried in Edessa. Even though we allow that this is a myth, we cannot but ask, Whence did Abdias receive this idea of Edessa?'

My own strong impression is that St. Thomas was the Apostle both of Edessa and Malabar, and that hence their connection arose. The Persian colonists thus become no mystery. The Pahlavi language, according to Max Müller, originated in an Aramæan dialect of Assyria, and may well therefore have been known and used so far north in the Persian Empire as Edessa; and from Antioch, which is not many miles from the ancient Edessa, the Malabar Christians have received their Bishops from at least a very remote period. As Edessa was also the see of Jacob Albardai, the reviver of Eutychianism, I suspect that the Church of Malabar, or at least many of its members, have been Eutychians since the 6th century. But this is too wide a subject for me to enter on now.

Dr. Burnell seems to think that some causes must have arisen to "transform the old Persian Church into adherents of Syrian sects." But surely there is no necessity whatever to raise such a question. The Church of Edessa early became subject to Antioch, and beyond this there is no evidence of change. The name Syrian was, no doubt, first given to these people by Europeans. They never, I believe, call themselves Syrians, but Nasrâni Mâppilla.

It only remains for me to add that having read through Dr. Burnell's paper with increasing astonishment at the slender grounds, as they appear to me, on which he seeks to establish the fact that the earliest Christian sects in India were Manichæans, and having supposed that the Pahlavi Inscriptions were to make it all plain, my astonishment came to a climax when I read, "If these Pahlavi Inscriptions were Manichæan, they would be in a different character. It seems to me not unlikely, however, that relics of the Manichæans *may yet remain to be discovered* on the west coast of the Peninsula, where they once were very numerous." (The italics are my own.)

The Manichæan origin of Christianity in South India, then, is a thorough *miserrimus dexter*—and we may safely shelve the subject till the "relics of the Manichæans" actually do come to light.

All this does not, however, diminish one jot the interest one feels in the discovery of the Pahlavi Inscriptions at the Mount and at Koṭṭayâm. I tender my very best thanks to Dr. Burnell for his antiquarian researches, and trust they may be long continued.

The true value of these Pahlavi Inscriptions is, I venture to think, that they testify to the fact, which I believe I was the first to bring forward, that there was a very early connection between the Church at Edessa and the Church of Travancore and Cochin.

RICHARD COLLINS.

Kandy, Ceylon, 18th March 1875.

NOTES:—SÂMPGÂM, BELGÂM, &c.

Town Sâmpgâṁ, or the Village of Snakes, S.E. from Belgâṁ: *Ind. Ant.* vol. IV. p. 6.

Fort Belgâṁ was conquered from Parikshît, the father of Janamejâya of the Gauja Agrahara grant*, by Sulṭân Muhammad Shâh Bâhmani in A.D. 1472.

In 1523 Ismail Âdil Shâh conferred it in jâgir upon Khûsrû Tûrk, from Lâristân, with the title of Âsad Khân, and upon the death of that nobleman in 1546 it was confiscated, with all his other estates and property, by Ibrâhim Âdil Shâh.

The town and great Temple of Harihara, where the burning of the snakes mentioned in the Gauja Agrahâra grant took place in 1521, is situated 120 miles S.E. from Belgâṁ, where Dr. Francis Buchanan discovered some inscriptions of the reign of Yudishṭhira when he visited the place in 1803.

When and by whom was the Mosque at Sâmpgâṁ erected? and may not the passages from the Qorân ably deciphered by Professor Blochmann be applied in throwing further historical light upon the atrocious burning of the wretched beings denounced as heretics at the solar eclipse at Harihara, 6-7 April 1521 A.D.?

Why was the town designated by the name Sâmpgâṁ, or Village of Snakes? Was it at any period inhabited by a Sûri or Syrian population,† and what accounts are given there of the burning at Harihara?

Notes.—Ferishtah, *Persian text*, vol. II. p. 31; Buchanan's *Southern India*, vol. III. p. 83; Scott's *Dekhan*, p. 277; *Araish-i-Mahfil*, translated by Lieut. M. H. Court (1871), p. 164.

R. R. W. ELLIS.

Star-cross, near Exeter, 6th March 1875.

* Conf. *Ind. Ant.* vol. I. p. 377, and vol. III. p. 268.—ED.

† Certainly not.—ED.

Answers to Mr. Sinclair's Queries.

(*Ind. Ant.* vol. IV. p. 118.)

(1.) The Kine tree is the *Acacia procera*. It is very common in the Konkan, and is known there by the name Kinai. It is a useful timber-tree, and its dark heartwood closely resembles blackwood.

(2.) Khurâsanî is the *Guizotia oleifera*. This compositous plant is extensively cultivated in various parts of India for its seed (or rather the fruit). In the neighbourhood of Bombay it is known by the above name, in the Dekhan it is called Kârale, and in Upper India it goes by the name of Ramatil and Kâlâtil. It yields an edible oil, which is also useful in painting, for burning, &c.

NÁRÁYAN DÁJI.

Bombay, 5th April 1875.

SONG OF HAFIZ.

The following translation, in the measure of the original, of the famous song of Hafiz, is taken from the *Calcutta Review*:—

Singer, O sing with all thine art,
  Strains ever charming, sweetly new;
Seek for the wine that opes the heart,
  Ever more sparkling, brightly new!
With thine own loved one, like a toy,
  Seated apart in heavenly joy,
Snatch from her lips kiss after kiss,
  Momently still renew the bliss!
Boy with the silver anklets, bring
  Wine to inspire me as I sing;
Hasten to pour in goblet bright
  Nectar of Shiraz, soul's delight,
Life is but life, and pleasures thine,
  Long as thou quaff'st the quick'ning wine;
Pour out the flagon's nectary wealth,
  Drink to thy loved one many a health.
Thou who hast stole my heart away,
  Darling, for me thy charms display,
Deck and adorn thy youth's soft bloom,
  Use each fair dye and sweet perfume.
Zephyr morn, when passing by
  Bow'r of my love, this message sigh,
Strains from her Hafiz fond and true,
  Strains still more sparkling, sweetly new!

THE PRE-HISTORIC PEOPLE OF THE NICOBARS.

Few literary and topographical curiosities have appeared for many a day so unique as a *Vocabulary of Dialects spoken in the Nicobar and Andaman Islands*, by Mr. F. A. de Roepstorff, an extra assistant commissioner there, and son of one of the last Danish Governors of the Nicobars. The work, of which only forty-five copies have been published, is a vast but thin folio, printed at the hand-press of the convict settlement of Port Blair, which is so deficient in type that corrections and additions have been made in many instances by the pen. Mr. de Roepstorff devotes fifteen of his expansive pages to an account of the inhabitants, while the rest of the work consists of a vocabulary of words in English and in the Nankauri, Great Nicobar, Teressa, Car Nicobar, Shobæng, and Andaman dialects.

Though side by side in the direction of north and south, the Andamans and the Nicobars differ widely both as to their products and their people. The Andamans are clothed to the water's edge with lordly forest trees and mangrove jungle, made so impenetrable by glorious creepers and brushwood that even the pigmy inhabitants sometimes fail to penetrate the forests. Not a palm-tree is to be seen except such as we have introduced. The Andamanese man, when fully grown, ranges in height from 4 feet 9 inches to 5 feet 1 inch. His negrito origin is unmistakeable. The Nicobars, on the other hand, produce magnificent forests of cocoa-nut palms, especially amid the coral sand that fringes the islands. The interior is dotted with long-stretching patches of grass, which, in the distance, look like a series of English parks, but are in reality jungle, marking the comparatively unfruitful soil of magnesian clay. The Nicobarese, or Nankauri, as he is called, from the islands which we know best, stands out from 5'-6" to 5'-9" in height when fully grown. Though neither Malay nor Burmese, he looks like a cross between both. He may, till we know more about him, be pronounced the outer fringe of the Malayan races, according to Dr. Rink; Mr. de Roepstorff modestly refuses to dogmatize save in a negative way. As the Andamanese point to a fiercer tribe in the interior, the Jadâhs, who are aboriginal compared with them, so in the Nicobars we have the Shobængs, who are a purely Mongolian race. But the Nankauri people, or Nicobarese proper, have gradually got the better of them, though there are still occasional fights, and the majority have settled down as the potters of the group in the isolated island of Shaura. As the kitchen middens, or heaps of oyster-shells covering articles made in copper and iron, point to an older race, or at least an older civilization, than that of the Andamanese, who no longer eat oysters, and used only flint before we introduced iron, so Mr de Roepstorff pronounces the Nicobarese "a very old people, having preserved their old civilization and religious customs intact, while, perhaps, their religious ideas and theories have gradually died out."

Each Nicobar hamlet of from four to twenty houses forms a democratic community enriched by

nature with all that can meet their wants, and troubled only by the Iwis or manes of their deceased progenitors, with which they wage almost incessant war. The Nicobarese resemble the Andamanese and all the non-Âryan races of India not only in this fear of demons, and in the exorcism required to defeat their malice, but in truthfulness, honesty, good nature, and the love of drink. The family life seems perfect. The father is the head of the house, the mother takes his place on his death, and when both pass away, the property is equally divided, the eldest son, however, taking the house, but maintaining his unmarried sisters. Each may do as he likes, but age is reverenced, and women are treated with a loving respect. Girls, married at from 13 to 15 years of age, freely choose their husbands, being influenced through their relatives, like more modern races, chiefly by such considerations as the suitors' possessions in pigs and palm-trees. Fidelity is the rule, subject to a somewhat lax system of divorce. To have, or to be expecting children, is most honourable. In the latter case both the man and the woman cease to work for a time. Friends compete with each other for the honour of feasting them, and they are taken to the gardens in the interior, far from ship-captains and wild pigs, where on the co-operative system the Nicobarese rear their scanty vegetables. The seed sown by such a couple is sure to be blessed. Their women enjoy a liberty and are treated with a reverence which all other Eastern races would do well to imitate. We were eye-witnesses of this when we accompanied "Captain London," who was gorgeously dressed in a naval uniform much too large for him, to visit his wife and mother, who squatted unashamedly on either side of the fire-place of the principal house in the village of Malacca. The house was scrupulously clean, save for the smoke and soot. The evening meal of pandanus was being cooked, and the abundant cocoanut was offered. A mixture of all the tongues of the East sufficed as the medium of the most polite messages. The best Highland shanty was not half so comfortable, while the sea, gently rolling in under the house, washed away all traces of impurity below. We were in a lake-dwelling!

With the dead the Nicobarese bury most of his moveable property, and fast for two months, abstaining even from their loved tobacco. At the end of that time they dig up the body, when the widow or mother, taking the head on her lap, strips it of all putridity and the remains are finally consigned to the earth. Believing vaguely in a life to come, they hold that the spirit joins that land of Iwis to whose mischievous action they ascribe all misfortune, whether fever or unsuccessful fishing. As with the Andamanese also, the moon plays an important part in their superstitions, for their success in spearing fish by torchlight, at which they are adepts, depends on its light. At certain stages of the moon they will not work. To neutralize the Iwi—the same word means in their language "to become"—they have 'manloene' or exorcists, who pretend to cure the sick by extracting from their bodies the stone or pig's tooth which is said to have caused the sickness. These priests also practise ventriloquism. Their great time is when the hamlets are summoned to that feast which is intended to drive off the Iwis partly by gifts and partly by force. While the men and priests sit smoking and drinking silently, the women continue to howl dolefully as they cut up the gifts for the spirits and throw the fragments into the sea. Daubed over with oil and red paint, and excited by their potations of palm-wine, the 'manloene' advance to the conflict. Now in deep bass they coax, and now they fight wildly with the malicious Iwis, to the chorus of the women's howling, till, at last, after a hand-to-hand battle, the invisible spirits are carried off to a toy boat festooned with leaves previously prepared for them. This the youths tow triumphantly out to sea, where they leave it and its supernatural cargo, and return to the feast and the dance. Locked in a circle, with their arms over each other's shoulders, the men leap up and fall down on their heels to the sound of hideous music.—*Friend of India, July 23rd*, 1874.

BOOK NOTICES.

Bombay Sanskrit Series. Da akumâracharita. Part I. edited with critical and explanatory notes by G. Bühler, Ph D., M.A. 1873.

The *Daśakumâracharita* is rightly reckoned among the standard works of Sanskrit literature. Its author, Daṇḍin, was one of those great masters at whose wonderful power and skill we can only marvel. In the hands of those giants the language was a mere plaything, and assumed the most varied and exquisite forms, which the present age strives in vain to imitate. These are the men who have shown to the world the extraordinary and almost unrivalled powers of that most ancient tongue, and how variform are the structures which a dexterous workman can build upon its simple bases. The work under review is a model of prose writing, and the student would do well to read and re-read it. It possesses all the good points of the well-known prose writers without

their faults. It would have been impossible for Bâṇa, with his love of diffusiveness, to have described the city of Pushpapurî, or to have summed up the virtues of Râjahaṁsa, in *pages* less in number than the *lines* in which Daṇḍin disposed of them. Yet in the concise style of the latter poet there is sufficient to prove that his powers of description were of no mean order.

He has given, too, enough of alliteration to demonstrate his acquaintance with that branch of *alaṅkâra*, and to gratify those who have a taste for it, without engendering the mingled feeling of weariness and irritability inseparable from the perusal of Subandhu's *Vâsavadattâ*.

But these eulogistic remarks must be held to apply to the language alone. With ancient Indian writers the subject to be treated on would seem to have been of comparatively little moment, whilst the language in which it was to be clothed was all-important. Hence the poverty of real instruction derivable from the classical writings, and hence also the difficulty not unfrequently found in interpreting compositions on the most ordinary subjects. If Bhâravi had written to instruct, the fifteenth canto of his poem would never have appeared, and so with parts of most of the poems.

No one, again, would venture to deny that the *morale* of Sanskrit literature is very low, and the work under review forms no exception to the rule. Of its male heroes, Râjahaṁsa was respectable enough; but Apahâravarman, who may be taken as a type of the rest, and whose career is sketched at some length, was a successful thief, intriguer, burglar, and murderer. He related his adventures to his friend and master Râjavâhana, himself far from immaculate, but who after listening to the recital of those deeds of blood and villainy was constrained to exclaim: कथमसि कार्कश्येन कर्णीसुतमप्यतिक्रान्तः! The principal female characters are either *hetairæ* or behave as such; and we have a detailed account of the skilful manner in which one of them, to win a bet, managed to delude a simple sage, ignorant of the ways of the world, and to allure him from his wild hermitage to the dissolute court of the king, after fascinating him with a vivid description of *kâma* with its *modus operandi!* To convince the sage of the harmlessness of *kâma*, the girl is made to quote from the Śâstras several instances of lewdness practised by the gods themselves,—a course also adopted, it would seem, by Râjavâhana to overcome the scruples of Avantisundarî, who after hearing them is made to exclaim: दयित त्वत्प्रसादादद्य मे चरितार्था श्रोत्रवृत्तिः। अद्य मे मनसि तमोपहस्त्वया दत्तो ज्ञानप्रदीपः! Again, in the story of Apahâravarman, we have (on page 83) an account of the way in which that worthy planned the commission of adultery with Kalpasundarî, and how, whilst lying on his bed the night before, he had some prickings of conscience regarding it, which, however, he got rid of by remembering that a violation of *dharma* was approved of by the Śâstras for the sake of *artha* and *kâma*, and that in the issue there would be something to the credit side of his account! He was further assured of the propriety of what he was about to do by the elephant-headed god, who appeared to him for the purpose in a dream!

The undoubted tendency of writings of this class is to mislead the simple-minded by suggesting, if not actually inculcating, that darkness and light, infamy and virtue, are one and the same;—and yet from streams such as this did the youths of past centuries imbibe their ideas of virtue and purity! Well then may the scholar and lover of true morals, whilst revelling among the delights of Sanskrit, rejoice that by the bringing in of English literature purer fountains have been opened up, at which the young of India may drink without pollution. The existing vernacular literature is wholly impotent for good. In 1867 Mr. Mahâdeva Govind Râṇaḍe stated that the *Panchopâkhyân, Vetâl Panchvîsi, Simhâsan Battîsi*, and *Suka Bâhattarî* "constitute the stock of the most popular stories of fiction in the [Marâṭhî] language, and *are to be found in every indigenous school, and constitute their whole library*." (Preface to *Catalogue of Native Publications in the Bombay Presidency up to 31st December* 1864) Alas for the morals of the school-boys if formed from the teaching of those works! The last of the four, which in the body of the Catalogue is facetiously called a book of 72 '*moral stories*,' might more truthfully be termed a "Manual of Immorality;" and the few grains of truth to be found in the other three are largely outweighed by the noxious matter they contain. The interdependence of nations is an acknowledged fact, and is it not meet that, coming into contact after long ages of separation, the Eastern and Western branches of the great Âryan family should minister to one another's necessity? The swarms who migrated to India from the common home conserved with jealous care their sacred language, and, handing it down from generation to generation as a precious heirloom, now present it almost intact to the admiring gaze of the whole family. The Teutonic branch comes from its far-off home, bringing with it a newly-acquired literature and religion, and offers them in return to its Eastern brothers.

Scholars of all countries will accept with thankfulness the instalment of the *Daśakumâracharita* which Dr. Bühler has presented to them. For this

edition three manuscripts, three editions, and two commentaries were collated, and the result is very satisfactory. There are only two noticeable mistakes in the text. One occurs in line 17 of page 80, where अनुवर्त्तताम् is found for अन्ववर्त्तत. Apahâravarman's instructions conclude with the इति of the previous clause, and he then states the fact that, in accordance with them, the woman *followed* Kalpasundarî about like her shadow. The other is in line 6 of page 66. The word अतिप्रणुद्य there used, and rendered in the notes "having refused strongly (to give an answer)," is incorrect. That verb means 'to press a person strongly;' but as this does not in the least suit the context, the alternative reading given in the notes, viz. प्रस्थ, should by all means be adopted. The notes are exceedingly good, and the short extracts from the commentaries have been very judiciously made.

To err is human, however, and the proofs afforded in these notes that their compiler shares the common lot of humanity, shall now be indicated. In the third line of the opening verse occurs the expression ज्योतिश्चक्राक्षदण्डः; and, applied to the first member of the compound, अक्ष clearly means 'axis,' and as referring to चक्र, 'axle.' The meaning of अक्षदण्ड: should therefore be 'axis (axle),' and not 'pole-staff.' On the same page we find, as an epithet of पुष्पपुरी, the expression शश्वदगण्यपण्यविस्तारितमणिगणादिवस्तुजातव्याख्यातरत्नाकरमाहात्म्या, the पण्य of which has been rendered 'shops.' This meaning is very suitable and almost necessary, but has the word elsewhere been known to mean anything more than 'a vendible article,' or 'trade'? Nothing indeed but the presence of वस्तुजात could cause the slightest doubt that it has here the common meaning of 'wares.' Do the commentaries give no extracts from any *kośa*, so as to elucidate the point? On page 2 we have Daṇḍin's poetic description of the beauties of Vasumatî's members owing to the union with them of Cupid's weapons, &c. when he himself was destroyed by Śiva, in the course of which comes the following:—जयस्तम्भभूते सौन्दर्यभूते विभ्रमितयति जनारंभ रंभे चोरुयुग. Following the learned but not always accurate Professor Wilson, Dr. Bühler renders रंभे "the two Rambhâs: the nymph Rambhâ and any other Apsaras," which is quite wrong. The expression रंभोरु:, 'having thighs [tapering] like the plantain-tree,' is very often met with as applied to women. There is an instance of it in *Mâgha* viii. 19, which the commentator explains thus: रंभे कदलीस्तम्भाविवोरू यस्याः सा. The charms of Avantisundarî are described by Daṇḍin in words which differ very slightly from those employed in the former case, and here the ऊरुयुगं is said to be formed लीलामंदिरद्वारकदलीलालित्येन (page 30, line 2). On page 8 we have the poet's account of the great battle between the kings of Mâlwa and Magadha, and he proceeds to say: तत्र प्रख्यातयोरेतयोरसख्ये सख्ये वर्तमाने सुहृत्साहाय्यकं कुर्वाणो निजबलेसति विधेये विदेहेश्वरो जयवता रिपुणाभिगृह्य कारुण्येन पुण्येन विसृष्टो हतावशेषेण शून्येन सैन्येन सह स्वपुरगमनमकरोत्. Dr. Bühler renders the words निजबलेसति विधेये "his obedient army not being on the spot," which seems open to question. It was not likely that the king would go alone to assist his friend, and that his army was present is shown by the statement of the poet that he returned to his own city accompanied by what remained of it. What is the force of शून्येन as applied to his army? Might it not mean 'worthless,' and so show that the words quoted above should be translated 'his army not being obedient'? The rendering of मधुकरकलकंठानां (page 29, line 4) by 'sweet-singing Koils' is quite indefensible. The first member of this Dvanda compound means 'bees.'

The ग्राह्यवाक् mentioned on page 49, line 9, has been wrongly explained by the commentator from whom Dr. Bühler quotes. The term, in this passage at any rate, evidently means 'flatterers,' *i.e.* 'those whose words are acceptable';—and the rendering of the word प्रतिहस्ती which occurs on the same page is equally incorrect. The learned annotator gives first the explanation of the scholium, viz. प्रतिहस्त्यासन्नगृहवेश्यापतिः or प्रतिहस्ती प्रातिवेश्य इति वैजयन्ती, and then translates it 'bully,' for which there is not the slightest authority. In the interpretation of the phrase कल्पद्रुमहेमपल्लवापीडपाटल पतंगमण्डलं (page 60, line 8) the commentary seems to have gone astray. There is no reliable evidence that आपीडः is equivalent to समूहः as stated. Its true sense would appear to be शिखामाल्ये, शिरोभूषणे, and the phrase would then be 'the sun's orb, red as a garland made of the golden foliage of the wishing-tree.'

The last point to be noticed is the interpretation of निर्माल्यं on page 71, line 4, by "worn the day before." The sentence is this: तत्प्रार्थिता चाहं त्वत्प्रियाप्रहितमिति ममैव मुखताम्बूलोच्छिष्टानुलेपनं निर्माल्यं मलिनांशुकं चान्येद्युरुपाहरं. Here then are *two* distinct things brought by the woman, as shown by the use of the conjunction च. One of them is clearly the "soiled garment," and the other is निर्माल्यं. This word is here a noun, not an adjective, and is qualified by the preceding compound. It is found in *Mâgha* viii. 60, and is thus explained by Mallinâtha: निर्माल्यै र्मुक्तोज्झितमाल्यैः This is the meaning Daṇḍin evidently attached to it too, and the gifts pretended to have been sent by the princess to her lover

were a 'refuse garland, smeared with [illegible] the spit from the mouth, and a dirty robe'!

TÂLIB-UL-ILM.

THACKER'S HAND-BOOKS OF HINDOSTAN.—A HAND-BOOK for Visitors to AGRA and its neighbourhood by H. G. KEENE. (12mo, 100 pp.) Calcutta: Thacker, Spink & Co. 1874.

A HAND-BOOK for Visitors to DEHLI and its neighbourhood, by H. G. Keene (12mo, 79 pp.) Calcutta: Thacker, Spink & Co. 1874.

These little books are revised editions of the author's Guide-books, already pretty well known to visitors to the old royal cities of Upper India. In his preface to the first the author modestly states that although he "has used his best endeavours to render his information accurate by verifying it from the best and most original sources, yet he has abstained from controversy, and does not desire to be regarded as an antiquarian authority." Mr. Keene intersperses his interesting notes with extracts from the architectural remarks of Fergusson, the eloquent descriptions of Bayard Taylor, the quaint accounts of Bernier, Finch, and De Laet, and with quotations from whatever almost has been written worth quoting in reference to the objects he describes, carefully correcting them wherever they have fallen into even a trifling inaccuracy. And his intimate acquaintance with what he describes, and his attention to native history and to inscriptions, enables him to add interesting items to our knowledge. Thus, for example, the Mosque at Agra, which has been attributed to Akbar, he notices as having, "from the obvious evidence of the inscription over the main archway," been "built by Shâh Jehân in the year 1053 H. (A.D. 1644), and to have taken five years to complete." The Boland Darwâza, or great gate to the Mosque at Fathepur Sikri, he notes was built as 'a triumphal arch' a good many years after the *Dargah* or sacred quadrangle, and bears an inscription beginning thus: "His Majesty, king of kings, Heaven of the Court, shadow of God, Jalâl uddîn Muhammad Khân the Emperor. He conquered the kingdom of the south, and Dândeś, which was formerly called Khândeś, in the divine 46th, corresponding to the Hijirah year 1010. Having reached Fathepur he proceeded to Agra." The Mosque bears the date Hijirah 979, *i.e.* A.D. 1571.

To the Agra Hand-book the author has added a brief history of the Mughul Empire from A.D. 1526, and an appendix on Hindustâni Architecture, which will be read with interest. To the Dehli one, a 'Note' on the Slave and Khilji dynasties, and others on the Elephant Statues, Firuz Lât, &c. Mr. Keene has a passion for spelling Oriental names in his own way—which is an attempt to render what may be called the vulgar system more uniform; but we much doubt if Ubool Fuzl, Ukbur, Udhum Khan, Taj Muhul, Vikrumadit, &c. will supplant the better known and more accurate Abul Fazl, Akbar, Adham Khân, &c. These Hand-books are just what the visitor requires: they point out all that is really worth seeing in and all around the two cities, and describe the buildings in brief compass, with intelligence, thorough appreciation, and rare accuracy,

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ORIGIN of the DURGÂ PUJÂ, by Pratâpa Chandra Ghosha, B.A. (67 pp. 12mo) Calcutta, 1874.

This paper, originally published in the *Hindu Patriot*, was scarcely worth reprinting. As to the 'Origin' of the Durgâ festival the writer says at the outset—"When it was first established the memory of man, it seems, runneth not to." Instead of carefully collecting and arranging the materials that exist in Hindu literature bearing upon the subject in hand, this very excursive writer flies off to theories and generalizations. "To a nation," he says, "to which language was cosmos, to which beauty was better expressed in words than in the objects described, to which the flower was lovelier when it was clothed with the tints of the imagination than when it appeared in its pristine shape, grammar was the basis of knowledge and religion. Words consequently exercised greater influence upon the Hindu mind than the works of nature or of man." Words have evidently a greater influence with this author than his subject, and so he affirms that "the Durgâ Pujâ of to-day is an evolution of many mutations," and that "in the early days when the Âryans lived somewhere near the plateau of the Belur Tâgh, its vernal form the Vasanti Pujâ was in vogue."

He concludes that Durgâ "is a grand development of a primeval Vedic idea, produced in unquestioned and unquestionable Words, which in their turn have been transformed into various forms and attributes by the authors of the *Tantras* and *Purâṇas*, and at last imbedded in the present system of worship."

The teaching of this little book, if it teaches anything, is pantheistic; but the author's hold of facts, as of theories, is very indefinite, and hazily hid in grandiloquent verbiage. It is a pity to find young Hindus with abilities and learning like the writer of this pamphlet taking so little care to educate themselves in habits of closer thought and more industrious research, and so rushing into print with the most baseless day-dreams, mistaking them for the results of scientific research. Yet this is not the case with Hindus only: some Europeans have set them examples they have not yet rivalled, nor are likely soon to do, in the bulk and pretentiousness of their publications, and the want of any foundation in fact for their theories.

ARCHÆOLOGICAL NOTES.

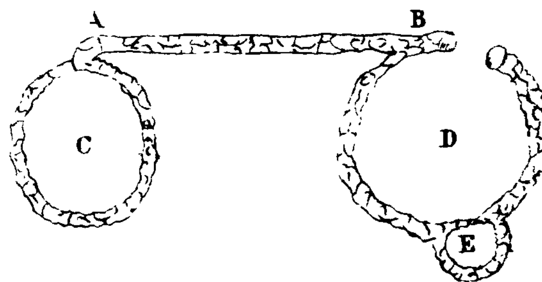
BY M. J. WALHOUSE, LATE M.C.S.

(*Continued from page* 48.)

IV.—*Old Walls and Dykes.*

BESIDE cairns, dolmens, and stone-circles, there exist upon the Nilgiri Hills other structural antiquities of a different nature, namely, remains of fortifications and dwellings, the latter resembling the hut-circles and foundations so common on Dartmoor and elsewhere in England. At present the only notice of them known to me is in Major Congreve's paper on the Antiquities of the Nilgiri Hills in No. 32 of the *Madras Journal of Literature and Science*, where (at pages 97-98) he describes the vestiges of what he conjectures may have been an old capital of the Toda people situated in that locality so sacred to picnics, Fairlawn, near Utakamand. On the sides and at the bottom of that most picturesque and delightful valley Major Congreve discovered fortified mounds, long lines of ramparts, an altar-rock encircled by stones, circular walls of uncemented stones enclosing spaces occupied by single and double rings of stones and heaps; and, by the stream that threads the valley, "long rows of ruined walls forming streets; and square foundations of buildings." I confess not having been able to trace out all the objects enumerated by Major Congreve, and the heaps and mounds by the stream seemed often hard to distinguish from fluviatile deposits; and his conclusion, that at this nearly central spot of the Nilgiris "stood the capital of the ancient Thankawar (Toda) people," appears as uncertain as the theory that links the cairns and dolmens with the Todas. The circular stone wall enclosing a space occupied by the stone-rings is noteworthy, as corresponding with traces of prehistoric fortified villages in England, such as Grimspound upon Dartmoor, where a massive wall surrounds a space filled with hut-circles. In all countries and ages similar conditions of life give rise to similar results, and in such fortified enclosures the ancient populations lived or took refuge on the approach of danger.* In several districts of the Madras Presidency the open plains are dotted with lofty square brick enclosures, into which less than a century ago the villagers used to fly with their families and herds on the approach of marauding Maisur or Marâthâ horsemen, and remain till the raid had swept by. Both in Telugu and Tâmil the word *vâlâsa* (ವಲಸ) denotes "flying from home for fear of a hostile army," and in many tracts, especially in South Koimbatur, this ominous word enters into the names of the present villages, such as Pâpavalasu, Valasupâlayam, &c., —indicating where hurried fugitives had settled and built themselves new abodes.

But returning to the Nilgiris:—at the head of the Segur Pass immediately on entering the table-land, on the north side of the road a valley runs towards the well-known 'Mâlya mand;' it is enclosed between steep sides, and from its head a long narrow ridge or promontory runs along its middle towards the Segur road, ending abruptly in a steep dip, and both sides of the ridge descend in steep grassy slopes. Just before the terminal dip the saddle of this central ridge is crossed by a somewhat remarkable breastwork or fortification with walled enclosures at each end, thus :—



From A to B there is a very massive wall, twenty-five yards long and two thick, of large stones and pieces of rock, including some natural

* "The whole surface of the Khanate is covered with homesteads, scattered at intervals along the canals. Towns in Khiva are consequently not numerous, and are inhabited solely by the servants of the State, by artizans, and by traders. The homesteads of the peasants approach the description given in the *Vendidâd* of those of the ancient Irânians, and may be called small square mud forts, the sides of which vary in length from twenty to one hundred yards, according to the size of the family inhabiting them. The walls are about fifteen feet high, and within their enclosure are the different dwelling-houses—on the flat roofs of which the garnered crops are stored—and the various cattle-yards and outhouses."—*Correspondent of the Daily News.* From such homesteads fortresses and walled towns doubtless developed.

boulders cropping up on the ridge top which it spans: at C there is a considerable hollow enclosed by a rude wall, and at D a flat thickly-lichened natural surface of rock, enclosed by a massive wall, fourteen yards in diameter, with an entrance at the top between two tall natural boulders: under this, at E, there is another smaller walled enclosure, four yards in diameter. C is on the slope on one side of the ridge, and D and E on the slope on the other side. The elegant Maiden hair Fern (*Adiantum Æthiopicum*), now become scarce about Utakamand, grows abundantly amid the stones of D. About a hundred yards northward of the breastwork there are many stone-rings barely visible in the grass on the top of the ridge; digging in some of them yielded no results. The position, flanked and fronted by steep slopes, is strong, and the breastwork might, temporarily at least, resist invaders coming up the Segur Pass from the Maisur plateau, and a fugitive Râja might now and then have sought safety in the mountains,—otherwise it is difficult to imagine natives resorting to these cool heights, so hateful to them, so delightful to Europeans. But the circular appendages at each end of the breastwork seem problematical. That at D, enclosing a flat table of rock, might suggest dreams of a place of sacrifice, entered as it is through a stately rocky portal: but speculation were hazardous. I do not know that this antiquity has been noticed, but being near Utakamand it might be worth a visit from skilled archaeologists. Still nearer the cantonment, not far behind 'Sylk's Hotel,' at the top of a long steep slope leading downwards towards the valley and ridge already mentioned, there is another crescent-shaped breastwork, 2[illegible]½ yards between the tips, with traces of smaller works at each tip.

As not unconnected with this subject, I may refer to the Kurg *kadangas* or war-trenches, described in the Rev. G. Richter's *Manual of Coorg* (pp. 190-191): these are enormous trenches defended by a bank of the excavated soil, and "stretch over hills, woods, and comparatively flat countries, for miles and miles, at some places branching off in various directions, or encircling hill-tops." Mr. Richter quotes old records to show that they were constructed by former Rajas to fortify the principality. In South Kanara also these trenches abound: one sees them carried in all directions for long distances, and in a manner hard to reconcile with purposes of defence or boundary;—indeed their use for either purpose must have been wholly incommensurate with the labour expended upon them. So, too, "great and massive walls eight feet high, half as thick, and extending for long distances, are found buried in deep forest on the crest of the ghâṭs between Kanara and Maisur, with large trees rooted in them:" the Kanarese term for such remains—*aggăru*—curiously corresponds with the Latin *agger*. Mr. Richter further quotes a passage bearing upon the matter from the *Fortnightly Review*:—"Probably no country in the world possesses so many ancient earthworks—certainly none upon such a stupendous scale—as England. They are extremely difficult of access, from the steepness of the mountain height on which they were formed. Undoubtedly this is the most ancient species of rampart known: it existed ages before the use of mural fortifications, and originated in all probability with the nations of the East." The huge dykes in Wiltshire are especially noteworthy, and as an exemplar, and perhaps the greatest, of all, I may mention the Wansdyke, which magnificent earthwork reached from the British Channel across Somerset and Wilts to the woodlands of Berkshire, and is still traceable in many places. Whether this was a *kadanga* or war-trench, or a boundary line between tribes, is debated by antiquaries. It has been pertinently remarked that to garrison it throughout would require an inconceivable number of men, and it has been generally regarded as a Belgic boundary. One may observe, however, that the great wall of China, which falls within the category of these prodigious works of antiquity, was certainly intended for defence. Upon the whole question of these surprising works, whether in England, Kurg, or Kanara, it may be finally added, in the words of the writer quoted by Mr. Richter, that "the organization of labour necessary for carrying them out evinces a condition of society in pre-historic times utterly incompatible with the prevailing notions on the subject." One possible supposition—repugnant enough to prevailing notions, but to which many considerations seem to point—is that the pre-historic world may have been everywhere vastly more populous than the present.

V. *Folk-lore, Water-stories.*

In (*Note III.* vol. III. p. 161) some similarities were adduced between popular stories in the far East and the West. The scene of those, however, was terrestrial; and it may not be amiss to supplement them with an instance or two of correspondences in beliefs in wondrous worlds beneath the water. All European fairy-lore and mediæval romance is full of marvellous regions and splendid dwellings beneath lakes, rivers, and the sea; and the Thousand and One Nights alone show that the idea was nothing strange to Eastern fancy, as witness the story told by Gulnâr to the Persian king, of the sea-people, their way of life, and resplendent habitations. All know that in Ireland the O'Donoghue still lives in pomp beneath the waters of Killarney,* and may be seen gliding over them on his white horse each Mayday morning. Lough Corrib, too, another Irish lake, has an evil reputation for its inhabitants wiling mortals to their places beneath its waves. In Wales the Fair Family live beneath a lake in a most enchanting garden, full of finest fruits and flowers, with the softest music breathing continually over it. In ancient times a door in a rock near this lake used to be found open on Mayday; and those who had courage to enter were conducted by a secret passage to the garden, where they were most courteously received by the fairies, presented with fruits and flowers, and entertained with exquisite music. Visitors could stay as long as they liked, only nothing must be carried away. Once, however a sacrilegious fellow put a flower into his pocket, but on reaching common earth it vanished, and he lost his senses; since that injury the door has never reappeared. Giraldus Cambrensis, a Welsh ecclesiastical writer of the 12th century, relates that a short time before his days a circumstance occurred near Neath, which Elidurus, a priest, strenuously affirmed had befallen himself. When a boy of twelve years, he had run away from his tutor and hidden himself under the hollow bank of a river, where after two days two little pigmy men appeared and offered to lead him to a country full of delights and sports. So they took him beneath the river into a most beautiful country, but obscure, and not illuminated with the full light of the sun. There he was brought before the king and lived long with the inhabitants, who were all of the smallest stature, but fair and handsome, ate no flesh, but lived on milk and herbs. He sometimes returned to the upper world by the way he had gone, and visited his mother, who desired him to bring her some gold, with which that country abounded; so once he stole a golden ball and brought it to her, but was pursued, and the ball snatched away, by two pigmies. After that, though he tried for a year, he could never find again the secret passage. With particular reference to this last story a copy is now given of the following letter addressed to the Editor of the "*Bengalee*" newspaper† :—

DEAR SIR,—A private letter from Shâhpur informs me that more than three years ago a boy named Ghulâm Hussen, of the family of the Sayad, inhabitant of Chandra, was supposed to have been drowned on the 22nd June 1860, in the river Jhelam, one of the tributaries of the Indus. Now he has come safely to his home. His relations were of course very glad to see him. They asked him what was the matter with him. He told them in reply that no sooner he sank than he reached the bottom of the river, where he found a prodigious empire and met with its "Khiser" (name of a prophet),‡ who took him on his knees and gave him shelter. There he, with great pomp and joy, passed more than three years; and now two adherents of the king caused him to arrive at the shore of the river whence he came. Now people of every colour and creed from every creek and corner of the world are flocking to his house to see him.

Yours obediently,

MAZHIR ALI.

Calcutta, Nov. 12th, 1863.

(*To be continued.*)

* In Kâśmîr the Nâga Râja lives in splendour under the famous lake.

† The Native Press, English and Vernacular, if watched for the purpose, might contribute much that is curious in the way of folklore, traditions, popular stories, customs, superstitions, &c. for the *Indian Antiquary*: a vast deal doubtless exists in old files.

‡ Khiser (Khizr) is supposed to correspond to Elias.

SANTALI RIDDLES.

BY Rev. F. T. COLE, TALJHARI, RÂJMAHÂL.

The Santals as a race, are very fond of telling tales and asking riddles. The young men of the villages after coming home from their work are in the habit of meeting together at the village lounging-places. Having kindled a fire, they will sit around it, and amuse themselves for hours together, either by telling tales or by asking riddles. Those who know the most tales and can tell them best are looked upon by the rest as very clever; and it is reckoned a very great acquisition to be able to tell a tale in an interesting manner. There are certain lads whose presence is invariably sought by the rest on account of their power to tell the old tales well.

Some of these stories are extremely interesting, and show a great amount of originality. These tales are more or less known by nearly every Santal.

In this paper I propose to give you a few of their riddles with appended translations:—

Harta latarre poṇḍ biñ ?

Translation—A white snake under a skin ?

Meaning—A sword.

Seta: * jokhe: do ponea janga, ar tikin jokhe: do barea janga, ar ayup jokhe: do pea janga ?

In the morning it has four feet, at noon two, and in the evening three feet ?†

Meaning—A man.

Man in his stages of life. In the morning—in infancy, a child uses its hands and feet in the act of crawling. At noon—man, in his prime, walks without any assistance. At even—decrepit old age requires a staff.

Khekre khekre oṛa re pak ko doneda.

In a dilapidated house they are dancing the war-dance ?

Roasting Indian corn.

The Santals always roast the corn in a broken "ghaṛa." The bursting of the corn during the process of roasting, reminds one of the wild war-dance.

Miṭ gote: poṇḍ goḍa mena:a, onare horeṭ ko era ?

There is a white plain, and men are sowing black vetches in it ?

Meaning—Writing with ink on paper.

Hani calaoena no:oiṇ he:ena ?

He went and came back again instantly.

Meaning—The eye.

Bes bes jo joakana, menkhan bang ko goṭ daṛea: kana.

Fruit fully ripe, but no one is able to pluck them.

Stars.

Miṭ goṭe: hoṛ do bae chasa, menkhan akhaeni do jaijuge go: baṛaea ?

Who is it that although he never cultivates, yet continually carries about with him his pitchfork ?

A dog, because he carries his tail with him continually, as a man does his pitchfork.

Miṭ tite tayo do muskil gia.

To clap one's hands, if we have only one hand, is difficult.

A man when alone can't quarrel.

Miṭ gote: dhelak moṇre goṭe bhuga: ana ?

A clod of earth with five holes in it ?

A head.

Miṭ goṭe: dangra do gota teye joma, ar lai: reye pagura ?

Something, like an ox, which swallows its food whole, and afterwards chews the cud ?

A handmill for grinding corn.

Miṭ tang machhi re bar hoṛ kin duṛupa ar bakin jopoteta ?

Two sitting on one small seat, and not touching each other ?

A cow's horns.

Miṭ gote: pukri talare chak khunti mena:a, ar ona khonti chhotre miṭ goṭe: chatom oṛa: ar ona oṛa: re tij mena: a. Ona oṛa: rea: sanam tij loena, oṛa ar khunti do banchaoena, ar da: hoṇ bang anjetlena.

In the centre of a tank is a post, and on the top of the post is a house. In this house were many stores. It happened one day that a fire broke out. The house and the post were not destroyed, neither was the water of the tank dried up, but everything in the house was completely consumed.

The smoking of the hookah.

The tank—the cocoanut filled with water; the post—the support of the earthen bowl which holds the tobacco and the fire.

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* This is an accent and not a stop. It is used to denote a peculiar click-sound common to Santali. It occurs sometimes in the middle, as well as at the end, of words.

† This is the well-known riddle of the Sphinx.—Ed.

SCULPTURE OF THE CAVE AT LONÂD, TÂLUKÂ BHIWAṆḌÎ.

BY W. F. SINCLAIR, Bo. C.S.

(*Vide ante*, p. 65.)

The frieze is divided into compartments of irregular size by little pilasters with a capital like a mushroom, and rectangular block for an abacus.

No. 1, next the well, contains a man seated on a square throne, left leg curled in front of him, left hand resting on left knee. Right hand raised, as if to enforce his discourse, holds a fruit or flower (lotus?). Woman standing to his right, two destroyed figures to left.

No. 2. Elephant ridden by two small figures charging four large ones, the latter as tall as the elephant. One is running away, and the elephant drives his tusk into him. The other three, though unarmed, show fight. The head of a 5th (?) shows over the elephant's.

No. 3. A tree; then elephant unridden and apparently in good temper. A man standing with his back to the elephant is showing something to another with an umbrella over his shoulder. Behind this last two others take an interest in the proceedings; one of these leads a child.

No. 4. Man seated on throne, like No. 1: his footstool resembles those in front of the centre door of the cave. On his right, woman with *chaurí*. At his left, five standing and five seated figures, who seem to be listening to him.

No. 5. Man with *chaurí* or weapon (?) over his right shoulder, then one who with his left leads, and with his right points to, a child. Behind the child a fourth figure seems to be blessing him, with both hands clasped and raised over the child's head. Then two in a two-wheeled horse-chariot going away from these, and one who seems to stop them.

No. 6. Chariot as in No. 5. In front of it a single horseman; then four figures running together as if to get a fifth, a child, out of the way.

No. 7. Five men and two women standing; in front of them two children together and two separate.

No. 8. Three upright figures; at their feet two children. Then two figures on thrones: that to (their) left bearded (?). Two more upright figures; then two squatting, their right hands. Forest in background (?).

No. 9. Standing figure leaning on staff or lance. Then a foot of sculpture destroyed; next a cross-legged figure sitting on the ground; to his left two men, a child, and a woman, the last leaning against a pillar holding up her left leg in her left hand. She has long hair down her back.

No. 10. Seems to have been like No. 4, but is much mutilated. After it ten or twelve feet of carving are gone altogether.

No. 11. Spearman (?) as in No. 9; then a group of a dozen figures attending on a lady who sits on a throne, her left leg curled under her; right foot on throne and right knee raised. Below the throne a figure sitting cross-legged.

No. 12. Spearman (*dwarpâl ?*) as in Nos. 9 and 11. Next him a throned figure; then two sitting on the ground cross-legged; then another throned figure with footstool as in No. 4; to his left another on the ground; the next indistinct.

No. 13. Spearman again; next him a woman sitting on the ground scratching her posteriors; then the man on throne with footstool; to his left one sitting on the ground; others indistinct.

No. 14. Naked lady lying on couch surrounded by her maids; she leans her head on right hand; the left is thrown over her belly. She does not seem to be sick, like the lady in the Ajantâ fresco. A child is seated near her.

No. 15. The man on the throne attended by ten men standing, who have nearly all staves or spears; but one to his left has a sword (?) over his shoulder. To the right of the throne four children seated; to its left a child who detains another running away; beyond them a seventh child seated.

No. 16. Man and woman on two thrones attended by five standing women; one child seated.

No. 17. This is the large group opposite the well. There are twenty figures altogether; the chief is a man sitting upon a throne with egg-cup-shaped footstool; he does not use it, but has his right foot upon the throne; while the left rests upon the right knee and left hand of a woman squatting below him. To his right a woman with a *chaurí*, to hers two holding up a melon (?), and to theirs one man standing, below him two men seated; to the left of the

chief figure one woman with a trident, to hers a standing figure almost destroyed: below it two men sitting on stools of different heights. The rest are behind; one holds a fruit, like that held by the two mentioned above, on the palm of her hand. The men have curled wigs like barristers, the women their hair in a roll or turban not unlike in shape to a Glengarry bonnet, or the head-dress of one of the two figures looking at a bottle in the fresco of the Dying Lady in Cave XVI. at Ajaṇṭâ—*vide Ind. Ant.* vol. III. p. 269.

The right doorpost of the large door has a mortice-hole cut in it as if to receive some small woodwork; but there is no corresponding one opposite it: and as a stick in it would not cross the door, but project diagonally into the inner veranda, I am at a loss to know the use of it.

OBSERVATIONS ON THE KUḌUMÎ.*

BY THE REV. DR R. CALDWELL, S. P. G. F. P.

The tuft of hair which Hindus are accustomed to leave when shaving their heads is called in Sanskrit the sikha, in Tâmil the kuḍumî; † and for some years past a considerable number of European missionaries in the Tâmil country have come to regard the wearing of this tuft as a badge of Hinduism, and hence to consider it to be their duty to require the natives employed in the missions under their superintendence to cut off their kuḍumîs as a *sine quâ non* of their retention of mission employment.

There are many references in Manu and other ancient Hindu books to the practice of 'tonsure,'—understanding thereby either tonsure leaving a tuft, which is the mode in ordinary use, or tonsure including the shaving off of the tuft, which is the mode prescribed for ceremonial defilements; but with one exception, so far as I am aware, these books throw no light on the question on which the lawfulness of the wearing of the kuḍumî, or tuft, by native Christians turns. They merely enjoin the kuḍumî to be worn, just as they enjoin the minutest details in bathing and dressing, but they supply us with no explanation of the reason why it had come to be worn, or of the light in which other modes of wearing the hair were regarded.

The exception to which I refer is contained in the following extract from the *Vishṇu Purâṇa*, Professor Wilson's translation, page 374,—a passage which throws more light on the question at issue than any other with which I am acquainted:—

"Accordingly when he (Sagara) became a man he put nearly the whole of the Haihayas to death, and would have destroyed the Sakas, Yavanas, Kambojas, Paradas, and Pahnavas, but that they applied to Vaśishtha, the family priest of Sagara, for protection. Vaśishtha, regarding them as annihilated (or deprived of power), though living, thus spake to Sagara: 'Enough, enough, my son, pursue no further these objects of your wrath, whom you may look upon as no more. In order to fulfil your vow, I have separated them from affinity to the regenerate tribes, and from the duties of their castes.' Sagara, in compliance with the injunctions of his spiritual guide, contented himself, therefore, with imposing upon the vanquished nations peculiar distinguishing marks. He made the Yavanas shave their heads entirely; the Sakas he compelled to shave the upper half of their heads; the Paradas wore their hair long, and the Pahnavas let their beards grow, in obedience to his commands. Them also, and other Kshatriya tribes, he deprived of the established usages of oblations to fire and the study of the *Vedas;* and thus, separated from religious rites and abandoned by the Brâhmaṇs, these different tribes became Mlechchas. Sagara, after the recovery of his kingdom, reigned over the seven-zoned earth with undisputed dominion."

To this passage Professor Wilson appends the following note:—

"The Asiatic nations generally shave the head, either wholly or in part. Amongst the Greeks it was common to shave the fore part of the head,—a custom introduced, according to Plutarch, by the Abantes, whom Homer calls 'long-haired behind,' and followed, according to

* This paper has been sent by a contributor, with whom we agree in thinking it deserves 'a more permanent place than in the columns of a newspaper,' where it first appeared. We have been obliged, however, to abridge it by omitting portions more specially addressed to missionaries.—Ed.

† In Marathi, Shendî.

Xenophon, by the Lakedæmonians. It may be doubted, however, if the Greeks or Ionians ever shaved the head completely. The practice prevails amongst the Muhammadans, but it is not universal. The Sakas, Skythians, or Tatars shave the fore part of the head, gathering the hair at the back into a long tail, as do the Chinese. The mountaineers of the Himàlaya shave the crown of the head, as do the people of Kâfristân, with the exception of a single tuft. What Oriental people wore their hair long except at the back of the head is questionable, and the usage would be characteristic rather of the Teutonic and Gothic nations. The ancient Persians had long bushy beards, as the Persepolitan sculptures demonstrate."

The attentive reader of the above extract from the *Vishṇu Puráṇa*, and Professor Wilson's note thereupon, cannot fail to perceive that the different modes in which the hair was ordered to be worn by Sagara were intended to be, and were regarded as, signs of nationality or race, not as signs of religion; and this is confirmed by the separate enumeration, in a subsequent part of the paragraph, of the distinctively religious privileges which were prohibited to the races referred to. The conquered races and aboriginal tribes were to be distinguished from "the regenerate tribes," that is, from the Brâhmans, Kshatriyas, and Vaiśyas, called collectively the dvija, or twice-born castes, by two sets of differences,—one a difference marking their nationality, race, or caste,—taking the word caste in a wide sense—and consisting in the mode of wearing the hair and beard; the other a difference marking their religious degradation, and consisting in the prohibition of the Acharas, or established usages, of oblations to fire, the use of the *Vedas*, and the residence amongst them of Brâhmaṇ priests.

The only mode of wearing the hair not described in Sagara's injunctions is that which was already in use amongst the Âryas, or conquering, Sanskṛit-speaking race,—that is, the three twice-born castes mentioned above,—viz. shaving the head leaving a lock, and shaving the beard leaving a moustache; but as we know from other authorities that this was the Âryan fashion, and as it was for the purpose of distinguishing the conquered races and aboriginal barbarians from the Âryas of pure blood that their various modes of wearing the hair and beard were enjoined upon them, it is evident that the Âryan fashion, the only other fashion then known in India, though not expressly mentioned in the injunctions, is distinctly referred to as that from which those other modes were distinguished; and it is equally evident, therefore, that this fashion was regarded by the Âryas as a sign of their own nationality, and that it was with this idea that, whilst it was retained by themselves, it was prohibited to all other races.

It is unnecessary to hold it to be historically true that this mode of distinguishing the different races inhabiting ancient India was first introduced by Sagara. Though Sagara was one of the earliest kings of the Solar line, it cannot be doubted that the different modes of wearing the hair referred to, including the Âryan mode, had already come into use, in accordance with the practice of all ancient nations to distinguish themselves from their neighbours by such external differences, and that what Sagara is represented as commanding the different races to do is merely what they had already been in the habit of doing. The Tatars, or inhabitants of Central Asia, called Sakas by Sanskṛit writers, have always been in the habit, as Professor Wilson remarks, of "shaving the fore part of the head, gathering the hair at the back into a long tail, as do the Chinese." This mode of wearing the hair is identical with the kuḍumi of the Âryas, with the exception of the length of the tail; and as it has prevailed from the earliest times to the present day amongst three contiguous races, the Tatars, the Hindus, and the Chinese, and as it is certain that the Hindus had their origin in Central Asia, it is much more reasonable to suppose that the Hindus brought the kuḍumî with them from their original abodes, like the horse-sacrifice, the worship of fire, and various other usages, than that they invented it after their arrival in India.

This makes no difference, however, with respect to the light in which differences in wearing the hair were regarded in India in ancient times. Whether those differences were introduced by king Sagara, or whether they had already been in existence, we learn from the passage quoted above that they were regarded as "distinguishing marks," not of religion but of nationality. The kuḍumî was the "distinguishing mark" of the Âryas, and the other

modes described were the "peculiar distinguishing marks imposed upon the vanquished races." It was regarded as intolerable that the outward and visible sign of Âryan civilization and "twice-born" respectability should be assumed by vanquished nations, much less by aboriginal barbarians. Each of those races, therefore, was required to assume, or to retain, a fashion peculiar to itself, exhibiting to the eye the distinctiveness of its nationality.

The progressive extension of the Âryan mode of wearing the hair in Southern India, in direct opposition both to the letter and to the spirit of Sagara's injunctions, will be found to confirm and illustrate in a remarkable manner the essentially national, social, or secular character of its origin. Its history in Southern India is the spread of a fashion, not of a creed. When Professor Wilson says, "What Oriental people wore their hair long except at the back of the head is questionable," he appears not to have known that the wearing of the hair long, tied up in a knot at the back of the head, nearly after the manner in which women usually wear their hair, was the ancient natural usage of the Drâviḍas, or Tâmiḻians, and other non-Âryan races of Southern India, as well as of all the races inhabiting Ceylon, irrespective of their religion, whether orthodox Hindus, Buddhists, or devil-worshippers, and that this usage, though to a great degree superseded by the kuḍumî, has not yet disappeared. The Brâhmaṇs, and other Âryas who settled in Southern India, brought with them from the North the Âryan mode of wearing the hair, but the Tâmiḻ people generally continued, notwithstanding their adoption of the religion of the Brâhmaṇs, to wear their hair long, as appears from old statues and pictures and universal tradition, and have only in recent times taken to wearing the kuḍumî. If long hair had been a sign of the pre-Brahmanical faith, and the kuḍumî, as its opponents assert, a sign of Hinduism, the progress of the kuḍumî in the Tâmiḻ country ought to run in a parallel line with the progress of Hindu orthodoxy. It cannot be supposed, however, that the Tâmiḻians of modern times are more zealous or more orthodox Hindus than the people by whom the great temples in the Karnâṭaka were erected. It is impossible, therefore, to suppose that the gradual abandonment by the non-Âryan tribes of the Tâmiḻ country of their ancient mode of wearing the hair, and their adoption of the kuḍumî instead, can have originated in motives of religion. It is evident that it is to be connected rather with the abandonment, during the same period, by the men of the higher castes, of the old Tâmiḻian fashion, apparent in all the old statues, of dragging down the ears and wearing long pendent earrings,—a fashion which is still retained only in Tinneveli, and only by those castes that still retain also the fashion of wearing their hair long.

The Veḷḷâlas of the present day almost invariably wear the kuḍumî, but they admit that their forefathers, certainly not less zealous Hindus than themselves, wore their hair long. The use of the kuḍumî has now reached the middle and lower classes, but it has not yet by any means become universal amongst them, at least in Tinneveli. Some people of each of the middle and lower castes wear it, and some do not; and it is obvious that it is amongst such classes that the light in which the wearing of it is to be regarded may best be ascertained. If it is certain, as it is obvious to every one that it is, that no difference is made between people with long hair and people of the same caste with kuḍumis as regards admission to the temples and other religious privileges, and that those who have not yet adopted the kuḍumî are as zealous for Hinduism as those who have, it is difficult to avoid coming to the conclusion that the argument is at an end.

The condition of things in the Mâravâr caste, the caste to which the ancient Pâṇḍya kings of Madurâ are said to have belonged, supplies us with a good illustration. Some of them wear the kuḍumi, and others, I think a majority, do not; but the difference between the two classes is not one of religion, or even of caste. It makes merely a difference in their social position. The kuḍumî, which was originally a sign of Âryan nationality and then of Âryan respectability, has come to be regarded as a sign of respectability in general, and hence, whilst the poorer Mâravârs generally wear their hair long, the wealthier members of the caste generally wear the kuḍumî. I am personally acquainted with families of this caste, some persons belonging to which wear the kuḍumi, and others retain the more ancient mode, whilst all of them continue heathens alike. I inquired of the Zamindâr of Uta-

mali, the most influential Zamindâr of this caste in Tinneveli, in what light he regarded the spread of the use of the kuḍumî amongst the people of his caste, when he replied that he did not regard it as in any way connected with religion, with caste, or with family, but that it was a usage which commended itself to people on account of what he called its 'becomingness,' that is, its neatness and tidiness, in comparison with the other mode, and which each person adopted or not as he pleased.

The great majority of the Shânârs who remain heathens wear their hair long; and if they are not allowed to enter the temples, the restriction to which they are subject is owing not to their long hair, but to their caste, for those few members of the caste, continuing heathens, who have adopted the kuḍumî,—generally the wealthiest of the caste,—are as much precluded from entering the temples as those who retain their long hair. A large majority of the Christian Shânârs, including nearly all the adherents of the missions of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, have adopted the kuḍumî together with Christianity, never supposing for a moment that the fashion they adopted when they became Christians could be regarded by any one as a sign of the heathenism they had left, but on the contrary regarding it, if a sign of any religion at all, rather as a sign of Christianity,—at least in their case, in so far as Christianity favoured the adoption of more cleanly, more civilized usages, and taught them, amongst other minor proprieties, that "it was a shame for a man to have long hair."

The heathen Pâllârs in Tinneveli used to wear their hair long; but most of them, without ceasing to be heathens, have recently adopted the kuḍumî, and the wearing of the kuḍumî is now spreading even amongst the Pariârs. In short, wherever higher notions of civilization and a regard for appearances extend, and in proportion as they extend, the use of the kuḍumî seems to extend also. Heathens adopt it, without becoming more heathenish thereby, but merely wishing to be "in the fashion," and converts to Christianity adopt it as a practice which they believe to be more becoming, and fancy to be more consonant to Christianity than the long hair of their ancestors.

There is a caste of bankers in Tinneveli and Madurâ, called the Nâṭṭukoṭṭei Cheṭṭis, who wear their hair in neither of the modes referred to, but shave the head completely, after the manner of the Muhammadans, or the manner prescribed by Sagara to the Yavanas. This usage of theirs cannot be meant as a distinguishing mark of religion, for there is no difference between their religion and that of their neighbours. I have lately inquired of one of them his reason for not wearing a kuḍumî. He replied that it was a peculiar usage amongst the people of his caste, but could not explain it any further. He considered that it had nothing to do with religion, and he was sure that the absence of it did not prevent him from entering the temples or performing any other religious duty. Indeed he was returning from the performance of worship in the temple when his opinion was asked. It would be an extraordinary thing if the members of this most wealthy, most superstitious caste were prevented, by their custom of not wearing a kuḍumi, from entering the temples, seeing that it may almost be said that the temples in Tinneveli and Madurâ are their private property. As it has always been the custom for the people of different castes to distinguish themselves from their neighbours by differences in dress and ornaments, especially in the dress and ornaments of their women, there seems nothing extraordinary in the adoption by the banker caste referred to of a peculiar fashion of wearing their hair, or rather of shaving it off; but whatever may have been the origin of this custom of theirs, it is not easy to see how any person, knowing the existence of it, and knowing the intense orthodoxy of the people who have adopted it, can maintain that the kuḍumî is a sign of orthodox Hinduism.

It is a fact deserving special notice that Sanyâsîs, or professed ascetics, though the most intense Hindus to be met with, never wear that which is represented as being a sign of orthodox Hinduism. They either shave off the kuḍumî, leaving the head bald, or they allow their hair to grow to its full length, like the ancient Rishis, plaiting it into a sort of tiara on the top of their heads, or letting it hang down their backs. Under either circumstance, no one ever heard of a Sanyâsi, though without a kuḍumî, being precluded from entering the temples. *Their* reason for not wearing the ku-

ḍumî is intelligible enough, whatever may be the reason of the bankers. They regard it as a sign of a secular mode of life, unbefitting persons who profess to have abandoned the world. They class it with gold ornaments and fine clothes, and would stare if they were told that what they reject as a vain beautification of the perishing body is regarded by persons who know better as a sign of their religion, which they ought to cherish.

The temple-priest wears his kuḍumî as a matter of course, because he lives in society, and because the worship he offers to the god of the temples is a gay, courtly worship, consisting in music, dancing, flowers, and lights, in avowed imitation of the ceremonies of a court. It is considered necessary that he should be in full dress when officiating in the temple, that is, that he should wear his kuḍumî: for without his kuḍumî, like a man who is unclean from a mourning, or like a Sanyâsî who has abandoned the world, he would not be regarded as suitably dressed for the performance of ceremonial worship. This is far from proving, however, that the kuḍumi is a sign of Hinduism. If it were such a sign, it would be worn not by the temple-priest, but by his far more religious brother, the ascetic.

It has been asserted that no Hindu is allowed to enter a temple without his kuḍumî; but the practice of the ascetics and the bankers, as also of the long-haired classes, clearly proves that this is a mistake. Modern Hinduism has indeed its distinguishing signs, without which no Hindu may enter the temples, but these signs—the distinguishing sectarial marks of modern Hinduism—consist in the tripundra for the Śaivas, and the nama for the Vaishṇavas,—signs which are well known to be essentially heathenish in their origin and signification.

It has been asserted that a Hindu who shaves off his kuḍumi, according to custom, as a sign of mourning for a near relation, is debarred, in consequence of being without his kuḍumî, from entering the temples; but this assertion also is founded on a misapprehension. He is excluded from the temple during the period of mourning, not because he is without a kuḍumî, but because he is ceremonially unclean. I have made inquiries with respect to this point, of priests attached to the temples, in order to satisfy myself of the accuracy of the statements I had previously received from private sources, and the information I have received is to the following effect:—

When a Hindu loses his father or mother and officiates as chief mourner at their funeral, he shaves off not his kuḍumi only, but also his moustache, as a sign of mourning, or, as Hindus understand it, as a sign of the ceremonial impurity he has contracted by a near relation's death. In this condition he is precluded from entering the temples till the funeral ceremonies have been brought to an end, that is, till the sixteenth day; but this exclusion is owing, not to his being without a kuḍumî, but to his ceremonial defilement: for on the sixteenth day he shaves again his newly sprouting kuḍumî and moustache, and bathes, and on the very same day, immediately after bathing, enters the temple again and performs the usual acts of worship. As he enters the temple again on the very day that he shaves off again the rudiments of his kuḍumî, it is evident that it was his ceremonial defilement, and not the absence of a kuḍumî, which was the cause of his exclusion during the preceding sixteen days.

I may be asked to explain how it is, if the kuḍumî is not a sign of Hinduism, that the Syrian Christians on the Malabar coast shave their heads entirely, and require converts to Christianity to shave off their kuḍumî on joining their ranks; and it is the more necessary that this circumstance should be explained, because I have always been of opinion that it was from the imitation of the Syrian Christians in this particular, on the part of the Protestant missionaries labouring on the Malabar coast, that the idea of the essential Hinduism of the kuḍumî spread amongst the missionaries in the Tâmil country.

The quotation from the *Vishṇu Purâṇa* given above will be found, I believe, to account for this apparent anomaly. The *Purâṇa* says: "He made the Yavanas shave their heads entirely," and it is evident from this that the shaving of the hair of the head entirely, without leaving a lock, was regarded as the national usage of the people referred to. The people thus described as Yavanas were the inhabitants of Western Asia. The name was derived from the Ionians, or descendants of Javan, the first Greeks with whom the Hindus became acquainted, and in the ancient Sanskrit

period denoted the Greeks in general. In subsequent times, when the Greeks were succeeded by the Arabs, it was the Arabs that were denoted by this name: so that in the later Sanskṛit of the *Vishṇu Purâṇa* we are to understand by Yavanas not the Greeks, but the Arabs, or, more widely, the inhabitants of both shores of the Persian Gulf. The name Sonagas, by which Muhammadans of Arab descent are sometimes called in Ṭâmil, is merely a corruption of the Sanskṛit Yavanas. The Arab and Persian Yavanas, whether Christians or Muhammadans, were accustomed to shave their heads, as the Hindus were well aware; and when merchants of both creeds came over, many centuries ago, from the Persian Gulf and the Red Sea, and settled on the Malabar coast, they not only brought with them their own peculiar usages as regards dress, food, &c., but received express permission from the Chera kings to retain those usages and to govern themselves by their own laws. They received permission also to make converts to their respective religions, and, what is more remarkable still, permission to incorporate those converts in their community or caste, and make them sharers together with themselves in the social privileges that had been conferred upon them, including the privilege of self-government.

This being the case, conversion to Christianity or to Muhammadanism came to be regarded as a change of caste or nationality, and not merely as a change of religion. The convert ceased to be a member of any Hindu caste. He ceased even to be a Hindu, and became, as far as it was possible for him to become, a Syrian or an Arab,—that is, he became a member of the Syrian or the Arab caste. He adopted not only the Christian or the Muhammadan creed, but the shaven head and the dress of the Yavana. He might originally have been a Polia slave, but if he was thought worthy of being accepted as a convert, he was thought worthy also of being admitted to the caste name and the caste rights of his new friends, and would not even be refused the privilege of connecting himself with them by marriage. The absence of the kuḍumî amongst the Syrian Christians of the Western coast, as also amongst the Indian Muhammadans generally (as adherents of an Arabian religion and of Arabian usages), is therefore to be regarded, not as a proof of their regarding the kuḍumi as a sign of Hinduism as a religion, but as a sign and memento of their admission into the nationality or caste of the Syrians and Arabs by whom they were converted, and of their adoption, as was not only natural but unavoidable under the circumstances, of the Syrian or Arab, that is, of the Yavana modes of life, including dress and the fashion of wearing the hair.

It was natural that the Protestant missionaries on the Malabar coast should advise their converts to follow the practice of their Syrian predecessors in this particular, though the imitation of their practice has only been partial after all, seeing that it does not include a change in nationality of their converts; but it does not follow that the practice of the Syrians should be followed by missionaries in other parts of India, where the Syrians are unknown, and where it has never been considered to be necessary or desirable that converts should adopt a new nationality,—without the adoption of which the imitation of the Syrians in one particular alone seems partial and arbitrary.

The example of the Syrians and Arabs was followed to the letter by the Roman Catholic missionaries who settled in the same neighbourhood in Goa, in the sixteenth century. The converts made by the Portuguese in Goa adopted a new nationality and a new dress, as well as a new religion. They assumed the dress and customs of their Portuguese patrons, and are called 'Portuguese' to the present day, though mostly of unmixed native descent.

A similar plan is acted upon still by the Muhammadans of both coasts on the reception into their ranks of converts to their creed.* The converts occasionally made by Muhammadans, whether from Hinduism or from Christianity, change not only their religion, but also their nationality or caste, and, as a sign of this change, adopt the Muhammadan, that is, the Yavana dress and mode of wearing the hair, including especially the 'skull-cap,' the equivalent of the Arabian or Turkish 'fez;' and so well is this understood, that in the common talk of the Ṭâmil people a convert to Muhammadanism is not said to have become a Muhammadan, but to

* Speaking of Tipû Sultân, *Fra Bartolomeo* says that during his ravages in the Malayâlim country "the pagans were deprived of the token of their nobility, which is a lock of hair called *cuduma*:" *Voyage to East Indies*, p. 141.—C. E. K.

have 'put on the skull-cap.' So thoroughly is his nationality, or caste, as it is called in India, supposed to be changed by this process, that he not only acquires the privilege of intermarriage with Muhammadans, no matter what his original caste may have been, but claims, and has conceded to him by Hindus, the same rights, as regards the use of wells, &c., that the original Muhammadans possess.

As it is the tendency of Hinduism to connect every act in life, every member of the body, and every portion of the dress with religion or caste, it is not to be expected that the k u ḍ u m î should escape so universal and so inveterate a tendency. Let it only be granted that the wearing of a tuft of hair on the back of the head has come into general use,—whatever be its origin, it will necessarily follow that it will not merely be cherished with the affection of personal vanity, as amongst the Chinese and Japanese, but that so superstitious a people as the Hindus will occasionally use it for superstitious purposes. This does not prove, however, that it is either heathenish in its origin or heathenish in its nature. It does not prove, therefore, that it is a sign of heathenism. It only proves that Christians should be careful not to put it to superstitious uses.

It may be objected that not only is the k u ḍ u m î put to some sort of use in superstitious ceremonies, but that the very first time it is assumed, or rather the first time the hair of a child's head is shaven off, leaving the k u ḍ u m î, superstitious ceremonies accompany the operation. This is undoubtedly true, but only to a very limited extent. When a Brâhmaṇ boy's head is shaved for the first time, the operation is performed on a certain month and day fixed by a rule, and a Brâhmaṇ lays hold of the tuft of hair that is to be left, and commences the operation before the razor is applied by the ordinary barber. A feast is made on the occasion, and this is called in Tâmiḷ the k u ḍ u m î wedding, but in Sanskrit simply *kshaura*, 'tonsure,'—nothing being required but tonsure by the sacred text. This usage does not prevail amongst other castes; it is not easy to see, therefore, how other castes can be made responsible for a peculiar usage kept up amongst that peculiar people the Brâhmaṇs. Even amongst the Brâhmaṇs, it may be added, the superstition consists not in the k u ḍ u m i itself, which was worn before ever Brâhmaṇs were heard of, but in the ceremonies by which the wearing of it is initiated.

Every period of a Hindu's life, especially of a Brâhmaṇ's, from his birth, and even from before his birth, to his death, is attended by a host of ceremonies. Ceremonies are performed the first time his ear is bored, but no one will say that the boring of the ears is in itself a heathenish operation. When a boy is sent for the first time to school, ceremonies are performed and a feast is given, but no one thinks it a heathenish thing to send a child to school because heathenish ceremonies are performed by heathens when their children are sent. If the thing itself is not distinctively heathenish, and the heathenism connected with it is an unnecessary ceremonial superadded by heathens, all that ought to be required of Christians is to avoid the superadded ceremonial.

It is not sufficient to prove a thing to be heathenish to prove that it is done by heathens. It is necessary to prove also that it is heathenish in its origin and history, and that the heathenish intent with which it is done by heathens belongs to the essence of its use. Hindus are accustomed to put flowers in their hair at marriages, and, the k u ḍ u m î being the only portion of the hair of the head they retain, the flowers are stuck in their k u ḍ u m î s. I do not consider this practice heathenish either in itself or in its intent. I do not consider it, therefore, to be a practice from which Christians should think themselves debarred. On the other hand I admit that it is a heathenish practice to put flowers in the hair when about to perform certain idolatrous acts of worship, because it is done with a heathenish intent, with the intent of doing honour to an idol. Apart from this intent, there is surely nothing heathenish or superstitious in wearing flowers in the hair. . . .

The great majority of the middle and lower classes in the Tâmiḷ country, including those castes to which most of our converts belong, are worshippers of Śiva, and as such they worship Śiva's son, Gaṇêśa (the Tâmiḷ Pilleyâr), as well as or more than Śiva himself. One of the ceremonies performed in the worship of this divinity consists in the worshipper's laying hold of his ears (not Gaṇêśa's, but his own)—the left ear with the right hand, the right ear with the left hand. Herein we may discern a danger to

which the young convert's faith is exposed; and we have now learnt, from the instance of the kuḍumî, how such dangers are to be averted. Cut off the convert's kuḍumî, and a rarely occurring temptation ceases: cut off his ears, and one of the most common temptations of his daily life is at an end!

I am surprised that the opponents of the kuḍumi have not yet commenced to put down the use of the tâli. This is the Hindu sign of marriage, answering to the ring of European Christendom; and, on the principle on which the opposition to the kuḍumi is based, it does not appear to me to be consistent with common fairness to allow the tâli to escape, seeing that amongst heathens it has always the image of Gaṇeśa or some other idolatrous emblem impressed upon it, and that it is always tied round the Hindu bride's neck with idolatrous ceremonies. I have known a clergyman refuse to perform a marriage with a tâli, and insist upon a ring being used instead. At first sight this would seem to be the right course to take, to preserve the principle which is at stake inviolate, but a little further consideration will show that the scrupulous conscience can find no rest for itself even in the ring: for if the ring is more Christian than the tâli, it is only because its use amongst Christians is more ancient. Every one knows that the ring had a heathen origin, and that for this reason it is rejected by the Quakers, who for the same reason, in perfect consistency with their principles, reject the use of our very decidedly heathenish names of the days of the week and of the months.

I do not wish to be understood as defending the retention of the kuḍumî, or advocating its use, considered as a question of taste. Regarding the kuḍumî merely as a mode of wearing the hair, I do not admire it, and if it were only admitted that the question at issue is not a question of theology or of Christian morality, but a question for the hair-dresser, I should probably turn round and argue on the other side. It would doubtless have been admired by our grandfathers, who wore a kuḍumî themselves, viz. the queue or pigtail, which succeeded the wig, and who certainly could not have required native converts to Christianity to cut off what they themselves wore. The mode of hair-cutting in vogue amongst us at present was introduced by the French revolutionists, and was regarded with dislike for a time by old-fashioned people as a sign of Jacobin tendencies. It outlived that suspicion, and came to be universally regarded as a great improvement upon the pigtail, and still more upon the wig. I am not sure, however, that it is destined to resist for ever the changes of fashion; and, judging from the low negro-like look it gives to the natives who have been induced to adopt it, I should fancy that it is somehow out of harmony with nature, and that a more becoming fashion may yet be discovered. A native with a good head never looks so well, in my judgment, as when he shaves his head entirely, after the simply severe style of the ancient Greek philosophers, and I should suppose that in this warm climate no other style can feel so cool and comfortable. On the other hand, I never regard a native with more pity, from a dressing-room point of view, than when I see him imitating, or rather caricaturing, our present English fashion,—letting his straight black hair grow to twice the length of ours, though innocent of the use of brush and comb, and plastering it over with oil till it shines in the dark and smells in the sun! I am not disposed, however, to dogmatize in matters of fashion, knowing that tastes differ. It is a matter of indifference to me how people wear their hair, provided they take care to keep it clean. All I argue for is that it should be regarded as a matter of taste, not a matter of religion, and that if we dislike the kuḍumî and wish natives to cut it off and to shave their heads, we should appeal, not to their consciences, but to their wish to improve their looks.

None of the arguments I have used in defence of the lawfulness of native Christians retaining the kuḍumî, if they like, can fairly be made use of in defence of caste... Caste is anti-social in its own nature, irrespective of its origin and history, and is therefore anti-Christian; whereas the kuḍumî, being admitted to be in itself a tuft of hair and no more, if it is not heathenish in its origin and history, the assertion that it is heathenish is baseless, and the wearing of it is no more opposed to Christianity or social duty than the wearing of the moustache.

Courtallum, Tinneveli, 7th Sept. 1867.

A GRANT OF KING GUHASENA OF VALABHÎ.

BY J. G. BÜHLER, PH D.

The subjoined transcript and translation of the second half of a Sâsana issued by king Guhasena have been prepared according to a copper-plate presented by the Kothari of Walla to Lieut. F. L. Keily of H. M. 26th Regt. N. I., and lent to me by the owner. The plate apparently forms part of the finds made during the last cold weather, when, according to information received, eleven plates were dug up. Its size was originally twelve inches by nine; but it has been badly injured on two sides. Fortunately the missing pieces contained little more than the well-known eulogistic epithets of the ancestor. Only one line—an important word, which described the position of the convent of Duddâ, has been lost.

The letters of this grant are smaller than those of the Sâsana of Dhruvasena I, but larger than those in the inscriptions of Dharasena II and the later kings. The form of the letters . . . and . . . the attached *a*, which in Dhruvasena's plate is angular, has become rounded. The tail of the *l*, in several cases, passes over and nearly envelopes the whole letter. Still there is a great difference between the characters of this plate and those belonging to the times of the later kings, where the form of the writing closely resembles current hand.*

Imperfect as this grant is, it has nevertheless a great interest. For, firstly, it fixes approximately the date of one of the earlier kings of the Valabhî dynasty. Secondly, it gives an important contribution towards the history of Buddhism in Valabhî. We find that the convent founded by Duddâ, the sister's daughter of Dhruvasena I, continued to flourish and to enjoy the protection of the rulers. The mention of the eighteen Buddhist schools which were represented in Duddâ's convent is also of importance, because it confirms a statement made by Hiwen Thsang. The latter says (*Mémoires*, II. 162) that in the hundred convents of Valabhî the Hînayâna was chiefly studied. Now the eighteen schools of our grant can only refer to the Hînayâna, because this division of Buddhism is known to have been cultivated in that number of Nikâyas.†

A third point which deserves attention is the statement that this grant was written by *Skandabhaṭa*, the minister of peace and war. This same person executed also the grants of Guhasena's son *Dharasena II*. and of his fourth descendant *Dharasena IV*. The grants of *Dharasena I* are dated 𑀯𑀲 (signs), which Professor Bhâṇḍârkar has rightly interpreted to mean 272,‡ and (signs) which I read 277:§ and that of *Dharasena IV* (signs), read by Professor Bhâṇḍârkar as 326. Now this gives *Skandabhaṭa* a tenure of office lasting fifty-four years. Our new grant shows that he held office under *Guhasena* also. If the second sign in the date of our grant is taken with Professor Bhâṇḍârkar for 50,‖ the grant is dated in 256: consequently *Skandabhaṭa* must have been at least seventy years in office. It seems very improbable that a man should last so long: I prefer, therefore, to take the (sign) for 60. The fact is that we know nothing for certain regarding the signs for 50 and 60, and the one unknown sign (sign) which occurs on the Valabhî plates may stand, for all we know, for either. The above-mentioned facts regarding Skandabhaṭa appear, however, to make it more probable that it must be read as 60.

Transcript.

[समदपरगजघटास्फोटनप्रकाशितसत्त्वनिकषः [त] त्प्र-
भावप्रणतारातिचूडारत्नप्रभा [संसक्तपादनखरश्मि]—१—
[संहतिः सकल]स्मृतिप्रणीतमार्गसम्यक्परिपालनप्रजा[रञ्जना-
दन्वर्थराजशब्दोरूप]—२—
[कान्तिस्थैर्यगाम्भीर्य] बुद्धिसंपद्भिः स्मरशशाङ्काद्रिराजोद-
धित्रिदशगुरुधनेशान [तिशयानः शरणा-]—३

* The plate has been photographed, and copies will be sent to the learned societies interested in Oriental questions.

† Wassiljew, *Der Buddhismus*, p. 64. I will mention here that another statement of Hiwen Thsang's (II. 164), viz. that near the town there was a convent built by O-tche-lo, is confirmed by my grant of Dharasena II. The Sanskrit name of the founder is, however, not *Achâra*, but *Âchârya*.

‡ *Jour. B. Br. R. As. Soc.* X., 69 *et seqq.*

§ This date is taken from my unpublished grant, and I give it here merely in order to show that Professor Bhâṇḍârkar's interpretation of the sign for the decade is correct. For the sign which occurs on my plate resembles closely the sign for 70 in the Junâgaḍh inscription of Rudradâman.

‖ *Loc. cit.* p. 71

[गना]भरप्रदान रतया त्रिणवदपास्ताशेपस्वकार्यफलः प्रार्थना-
धिकार्थप्रदानान [न्दितविद्व] —४—
त्सुहृत्प्रणयिहृदयः पादचारीव सकलभुवनमण्डलाभोगप्रमोदः
परममाहेश्वरः —५—
श्री [महा] राजगुहसेनः कुशली सर्वानेवायुक्तकविनियुक्तकद्रा-
ङ्गिकमहत्तरचाटभटध्रुवाधिकरणिकदाण्ड —६—
भोगि[क]चोरोद्धरणिकराजस्थानीयकुमारामात्यादीनन्यांश्च य-
थासंबद्धयमानकान् समाज्ञापयत्यस्तु वस्संविदितं —७—
— —नलस न्निविष्टदुड्डाविहारे नानादिगभ्याग-
ताष्टादशनिकायाभ्यन्तरशाक्यार्य भिक्षुसं —८—
घाय ग्रामाच्छादनशय्यासनग्लानप्रत्ययभैषज्याद्युपयोगार्थमानु-
मंजीप्रावेश्यापिप्पलरुंखरीप्रावेश्यशमीगद्दवाटक . . —९—
तथा मण्डलीद्रंगे सङ्गमानकं देटकहारे नदीयं। तथा चोस्स-
रीं। एवमेतद्ग्रामचतुष्टयं सोद्रङ्गं सोपरिकरं सवातभूत —१०—
धान्याहिरण्यदेयं सोत्पद्यमानविष्टिकं सर्वराजकीयाहस्तप्रक्षेप-
णीयं भूमिच्छिद्रन्यायेन मया मातापित्रोरात्मनश्च [हि] —११
कामुष्मिकयथाभिलषितफलावाप्तये उदकसर्गेणातिसृष्टं यतो
स्योचितया शाक्यार्यभिक्षुसंघस्थित्या भुंजतः कृषतः क
[र्षय]—१२
तो वा न कैश्चिद्व्यासेधे वर्तितव्यमागामिभद्रनृपतिभिश्चास्म-
द्वंशजैरनित्यान्यैश्वर्याण्यस्थिरं मानुष्यं सामान्यं च भूमिदा-
[न]—१३
फलमवगच्छद्भिरयमस्मद्दायोऽनुमन्तव्यः परिपालयितव्यश्च यश्चै-
नमाच्छिन्द्यादाच्छिद्यमानं वानुमोदेत स पंचा [प]—१४—
कर्म्मफलसंयुक्तस्स्यात् तथ्यां च वर्नमानः पंचभिर्म्महापातकैस्सो-
पपातकैस्संयुक्तस्स्यादपि च ॥ यानीह दारिद्रभया[न्न]—१५
रेन्द्रैर्द्धनानि धर्म्मायतनीकृतानि । निर्म्माल्यवान्तप्रतिमानि
तानि को नाम साधुः पुनराददीत ॥ बहुभिर्व्वसुधा भुक्ता
[राजभिः]—१६—
सगरादिभिः। यस्ययस्य यदा भूमिः तस्यतस्य तदा फलमिति ॥
स्वमुखाज्ञा ॥ स्वहस्तो मम महाराजश्री [गुहसेन]—१७
स्य लिखितं संधिविग्रहाधिकरणाधिकृतस्कन्दभटेन ॥ सं
२६६ [illegible] माघ वदि— —१८—

Translation.

(His son is) the devotee of *Mahesvara*, the illustrious Mahârâja *Guhasena*, who proved his courage by splitting the temples of the rutting elephants of his enemies, the rays of whose footnails mingle with the glitter of the crest-jewels of his enemies who are prostrate before him in consequence of his power, who gives its proper significance to his title râja (winner of hearts), since he won the hearts of his subjects by carefully keeping to the path prescribed in all the Smritis, who in beauty surpasses Cupid, in splendour the moon, in firmness the Lord of mountains, in depth the ocean, in wisdom the preceptor of the gods, in riches the Lord of wealth,—who, intent on affording safety to those seeking refuge with him, cares not a straw for his own interest,—who rejoices the hearts of the learned and of his affectionate friends by granting them more wealth than their prayers demand—who is as it were the incarnate delight of the whole world. (He.) being in good health, addresses these commands to all his servants and officials, heads of towns, heads of villages, fortune-tellers, soldiers, his faithful judges,* police officers, receivers of revenue, thief-catchers, princes and ministers representing royalty and so forth, as well as to (all) others whatever their connexion (with the government) may be :

Be it known unto you, that in order to obtain for my parents and for myself benefits in this life and the next according to my desires, I have granted, (confirming my gift,) by pouring out water, to the community of the reverend Śâkya monks, belonging to the eighteen schools (of the Hînayâna) who have come from various direc-

1. About fifteen letters have been lost in the beginning, and nine or ten at the end. They have been supplied from Prof. Bhândârkar's plate, *Jour. B. Br. R. As. Soc.* X. 77. The restoration of the following lines is made from the same source.

4. Read तगवद° instead of त्रिगवद°.

6. The sign used in the original before कुशली is the Jihvâmûliya.

7. One side of the horizontal stroke of क in भोगिक is visible. The word occurs also in the Broach plates of the Gurjara kings. Akshara 32 is half obliterated.

8. The first three letters *may* have been वल्भी. An *i* is still visible, and below it a letter bearing some resemblance to a भ, as well as a fragment of a ल or व before it.

10. एवमेत° is a *lapsus styli*. Read एवमेत°.

12. स्थित्या a *lapsus styli* for स्थित्या.

16 The sign used in राज्ञ: is the Upâdhmaniya.

* I am doubtful about the correctness of my renderings of ध्रुवाधिकरणिक and भोगिक: Though ध्रुव means 'firm, 'faithful,' and अधिकरणिक 'a judge,' it is nevertheless not improbable that the compound has a technical meaning. भोगिक occurs in Prof. Dowson's and my Gurjara plates, connected with râjasâmanta on the one side, and vishayapati on the other side. In those documents it may bear the sense of 'governor of a province,' as Prof. Dowson translates it. At all events it seems to denote a person of high rank. In this plate, where it is connected with the police officers and thief-catchers, the latter being probably our Puggees (Pagîs), it must refer to an official of low rank. As भोग means also 'revenue,' I conjecture that भोगिक denotes the village-accountants and receivers of revenue, called now Talâtîs or Kulkarnîs. The *Pet. Dict.* gives for भोगिक only the meaning 'groom,' but for भोगिन् 'governor of a province' and 'head of a village.'

tions to the great convent of Duḍḍâ built by the venerable Duḍḍâ and situated . . . . in order to procure food, clothing, seats, remedies and medicines* for the sick, and so forth, the following four villages :—

Samîpattavâṭaka, situated between *Ânumanji* and *Pippalarunkharî*, and *Sangamânaka* in the township of *Maṇḍali*, as well as *Naddiya*, and *Chossarî* in *Detakakhâra*,† with. . . . . . , with . . . . . with the revenue in dry and green (produce), corn and gold, and with the right to forced labour arising (therefrom), according to the analogy of the familiar instance of the ground and the cleft.

Wherefore no obstruction should be made to him who, by virtue of his belonging to the community of the reverend Sakya monks, enjoys (these villages), tills (the land) or causes it to be tilled. And the future worthy kings of our race, understanding the instability of power, the frailty of humanity, and the benefits derived from gifts of land which are common (to all protecting them), should consent to and protect this our grant ; and he who takes it, or allows it to be taken away shall obtain the punishments of the five (kinds of) evil acts, and, living in the three (kinds of) existences, shall be guilty of the five mortal sins as well as of the minor sins.

(It has) also (been declared :) What good man would resume property which out of fear of poverty kings have given for pious purposes, and which resembles leavings and vomited (food) ?

Many kings as *Sagara* and others have enjoyed the earth. To him who possesses the earth belongs the fruit thereof.

My own verbal order. My own sign-manual, (that) of the illustrious Mahârâja *Guhasena*. Written by *Skandabhaṭa*, charged with the ministry of war and peace, in the dark half of Magha 266.

SANSKRIT AND OLD CANARESE INSCRIPTIONS.

BY J. F. FLEET, Esq., Bo. C.S.

In the Sanskrit and Old Canarese inscriptions, on walls and pillars of temples, on detached stone-tablets and monumental stones, and on copper-plates, of the Canarese Districts of the Bombay Presidency and the neighbouring territories of Madras, Maisûr, and Haidarâbâd, there exist abundant materials for compiling a tolerably detailed and connected historical account of that part of the country for a period of seven or eight centuries from about the middle of the fifth century A. D., and at the same time for illustrating the gradual development of the modern forms of its vernacular language.

But little, however, has as yet been done towards bringing these materials within the reach of those who can utilize them.

Some forty years ago a collection of manuscript copies of five hundred and ninety-five of these inscriptions was presented in triplicate by Mr. (now Sir Walter) Elliot, of the Madras Civil Service, to the Royal Asiatic Society of London and the Branch Societies of Bombay and Madras.‡ These copies were made by

* For the translation of the word प्रत्यय compare the *Petersburg Dict.* s. v. प्रत्यय 8.

† The translation of prâveśya requires justification. In the Broach plates the phrase achâṭabhaṭaprâveśya occurs, and the word means 'to be entered,' being the fut. passive part. of vi with pra+â. Here it seems to have the same meaning. It is clear from the statements about the other three villages that the compound Ânumanjiprâveśya-pippalarunkharîprâveśya contains something about the situation of Śamîpattavâṭaka. I take therefore, Ânumanji and Pippalarunkhari to stand in the ablative case. Pippalarunkharî was assigned to the convent of Duḍḍâ by Dhruvasena I : *Ind. Ant.* IV. p. 106.

‡ From some correspondence on the subject that I have perused, it appears that the Elliot Collection comprised altogether 1,339 stone and copper-plate inscriptions; a large number of these, however, were in the Telugu language and characters. The series presented to the three Societies appears to have included all the Sanskrit and Old Canarese inscriptions, and a few in the Telugu language. It appears also that Sir W. Elliot's translations were made by 'Kadambari Jagannadhan Guru' and 'Vavilala Subbarasu', who in 1871 held respectively the posts of Treasury Deputy-Collector in the Godâvari District and Sub-Magistrate of 'Polavaram.' One of the men employed by Sir W. Elliot to decipher and copy the inscriptions was 'Chipuri Jeyaramadu,' who, in 1871, was a Cattle-pound Gumasta on Rs. 10 per mensem at the 'Bapatla' Tâlukâ Kachêri. This man had kept private copies of 873 Telugu inscriptions out of the whole collection, and measures were taken by the Government of Madras to secure these copies; but with what ultimate result I have not been able to ascertain. Another man thus employed was Nâgappa Sâstrî, now deceased, of Ron in the Dhârwâḍ District ; a few duplicates of the copies made by him for Sir W. Elliot were shown to me by his son Siddhappa ; they were very inaccurate and incomplete, and seemed to be anything but trustworthy. The same correspondence states that the Elliot Collection was "completely destroyed by salt water on the voyage to England in a vessel laden with sugar ;" this did not include probably Sir W. Elliot's own copies of the Telugu inscriptions, and perhaps the copy of the Sanskrit and Old Canarese inscriptions intended for the London Society. Some of the original copper-plates would appear to be still in existence in England.

native hands, and were in many cases of doubtful accuracy, but the collection would have been a most useful guide in prosecuting further researches of this kind. Recent inquiries, however, after this collection have resulted in the discovery that the copies presented to the Branch Societies have been entirely lost sight of and cannot now be traced; and the copy presented to the London Society is virtually inaccessible in this country. All that now remains to the public of Sir W. Elliot's labours consists of his old Canarese Alphabet* and the Paper on Hindu Inscriptions † in which he summarizes the historical results of his researches; and these even are now out of print and very hard to be procured.

Another very extensive MS. collection, comprising much information of a similar kind, was made in Southern India by the late Colonel Mackenzie, and is still in existence at Madras. This collection, again, has never yet been made accessible to the public; but there are hopes that before very long a general summary of its contents, and selected portions of it in detail, will be published by the gentleman ‡ in whose charge it now is on behalf of Government.

These are, I believe, the only large collections that have ever been made. Researches by other inquirers have been made public, but they are mostly of a detached kind, and, together with the reports on the contents of the Mackenzie Collection that have been issued, are scattered over the pages of the journals of literary societies in such a way as to be accessible, and frequently to be known, only to those who have the fortune to live in the neighbourhood of large libraries.

In other parts of the empire activity is being displayed by Government in respect of the preservation and publication of ancient remains and records. In the north of India there is an Archæological Department which publishes, at the same time with the other results of its inquiries, all inscriptions that are met with. In Ceylon an Oriental scholar has recently been deputed by the Government to examine, copy, and publish the rock inscriptions. As indicated above, another Oriental scholar is now at work in Madras in connexion with the Mackenzie Collection. And in this Presidency Mr. Burgess has latterly been employed on the duty of investigating and reporting on the Archæological Remains.

The Canarese Country, however,—the richest of all in inscriptions,—is still left to remain the field of casual and intermittent private research of necessarily a very imperfect kind. During a short tour through part of the Canarese Country in the early part of last year, Mr. Burgess took advantage of the opportunity thus afforded him, and prepared and has published § excellent facsimiles of over thirty of its inscriptions. But his duties have now taken him to another part of the Presidency, and a long time must probably elapse before he will visit the Canarese Country again.

The only record of any Government action in respect of the inscriptions of the Canarese Country is to be found in a photographic collection of about ninety inscriptions, on stone-tablets and copper-plates, at Chitrakaldurga, Balagâmve, Harihar, and other places to the south, made by Major Dixon, H. M.'s 22nd Regiment M.N.I., for the Government of Maisûr and published by that Government in 1865.‖ Not long ago, it is true, it was in contemplation by the Bombay Government to employ an officer on the special duty of preparing for publication a reliable collection of Canarese inscriptions; but,—on the ground that, as the basis of the work was to have been the Elliot Collection, the disappearance of that collection renders it impossible for anything further to be done,—the project seems to have been abandoned, for the present at all events.

To Major Dixon's collection mentioned above we have to add a series of about sixty photographic copies of inscriptions, from negatives taken by the late Dr. Pigou, Bo.M.S., and Col. Biggs, R.A., and edited in 1866 by Mr. Hope, Bo.C.S., for and at the cost of the Committee of Architectural Antiquities of Western India. A synopsis of the contents of this work, by the late Dr. Bhâu Dâjî, is to be found at pp. 314—333 of No. xxvii. vol. IX. of the *Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic*

* Published at Bombay in 1833.

† Published originally in No. VII of the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, and reprinted, with the corrections and emendations of the author, in vol. VII. of the *Madras Journal of Literature and Science.*

‡ Dr. Oppert.

§ *Report of the First Season's Operations of the Archæological Survey of W. India, in the Belgaum and Kaládgi Districts* (India Office, 1874).

‖ Conf. *Ind. Ant.*, vol. II. p. 184.

Society: many of the notices, however, are very imperfect, and some are full of inaccuracies that may mislead.

These two works contain all that is as yet generally available towards a history of the Canarese Country and its language. And, as, in addition to many of the inscriptions thus published being altogether insignificant, and in addition to some in one of the two books being only different copies by another hand of those in the other, the photographs are on a very small scale,* and frequently are so indistinct in details as to be practically illegible, the field thus offered for investigation becomes of a very limited extent.

Official duties leave but little leisure for private study: but, as a commencement towards placing on record for general reference a series of Old Canarese inscriptions in a connected form, I propose publishing from time to time in the pages of this journal such of the contents of these books as I have leisure to look into. Occasionally I may add inscriptions copied from the originals by myself or under my direct superintendence. And, whenever I am able, I shall give such notes of my own on the subject of inscriptions at other places as may tend to elucidate the subject-matter of the text, or to indicate where further information bearing on it may be found. If others, to whom other copies of these two collections may be available, will cooperate, such of the inscriptions as can be satisfactorily edited from the photographs may soon be disposed of, and a great deal of useful information be placed on record.

According to the language used, the inscriptions of the Canarese Country may be distributed over three periods. In the older inscriptions the language is as a rule entirely Sanskṛit; occasionally Old Canarese words are introduced, but they are not of frequent occurrence, and from their isolation it is often difficult to determine their meanings. In the next stage, both the Sanskṛit and the Old Canarese languages are used conjointly, the latter usually predominating: frequently the transition from the Sanskṛit to the Canarese language and idiom, and *vice versâ*, is very abrupt. Lastly, the more modern inscriptions are entirely in the Old Canarese language and idiom, with of course a copious intermixture of pure as well as corrupted Sanskṛit words; the opening invocations and the closing benedictive and imprecatory verses are sometimes pure Sanskṛit and sometimes Canarese. Speaking generally, the pure Sanskṛit period lasts up to about the middle of the ninth century A.D., the mixed Sanskṛit and Old Canarese period lasts from then up to about the middle of the eleventh century, and the pure Old Canarese period then commences; the limits of these periods may be more definitely fixed when a greater number of the inscriptions have been examined in detail. Pure Sanskṛit inscriptions are of course to be met with down to the last, but, after the first period specified above, they are the exception and not the rule: it should be remarked, however, that copper-plate inscriptions are almost always Sanskṛit, whatever their age may be. The inscriptions of the earliest period are not very numerous: by far the majority belong to the second and third periods.

As regards the characters used, the earlier inscriptions of the pure Sanskṛit period are in the old Cave-alphabet, the source of both the modern square Dêvanâgarî characters and the round Canarese characters. The Old Canarese alphabet began to be elaborated, by rounding off the angular points of the characters of the Cave-alphabet, towards the end of the pure Sanskṛit period. By about the middle of the tenth century it assumed a defined and settled character. About the commencement of the thirteenth century the characters began to deteriorate and to pass into the modern forms; in some respects the modern Telugu alphabet represents, more closely than the Modern Canarese alphabet does, the Old Canarese alphabet of the third period specified above. Pure Sanskṛit inscriptions of the latter part of the first period and of the second and third periods are frequently engraved in the Old Canarese

* For instance.—Plate No. 20 of Major Dixon's work contains a photograph 9[illegible]" high by [illegible] wide of an inscription of ninety-four lines averaging about fifty letters each on a stone-tablet 11'2" high by 3'6½" broad. The original is in the most excellent order, and must be legible from beginning to end with ease and certainty; but, so small are the letters in the photograph, that it is a very difficult matter to decipher and edit the contents. To photograph inscriptions successfully, the extreme length of the plate must be applied to the breadth, and not the height, of the original, which must then be copied in a succession of plates, the lowest two or three lines of the highest plate being repeated as the highest lines of the next plate, and so on, to prevent confusion and the possible omission of any part of the original.

characters; but the reverse of this is of rare occurrence. The later Sanskrit inscriptions are usually in the characters which I know by the name of the 'Kâyastha' or 'Grantha' alphabet, and it is to be noticed that in the case of inscriptions on stone-tablets these characters are usually both of a better type and more carefully cut than in the case of copper-plate inscriptions; this alphabet is much the same as that met with in Sanskṛit MSS. in this part of the country.

No. I.

The inscription submitted herewith is from Plate No. 53 of Major Dixon's work. The original, in the Old Canarese language and in somewhat large and slanting Old Canarese characters, is on a stone tablet 4′ 2″ high by 2′ 9½″ broad at B a l a g â m̃ v e,—the Balligâve of the inscription, or Balligrâme (Major Dixon's No. 39), or Balipura (*id.*, No. 72),—in Maisûr, about twenty miles to the S.E. of B a n a w â s i.

The emblems at the top of the stone are:— In the centre, a seated figure of Jinêndra; on its right, a priest or worshipper, and above him the sun; and on its left, a cow and calf, above which the portion of the stone bearing a representation of the moon has been broken away.

The inscription records a grant made in the Śaka year 970 (A.D. 1048-9), being the Sarvadhâri *saṁvatsara*, by a private person to a Jain temple, while the Great Chieftain Châvuṇḍarâya was governing at his capital of B a l l i g â v e, as the subordinate of the Châlukya king S ô m ê ś v a r a d ê v a I, the district known as the Banavâsi Twelve-thousand.

B a l l i g â v e would appear to have been the chief town of the circle of villages known as the Jiḍḍulige Seventy, which probably constituted a minor division of the Banavâsi Twelve-thousand. I have not succeeded in tracing Jiḍḍulige on the map.

The two-fold invocation,—one Jain and one Vaishṇava,—at the beginning of the inscription, —and the statement at the end that the lord N â g a v a r m â *, whoever he may be, built temples of Jina, Vishṇu and Śiva, are worthy of note as indicating the religious toleration that existed at that time.

C h â v u ṇ ḍ a r â y a is one of the later Kâdambas of Banavâsi; he is mentioned by Sir W. Elliot † as being in Śaka 969 the head of the family, but his exact place in the genealogy cannot yet be determined.

Transcription.‡

[1] ಶ್ರೀಮತ್ಪರಮಗಂಭೀರಸ್ಯಾದ್ವಾದಾಮೋಘಲಾಂಛ[ನಂ] [।]
[2] ಜೀಯಾತ್ರೈ(ತ್ರೈ)ಳೋಕ್ಯನಾಥಸ್ಯ ಶಾಸನಂ ಜಿನಶಾಸನಂ ॥
[3] ಸ್ವಸ್ತಿ ಸಮಸ್ತಭುವನಾಶ್ರಯ ಶ್ರೀಪೃಥ್ವೀವಲ್ಲಭ ಮಹಾರಾಜಾಧಿರಾಜ ಪರಮೇ-
[4] ಶ್ವರ ಪರಮಭಟ್ಟಾರಕಂ ಸತ್ಯಾಶ್ರಯಕುಳತಿಳಕಂ ಚಾಳುಕ್ಯಾಭರಣಂ ಶ್ರೀಮ-
[5] ತ್ರೈ(ತ್ರೈ)ಳೋಕ್ಯಮಲ್ಲದೇವರ ವಿಜಯರಾಜ್ಯಂ ಪ್ರವರ್ತ್ತಿಸೆ ತತ್ಪಾದಪದ್ಮೋಪಶೋಭಿತೋತ್ತಮಾಂ-
[6] ಗಂ ಸ್ವಸ್ತಿ ಸಮಧಿಗತಪಂಚಮಹಾಶಬ್ದ ಮಹಾಮಣ್ಡಳೇಶ್ವರಂ ಬನವಾಸೀಪು-
[7] ರವರೇಶ್ವರಂ ಮಹಾಲಕ್ಷ್ಮೀಲಬ್ಧವರಪ್ರಸಾದಂ ತ್ಯಾಗವಿನೋದಂ ಆಯದಾಚಾರ್ಯ್ಯನಸ-
[8] ಹಾಯಕಾರ್ಯ್ಯಂ ಗಣ್ಡರ ಗಣ್ಡಂ ಗಣ್ಡಭೇರುಂ(ರು)ಣ್ಡಂ ಮೊಱಬಾಯಾಸ್ಥಾನಂ ಕಲಿಬಿರುದಮಣ್ಡ-
[9] ಳಿಕನೃಪಭಯಂಕರಂ ಕಲಿಗಳ ಮೊಗದಕಯಿಬಿರುದರಾದಿತ್ಯಂ ಪ್ರತ್ಯಕ್ಷವಿಕ್ರಮಾದಿತ್ಯಂ ಜ-
[10] ಗದೇಕದಾನಿ ನಾಮಾದಿಸಮಸ್ತಪ್ರಶಸ್ತಿಸಹಿತಂ ಶ್ರೀಮನ್ಮಹಾಮಣ್ಡಳೇಶ್ವರಂ ಚಾ[ವು]-
[11] ಣ್ಡರಾಯರಸರ್ ಬನವಾಸಿಪನ್ನಿರ್ಚ್ಛಾಸಿರಮನಾಳುತ್ತಮಿರಲ್ ರಾಜಧಾನಿ ಬಳ್ಳಿಗಾವೆಯು

* The name of Nâgavarmâ appears twice in Sir W. Elliot's genealogy of the Kâdambas of Banavâsi anterior to Śaka 955.

† Whose reading of his name is C h â m a n ḍ a r â y a. The second letter of the name has been effaced in the present inscription: I have supplied it as '*vu*' and not '*ma*,' because 'Châvuṇḍa' is undoubtedly the reading in some inscriptions relating to the Sinda family which I shall shortly publish in the *Jour. B. Br. R. As. Soc.*, and it is farther borne out by the abbreviated form 'Chauṇḍa' which also occurs.

‡ Letters supplied, when effaced or illegible in the original, from conjecture or from other sources, are given in square brackets,—[ ]; and corrections, emendations, and doubtful points, in ordinary brackets,—( ); a note of interrogation before a letter in ordinary brackets denotes a doubtful alternative reading, and a note of interrogation after such a letter denotes a doubt as to the propriety of a correction or emendation. My standards of orthography are, for Sanskrit words Prof. Monier Williams' *Sanskrit-English Dictionary*, and for Canarese words the Rev. D. Sanderson's enlarged edition of the Rev. W. Reeve's *Dictionary*.

[12] [ನೆ]ಲೆವೀಡಿನೊಳ್ ಶಕವರ್ಷ ೧೦೨೦ನೆಯ ಸರ್ವ್ವಧಾರಿಸಂವತ್ಸರದ ಜ್ಯೇಷ್ಠ ಶುದ್ಧ ತ್ರಯೋ-

[13] [ದ]ಶಿ ಆದಿತ್ಯವಾರದನ್ದು ಜಜಾಹುತಿಶ್ರೀಶಾನ್ತಿನಾಥಸಮ್ನಿಧಿಯಪ್ಪ ಬಳಗಾಱಗ-

[14] ಣದ ಮೇಘನನ್ದಿಭಟ್ಟಾರಕರ ಶಿಷ್ಯರಪ್ಪ ಕೇಶವನನ್ದಿ ಅಷ್ಟೋಪವಾಸಿ ಭಟಾರರ

[15] ಬಸದಿಗೆ ಪೂಜಾನಿಮಿತ್ತದಿಂ ಧಾರಾಪೂರ್ವ್ವಕಂ ಜಿಡ್ಡುಳಿಗೆ ೭೦ರ ಬಳಿಯ ರಾಜ-

[16] ಧಾನಿ ಬಳ್ಳಿಗಾವೆಯ ಪೆರ್ಗ್ಗೆಯಬಯಲೊಳ್ ಭೇರುಣ್ಡಗಳೆಯೊಳ್ ಕೊಟ್ಟ ಗರ್ದ್ದೆ

[17] ಮತ್ತರಯ್ದು ಆದಲ ಸೀಮೆ ಬಡಗ ಕೂಣಗುನ್ದದ ಸೀಮೆಯ ಪಲ್ಲಂ ಮೂಡ

[18] ಪಾಸಹೋಗಲ್ಲು ತೆಂಕ ಅಷ್ಟೋಪವಾಸಿಗಟ್ಟು ಪಡುವ ನಟ್ಟ ಕಲ್ಲು ॥ ಧರ್ಮ್ಮೇಣ ಪೌ-

[19] ರ್ಯ್ಯವಸ್ಥ್ಯೇನ ತ್ಯಾಗೇನ ಚ ಮಹೀತಳೇ ಗಣ್ಡಭೇರುಣ್ಡನಾಮ್ನೋಽನ್ಯೋ ನ ಭೂ[ತೋ]

[20] ನ ಭವಿಷ್ಯತಿ ॥ ಸಾಮಾನ್ಯೋಯಂ ಧರ್ಮ್ಮಸೇತುರ್ನ್ನೃಪಾಣಾಂ ಕಾಲೇ ಕಾಲೇ ಪಾಲ[ನೀ]-

[21] ಯೋ ಭವದ್ಭಿಃ ಸರ್ವ್ವಾನೇತಾನ್ ಭಾವಿನಃ ಪಾರ್ಥಿವೇನ್ದ್ರಾನ್ ಭೂಯೋ ಭೂಯೋ ಯಾಚತೇ

[22] ರಾಮಚನ್ದ್ರಃ ॥ ಬಹುಭಿರ್ವ್ವಸುಧಾ ಭುಕ್ತಾ ರಾಜಭಿಸ್ಸಗರಾದಿಭಿಃ ಯಸ್ಯ ಯಸ್ಯ

[23] ಯದಾ ಭೂಮಿಸ್ತಸ್ಯ ತಸ್ಯ ತದಾ ಫಳಂ ॥ ಸ್ವಂ ದಾತುಂ ಸುಮಹಚ್ಛಕ್ಯಂ ದುಃ-

[24] ಖಮನ್ಯಸ್ಯ ಪಾಳನಂ ದಾನಂ ವಾ ಪಾಳನಂ ವೇತಿ ದಾನಾಚ್ಛ್ರೇಯೋ ನುಪಾಳನಮ್ ॥

[25] ಸ್ವದತ್ತಾಂ ಪರದತ್ತಾಂ ವಾ ಯೋ ಹರೇತಿ ವಸುನ್ಧರಾಂ ಷಷ್ಟಿರ್ವ್ವರ್ಷಸಹ-

[26] ಸ್ರಾಣಿ ವಿಷ್ಟಾಯಾಂ ಜಾಯತೇ ಕ್ರಿಮಿಃ ॥ ಬಸವಾಸಿದೇವಸಮೋಳಗಣಿ ಜಿ-

[27] ನನಿಳಯಂ ವಿಷ್ಣುನಿಳಯಮೀಶ್ವರನಿಳಯಂ ಮುನಿಗಣನಿಳ(ಳ)ಯ-

[28] ಮಿದಂ ರಾಯನ ಪೆಸರಿಂ ನಾಗವರ್ಮ್ಮವಿಭು ಮಾಡಿಸಿದಂ ॥

Translation.

May the scripture of the lord of the three worlds,—the scripture of Jina, which has for its efficacious characteristic the pleasing and most profound science of the assertion of possibilities*,—be victorious! Victorious is the boar-like form of Vishṇu† which became manifest, troubling the ocean and having the earth resting upon the tip of its uplifted right tusk!

Hail! While the victorious reign of the prosperous Trailôkyamalladêva,‡—the asylum of the universe, the favourite of the world, the supreme king of great kings, the supreme lord, the most venerable, the glory of the family of Satyâśraya§, the ornament of the Châḷukyas,—was continuing, he, whose head was adorned (when he bowed himself in the act of performing obeisance) with the fresh blossoms that were his feet (as if with a garland), was:—

Hail!—the fortunate Mahâmaṇḍalêśvara king Châvuṇḍarâya, who was possessed of all the glory of the names commencing with "The Great Chieftain ‖ who has attained the five *Mahâśabdas**; the excellent lord of the city of Banavâsipura; he who has acquired the choice favour of the goddess Mahâlakshmî; he who delights in liberality: he who is the preceptor of those that betake themselves to him †(?); he who is courageous, even when he has no one to assist him; he who is the bravest of brave men: he who is a very Gaṇḍabhêruṇḍa‡; he who has three royal halls of audience§ (?):

* *Syâd-vâda*, assertion of possibilities, a name applied to the Jaina [illegible] H. H. Wilson, *Essays on the Religion of the Hindus*, vol. I. p. 316.

† The allusion is to the incarnation of Vishṇu as a boar [illegible] the earth, which had been carried into the [illegible] of the ocean by [illegible] Hiraṇyâksha.

‡ The Châḷukya king Sômêśvaradêva I. Saka [illegible] — Sir W. Elliot.

§ [illegible] was the [illegible] Châḷukya king [illegible] Châḷukya [illegible]

‖ Mahâmaṇḍalêśvara—lit. [illegible]

* Probably five such titles as *Mahârâja*, *Mahâmaṇḍalêśvara*, &c.—Conf. *Ind. Ant.* vol. I. p. 81, note.

† [illegible] in the sense in which I have taken it, [illegible] be the present participle of the [illegible] with the prefix '*a*,' but I doubt whether the present participle in '*at*' can be used in such a [illegible] The analysis is [illegible] is [illegible] but in this case no suitable meaning seems to be deducible.

‡ A fabulous bird with two heads which preys on the flesh of elephants.

§ [illegible]

he who is a very Śaṁkara towards the bulls which are the brave chieftains decorated with badges of honour; he who is the best of heroes who wear badges of honour on their faces and hands; he who is a very Vikramâditya; he who is the elephant* of Jagadêkamalla."

While he was governing the Banavâsi Twelve-thousand,—on Sunday, the thirteenth lunar day of the bright fortnight of the month Jyêshṭha of the Sarvadhâri *saṁvatsara* which was the year of the Śaka 970, at the capital of Baḷḷigâve, Kêśavanandi,—who fasted for eight days at a time, and who was the disciple of Mêshanandibhaṭṭâraka of the sect of the Balagâragaṇa which belonged to the god Jajâhuti-Śrî-Sântinâtha†, being actuated by veneration, gave to the Basadi ‡ of the Bhaḷârar, with oblations of water, five *mattars*§ of rice-land by the (measure of the) staff called Bhêruṇḍagaḷe‖ in the rice-land called Pulleya-bayal ¶ of the capital of Baḷḷigâve which is near to* the Jiddulige Seventy. The boundaries of it are:—To the north the rivulet of the lands of the village of Ṭâṇagundûr; to the east a large and flat detached rock; to the south the enclosure called Ashṭôpavâsigaṭṭu †; and to the west a stone set upright in the ground.

There has not been and there never shall be on the earth any one equal to the Gaṇḍabhêruṇḍa in respect of religion and courage and truthfulness and liberality.

"This general bridge of piety of kings should ever be preserved by you;"—thus does Râmachandra make his earnest request to all future princes. The earth has been enjoyed by many kings, commencing with Sagara; he, who for the time being possesses it, enjoys the benefit of it. To give in one's own person is a very easy matter, but the preservation of (the religious grant of) another is troublesome; if one would discriminate between granting and preserving, verily preserving is better than granting. He who confiscates land that has been given, whether by himself or by another, is born for sixty thousand years as a worm in ordure.

At the desire of the king, the lord Nâgavarma caused to be built a temple of Jina, a temple of Vishṇu, a temple of Îśvara, and a temple of the saints, in the country of Banavâse.

* Conf. 'Sênanasiṅga,' *the lion of Sêna*, and 'Boppanasiṅga,' *the lion of Boppa*, which are titles of the Raṭṭa chieftains Kârtavîrya II. and Lakshmidêva II. respectively, see line 6-7 of No. IV. and line 63-4 of No VII. of the Raṭṭa inscriptions published by me in vol. X. No. xxix. of the *Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.*

† The sixteenth of the Jain Tirthankaras.

‡ '*Basadi*,' a Jain temple; the word is a Tadbhava corruption of the Sanskrit '*vasati*,' *abode, dwelling, a Jain monastery*; the modern form is '*Basti*.'

§ '*Mattar*,'—an ancient land-measure the value of which is not now known.

‖ '*Bhêruṇḍagaḷe*,' *the staff ('gaḷe') of the Bhêruṇḍa. Bhêruṇḍa* is the same as '*Gaṇḍabhêruṇḍa*'.

¶ '*Bayalu*,' '*bayilu*,' or '*bailu*,' is the first of the three kinds of rice-land in South Canara described by Dr. Buchanan in his *Journey through Maisûr, Canara, and Malabar*, and is defined as "that in the lower part of valleys which are watered by small streams, from whence canals are dug to convey the water to the fields which, by this irrigation, are able to give annually two crops;" see the Madras Reprint of 1870, vol. II. pp. 228 and 260. In modern Canarese '*bailu*' means also *a plain, an open field*, and the open country to the east is known as the Bailusîme as distinguished from the Malnâḍa- or Maleda-dêśa or Malanâḍu, the hilly and wooded country lying along the Western Ghâṭs.

* A comparison of passages in Sanskrit with passages in Old Canarese inscriptions shows that the Canarese '*baliya*' as used here is of the same purport as the Sanskrit '*madhyavartin*'; but '*baliya*' means *near to, in the vicinity of*, and I am doubtful whether it can be satisfactorily connected with '*oḷa*', *inner, internal*, or its derivatives. See note 37 to the translation of No. VII of the Raṭṭa Inscriptions referred to above.

† '*Ashṭôpavâsigaṭṭu*,'—*the enclosure ('kaṭṭu') of him who fasted for eight days at a time.*

CORRESPONDENCE AND MISCELLANEA.

The Editor of the Indian Antiquary.

SIR,—In your last number (for May) the Rev. R. Collins has printed some desultory remarks—"Manichæans on the Malabar Coast"—in which he disputes certain positions advanced by me in a monograph on the Pahlavî inscriptions of South India. In the course of his remarks Mr. Collins revives some notions respecting the so-called Syrians of Malabar which I had imagined to be obsolete in consequence of it being well ascertained that, besides being incredible in themselves, these theories entirely want evidence to support them.

I shall now show that Mr. Collins has not made the case any better than it was. He has not adduced new facts, and his argument is disfigured by several misunderstandings of the books he quotes.

The attribution of the origin of South Indian Christianity to the Apostle Thomas seems very attractive to those who hold certain theological opinions, but the real question is, On what evidence does it rest? Without real and sufficient evidence, so improbable a circumstance is to be at once rejected. Pious fictions have no value in historical research. Mr. Collins refers to Abdias

and Pantænus. Thanks to Dr. Wright, we now possess the Acts of Judas Thomas in an old Syriac text which cannot be very far from the original form of the myth. Dr. Wright (vol. i p. xiv.) attributes this text to some time not later than the 4th century, and Dr. Haug connects the original text of this palpably Gnostic book with Bardesanes, who lived about the end of the second century. But this historically worthless composition (for it was written more than a hundred years after the events it relates), and which is the production of some ignorant and credulous man, even if it could be received as evidence, would only connect St. Thomas with the extreme north-west of India. Prof. Whitney and Dr. Haug,* with many others, look upon the pretended apostolic labours of St. Thomas† in India or China as a pious fiction, and, as there is no better evidence than what I have mentioned above, it is impossible to do otherwise than assent to the conclusion at which they have arrived. Nobody nowadays believes in the visit of Brutus to Britain, yet it rests on as good evidence as the mission of St. Thomas to South India, or even to India at all. Mr. Collins also refers to the story of Pantænus in support of his "strong impression" that St. Thomas was "the apostle both of Edessa and Malabar." He says: "Pantænus speaks in the second century of a gospel of St. Matthew being in India, and of the visit of *an apostle*." It would be difficult to misrepresent more completely the story of Pantænus, which we know only by the late hearsay recorded by Eusebius and St Jerome, and not directly. Both expressly give the story as hearsay: "It is said" that Pantænus reached India, and found there a Gospel of St. Matthew (written in Hebrew characters) with some people "to whom the apostle Bartholomew had preached." Mr. Collins makes out that we have the words of Pantænus, and that "*an apostle*" (the italics are his own!) had preached in India,—thus leaving the reader to infer that it might have been St. Thomas, as no particular person is mentioned. The story is late hearsay, and therefore valueless for proof. But even if this could be got over, it says nothing about St. Thomas, and, as I have already mentioned (in my paper), India was in the early centuries A. D. the name of nearly the whole East, including China, and thus the mention of India proves nothing. Probably Southern Arabia was intended.‡ It is not till after several centuries more had passed that we again come to legends which connect St. Thomas with South India, and it is obviously useless to refer to these. Mr. Collins mentions Syriac documents; it is to be regretted that he did not quote them with precision, and say by whom they were written and whence they come. When he does so it will be time enough to consider their value.

As I have said, Mr. Collins has a strong impression that St. Thomas was the apostle both of Edessa and Malabar. He grounds this, apparently, on a notion that the "Pahlavi language, according to Max Muller, originated in an Aramæan dialect of Assyria." I was much astonished at this, for I felt sure that that illustrious philologist could not have said anything of the kind. What he does say (*Science of Language*, 1st Series, 5th ed. p. 235) is as follows:—"We trace the subsequent history of the Persian language from Zend to the inscriptions of the Achæmenian dynasty; from thence to what is called *Pehlevi* or *Huzvaresh* (better Huzûresh), the language of the Sassanian dynasty (226-651) . . . . this is considerably mixed with Semitic elements, probably imported from Syria." I might refer to the researches of Dr. Haug and others, and the views of the Parsi scholars, headed by their very learned Dastur Peshutun Behramji Sanjana, as regards the nature of this Semitic element (which was written but not spoken), but Prof. Max Müller's actual words show how utterly wrong Mr. Collins is. Even if he were right, what he assumes (as above) would not support his "strong impression."

From whatever point of view the question be considered, the result is the same,—there is no evidence at all that St. Thomas ever preached in India proper, and the story has every mark of being a vague fiction originally, but afterwards made more precise and retailed by interested parties.

This being the case, the only safe conclusion is that asserted—that the earliest Christian mission to India was probably Gnostic or Manichæan. Leaving aside the first, I will only again point out that the account of Al Nadîm is an historical document based on original sources. Perhaps I carried too far my doubts about Manes having preached in India; the word for 'preach' is ambiguous, but I see Spiegel (*Eran. Alterthumsk.* II. p. 201) accepts his journey there as a fact. At all events, Manes was a most zealous missionary, and certainly sent disciples to India. As to the meaning of India, there can be no doubt in this case. The Arabs used it in a perfectly defined sense. Thus the Manichæan mission to India in the 3rd century A.D. is the only historical fact that we know of in relation to

* In his review of my monograph (as originally printed) in the *Augsburg Gazette*.

† Whitney, *Oriental and Linguistic Studies*, vol. II.

‡ As the author of *Supernatural Religion* (4th edition), vol. I. p 171 understands it. Where I am I can refer but to few books, so I take his extracts from Eusebius and St. Jerome

Christian missions in India before we get as low as the sixth century.

Mr. Collins points out that Manichæan was a term of abuse among the early Christians. This is a fact;* but Abu Said was a Muhammadan, not a Christian, and if he had wished to abuse the Christians he would have called them all (orthodox and unorthodox) simply *Kafirs*. The Arabs of the 9th and 10th centuries were, however, possessed of too much culture and too little bigotry to interest themselves in the perpetual and trumpery squabbles of the so-called Eastern Churches. They had a distinct name for the Manichæans—Manâni.

Mr. Collins also urges a new derivation of Maṇigrâmam, viz. from Mânava or Mâni. Either word might be used in the sense he assigns, but what reason has he for supposing that it was so used in the 8th century? The derivation is in itself not probable. It is evident from the so-called Syrian grant that Maṇigrâmam was not a Brâhmaṇ village, and of conversions there is nowhere the least mention. Whatever the Maṇigrâmakar were, Mr, Whitehouse's account (as quoted) gives little reason to suppose that they were orthodox Christians. Mr. Collins also urges that Mânikavâchaka (in the Sanskṛit form of his name) was not a Manichæan; I cannot imagine how anyone could ever have supposed that he was. This eminent Tamiḻ reformer is known historically; one temple, at least, founded by him exists still in the Tanjore province, and several of his works (on Śaiva doctrine) are popular even now. He deserves better than to be called a "*Tamiḻ sorcerer*," whatever that may mean.

Mr. Collins appropriates Dr. Haug's very important explanation of the inscriptions as Nestorian. This fact of their origin, taken together with the use of Pahlavî, seems to me to explain the whole matter. These inscriptions certainly are of about the year 890 A.D., and at that time the Nestorian missionaries were very active: the cross and inscriptions of Si-ngan-fu (in China) was erected by some in 781 A.D. But at that time Pahlavî was nearly extinct in Persia. Why then should Nestorian missionaries use a difficult language foreign to themselves and hardly used at all, except that it was the language of the people to whom they preached in South India? The inscription at Si-ngan-fu is in Syriac and Chinese.† The ambiguous Persian names of the witnesses of the so-called Syrian grant of about 825 A.D. preclude the supposition of Syrian or of orthodox Christians. Again, why should Nestorian missionaries have used the formula we find in these inscriptions if the people to whom they preached held Trinitarian doctrines at all? The most probable conclusion is that the Nestorians came to Malabar as missionaries to unorthodox Persian settlers.

For these reasons I still hold to the conclusions at which I originally arrived; they appear to me to be the only reasonable and probable conclusions, except new facts be discovered which may put the whole matter in a new light. The history of the Travancore Christians affords an ample field for research to many living in Travancore who have both opportunity and leisure for the work. Since the last fifty years there have been endless tracts and books written on the subject; I have read most, but failed to find any new facts in them, or evidence of original research. Had a real investigation ever been made, it would not have been left to me to bring to light these inscriptions. I can only hope that this subject will be better treated in future, but I cannot myself assist,—I have other work to do.

A. BURNELL, Ph. D.

Coonoor (Neilgherry Hills), 18th May 1875.

MUSALMÂN PRAYERS.

The Rev. T. P. Hughes tells us that prayer (Arabic *Sula*, Persian and Hindustâni *Namáz* Pushtu *Nmuz*) is the second of the five foundations of Islâm. He translates the words *Sula* and *Namáz* by the English word *prayer*, although this "second foundation" of the religion of Muhammad is something quite distinct from that prayer which the Christian poet so well describes as the "soul's sincere desire, uttered or unexpressed." It would be more correct to speak of the Muhammadan *Namáz* as a service, 'prayer' being more correctly rendered by the Arabic *du'a*. In Islâm prayer is reduced to a mechanical act as distinct from a mental act, and in judging of the spiritual character of Islâmism we must take into careful consideration the precise character of that devotional service which every Muslim is required to render to God at least five times a day, and which undoubtedly exercises so great an influence upon the character of the followers of Muhammad. It is absolutely necessary that the service should be performed in Arabic; that the clothes and body of the worshipper should be clean, and that the praying-place should be free from all impurity. It may be said either privately, or in a company, or in a mosque—although services said in a mosque are more meritorious than those said elsewhere. In addition to the daily prayers, the following are special services for special occasions: *Salát-i-*

* It is well known, and does not rest on Elliot's *Horæ Apocalypticæ*, a book devoid of scientific value.

† See Col. Yule's *Marco Polo*, 2nd ed. vol. II. pp. 21 ff.

Juma'—"The Friday Prayer." It consists of two 'rikats' after the daily meridian prayer. *Salât-i-Mosâfir*—"Prayer for a traveller." Two rikats instead of the usual number at the meridian, afternoon, and night prayers. *Salât-i-Khauf*—"The prayers of fear." Said in time of war. They are two rikats recited first by one regiment or company, and then by the other. *Salât-i-Tarâwîh*—Twenty rikats recited every evening during the Ramazân, immediately after the fifth daily prayer. *Salât-i-Istikhâra*—"Prayers for success or guidance." The person who is about to undertake any special business performs two rikat prayers and then goes to sleep. During his slumbers he may expect to have "*ilhâm*" (*lit.* inspiration) as to the undertaking for which he seeks guidance! The *Azan* is the summons to prayer proclaimed by the *Muazzan* (or crier), in small mosques from the door or side, but in large mosques it ought to be given from the minaret. The following is a translation:—"God is great! God is great! God is great! God is great! I bear witness that there is no God but God"! (repeated twice). "I bear witness that Muhammad is the Apostle of God!" (repeated twice) "Come to prayers! Come to prayers! Come to salvation! Come to salvation! God is great! there is no other God but God!" In the early morning the following sentence is added:—"Prayers are better than sleep." The Wahâbi *Azan* is just half the length of that commonly used. The sentences generally said four times they say only twice, and those repeated twice they recite only once. The summons to prayer was at first the simple cry "Come to prayer." In this, as in most of his ritual, Muhammad has not much claim to originality, for Bingham tells us that a similar custom existed at Jerusalem (see *Antiquities*, vol. II. p. 459)—"In the monastery of virgins which Paula, the famous Roman lady, set up and governed at Jerusalem, the signal was given by one going about and singing *hallelujah*," for that was their call to church, as St. Jerome informs us.

NEED OR PURPOSE

From the Masnavi of Jalâl-ud-dîn Rûmî

Translated by E. Rehatsek, M.C.E.

گر نبودي حاجت عالم زمين
نافريدي هيچ ربّ العالمين
وين زمين مضطرب محتاج کوه
گر نبودي نافريدي پر شکوه
ور نبودي حاجت افلاک هم
هفت گردون ناوريدي از عدم
آفتاب و ماه و اين استارگان
جز بحاجت کي پديد آمد عيان
پس کمند هستها حاجت بود
قدر حاجت مرد را آلت بود
پس بيفزا حاجت اي محتاج زود
تا بجوشد از کرم درياي جود
اين گدايان بر ره و هر مبتلا
حاجت خود مينمايد خلق را
کوري و لنگي و بيماري و درد
تا ازين حاجت بجنبد رحم مرد
هيچ گويد نان دهيد اي مردمان
که مرا مالست و انبارست و خوان
چشم ننهاده است حق در کورموش
زانکه بي چشمش چريدن هست جوش
ميتواند زيست بي چشم و بصر
فارغ است از چشم اندر خاک تر
جز بدزدي او برون نايد زخاک
تا کند خالق ازان دزديش پاک
بعد ازان پر يابد و مرغي شود
چون ملايک جانب گردون رود
هر زمان در گلشني شکر خدا
او برآرد همچو بلبل صد نوا
کاي رهاننده مرا از وصف زشت
اي کننده دوزخي چون بهشت
در يکي پيهي نهي تو روشني
استخواني را دهي سمع اي غني
چه تعلق آن معاني را بجسم
چه تعلق فهم اشيا را باسم
لفظ چون وکر است و معني طاير است
جسم جوي و روح آب ساير است
در رواني روي آب جوي فکر
نيست بي خاشاک خوب و زشت ذکر

او روانست و تو كوی واقف است
او دوانست و تو كوی عاكف است
كر نبودي سير آب از جا بجا
چيست برروي نو بنو خاشاكها
هست آنجا شاک صورتهاي فكر
نو بنو در ميرسد اشكال بكر
روي آب جوي فكر اندر روش
نيست بي خاشاک محبوب و وحش
قشرها برروي اين آب روان
از ثمار باغ غيبي شد دوان
قشرها را مغز اندر باغ جو
زانكه آب از باغ مي آيد بجو
كر نه بيني رفتن آب حيات
بنكر اندر جوي اين سير نبات

Had need not been for worlds, for earth,
Nothing the Lord of worlds would have produced.
This earth chaotic stood in need of hills;
Had this not been, He had not raised majestic ones.
Had there no need been of the spheres also,
Seven whirling ones from nought he had not made.
The sun, the moon, and all these stars
Could not shine forth if not for need.
Thus need the cause of all existences became.
The power also of man in need consists,
Then, needy man, be quick, proclaim your need,
That bounty's ocean may with mercy boil!
All mendicants distressed in the world
Their needs to all men do proclaim—
Their blindness, poverty, disease, and pain—
Mankind's pity with their needs to move.
No one will say:—"Give bread to me, O men!
Property and barns and stores I do possess."
God has witheld eyesight from moles
Because no eyes they need for their support;
They live and move deprived of vision,
At ease, though blind, in soil all moist;
By stealth alone they leave their domicile
Until their Maker frees them from that stealth,
With wings endows them,* makes them birds
Winging to heaven their angel-flights,
Alway to dwell in the rose-grove of thanks to God,
Like philomels to sing a hundred melodies:—
"O saviour from all wickedness,
Transforming hell to paradise,
A greasy ball with light thou hast endowed
And bones with hearing; O most bountiful!"
Does intuition with the human frame unite?
How do all things with names combine?
Words are but nests, the meanings are the birds.
Body the bed through which the spirit-river flows.
The surface of this mental watercourse
Is not without its chaff of good and bad repute:
It flows, but you would say it stagnates;
It moves but you would say it stays;
From place to place were there no motion
Whence these renewed supplies of floating chaff?
That chaff is but an image of the mind,
Assuming every moment a new shape;
Like chaff its likes and dislikes float away;
The husks upon the surface of this watercourse
Come from transmundane garden's fruits,—
The kernels of those husks in yonder garden seek.
The water from that garden to the river flows;
If you your life's departure cannot see,
Behold in the waters this floating of the plants.

* These lines do not allude, as might be supposed, to any metamorphosis which moles are supposed to undergo in nature, but embody a flight of poetical fancy.—E. R.

LUST OF DOMINION.

Translated from the Mesnavi of Jellâl-aldyn-Rûmi.

By E. Rehatsek, M.C.E.

ابتدای كبر و كين شهوتست
راسخی شهوتت از عادت است
چون ز عادت كشت محكم خوی بد
خشم آيد بر كسی كت واكشد
چونكه تو كلخوار كشتی هر كه او
وا كشد از كل ترا باشد عدو
بت پرستان چونكه خو با بت كنند
مانعان راه بت را دشمن اند
چونكه كرد ابليس خو با سروری
ديد آدم را بتحقير از خري
كه به از من سروري ديكر بود
تا كه او مسجود چون من كس شود
سروري زهر است جز آنروح را
كو بود ترياق لانی ز ابتدا

کوه اگر پر مار شد باکی مدار
که بود اندر درون تریاق زار
سروری چون شد دماغت را ندیم
هر که بشکست شود خصم قدیم
چون خلاف خوي تو گوید کسی
کینها خیزد ترا با او بسی
کو مرا از خوي من بر میکند
خویش را بر من چو سرور میکند
چون نباشد خوی بد سرکش دراو
کی فروزد از خلاف آتش دراو
چون نباشد خوی بد محکم شده
کی فروزد از خلاف آتشکده
با مخالف او مدارا می کند
در دل او خویش را جا میکند
زانکه خوی بد نگشتست استوار
مور شهونت شد زعادت همچو مار
مار شهوت را بکش در ابدا
ورنه اینک گشت مارت اژدها
لیک هر کس مور بیده مار خویش
نو ز صاحبدل کن استفسار خویش

All pride and pain with lust begins.
But habit will establish lust.
When custom has your humours fixed
Him you hate who draweth you away;
If you an earth-eater have become,
Who pulls your earth away your foe will be;
When idol worshippers to statues get attached
Him they hate who idols doth forbid.
When Eblis wished a prince to be,
Adam he feigned to despise:
"Was this a better prince than me.
Worshipped to be by one like me?"*
Dominion poison is, except to Him
Who cures all evils from the first;
Fear not a mountain full of snakes,
The antidote it certainly contains.
Give way to pride's dominion,
Who breaks it will your hatred earn;
No matter who would thwart your wish,
He will encounter darts of wrath.
Who means to weed my humours out
Usurps dominion over me.
Had he no evil pride in him,
Could fire of strife inflame his mind?
Had evil nature not got root.
How could the flame of opposition blaze?
Does he his foe conciliate?
Will he enshrine him in his heart
Because his evil humour has no root?
The ant of lust, habit a serpent made;
O kill the snake of lust at first,
Or else a dragon will your snake become,
But all mistake their snakes for ants!
Do you from sages take advice.

BOOK NOTICES.

A Comparative Grammar of the Modern Âryan Languages of India; to wit, Hindî, Panjabî, Sindhî, Gujarâtî, Marâṭhî, Oriyâ, and Bangâli. By John Beames, Bengal Civil Service. Vol I. On Sounds. (London: Trubner and Co. 1872).

Mr Beames apologizes for the "many imperfections" of which he is aware as marking his work, and sorrowfully speaks of the exceedingly little leisure which a Bengal Civilian can command from his official duties. We fear the little is becoming less, and we gratefully accept the work before us as a proof of what indomitable perseverance can accomplish under difficulties

The sight of Dr. Caldwell's *Comparative Grammar of the Dravidian Languages* led Mr Beames in 1865 to resolve to provide, if possible, a similar comparison of the Âryan dialects of India He is well acquainted with Panjâbî, Hindî, Bangâli, and Oriyâ; and he has collected much information regarding Marâṭhî, Gujarâtî, and Sindhî. His books of reference, however, in the "remote wilderness" of Balasore have been, he says, sadly few.

The present volume contains only the Phonetics of the Âryan group. Two more volumes will be required in order to complete the work

Mr. Beames has an Introduction extending to 121 pages. It is not very well arranged, and it abounds in repetitions; but it is animated, and even sprightly. *Ridentem dicere verum quid vetat?* Mr Beames is fond of a joke, and dexterously provides one now and then for his flagging readers.

The task which Mr. Beames has set himself is by no means an easy one. The ancient languages

* *Qurân*, II. 32 "And when we said unto the angels, Worship Adam, they worshipped, save Eblis, who refused and was puffed up with pride"

The translator does not take it on himself to correct the metre, when it happens to be faulty.

of India—the Prâkṛits, as well as Sanskṛit—are all synthetical. The modern Âryan tongues are all analytical. We have not sufficient materials to show how the modern were developed out of the ancient forms. Whether you trace the ancient tongues down, or the modern ones up, you are equally unable to discover a continuous stream of language. Sanskṛit, of course, became fixed at an early period; yet if the Buddhists and Jainas had been faithful to their original idea of using a language "understanded of the people," the words of their books would have revealed the progress of the popular speech; but unhappily a Jaina work of the fifth or sixth century is written in the language of the first or second. Then if you proceed up the stream, you can go no higher, even in the case of Hindî, than the date of Chand Bardâi,—that is to say, the 12th or 13th century. But the language of Chand is in structure analytical.

We are thus compelled to have recourse to analogy in any attempt to explain how the ancient passed into the modern tongues. The Romance languages of Europe are related to Latin nearly as the Indian vernaculars are to Sanskṛit. Mr. Beames states this correspondence very strongly;—he holds that, in the whole extent of linguistic science there exists no more remarkable similarity than between the development of Provençal, Italian, French, Spanish, and Portuguese out of Latin, and that of Hindî, Marâṭhî, Bangâlî, Sindhî, and the rest out of Sanskṛit. Most of the words occurring in the Romance languages are derivatives of "low Latin," that is, of the vulgar, as distinguished from literary and refined speech; for example *equus, a horse*, has no descendant of the same signification—*cheval, cavallo, caballo* being all derived from the peasants' term *caballus*. It is reasonable to believe that the same thing occurred in India. The words of "lower caste" would be preserved in the vernaculars—words of which we may find no trace either in Sanskṛit or Prâkṛit writings. Still they may have been common in the mouths of the middle and lower classes even in early times, and thoroughly good Âryan terms. Before their Âryan parentage is denied we must search for them through all the existing families of Indo-Germanic speech. We must not rush to the inference that *deśaja* terms were borrowed from the aborigines.

So much for the constituent elements of the vernaculars. Now as to inflections. It has been usual to describe the breaking down of the inflectional system that ruled in Sanskṛit as the effect of contact with the aboriginal races. Mr. Beames emphatically rejects this view. We need, he says, no aboriginal influence to explain a development which is natural. The flower of synthetic grew into the fruit of analytic structure, both in Europe and in India. But there *may* have been an influence from without accelerating the changes. Certainly the presence of Teutonic and Celtic races, that could not or would not acquire the classical inflections, hastened the destruction of the ancient synthetic forms in Europe; and the presence of non-Âryans in India, entering more or less into connection with the Âryans, must have exerted an influence of the same kind, whatever its extent may have been. Mr. Beames fights against the Dasyus with all the vehemence of an old Ârya warrior, or of the mighty Indra himself. But his zeal carries him too far. For example, he complains that Dr. Caldwell "has gone quite wild" on the resemblance between the sign of the dative in Tâmil (*ku*) to that in Hindî (*ko*); and he maintains there is not "the slightest reason" for tracing the latter to any but an Âryan source. Possibly not; but what is his argument? In old Hindî *ko* is *kauñ*, which is the regular form of the Sanskṛit *kam*, the accusative of words in *kah*. But is there no difficulty in seeing how the accusative form of the few words that end in *kah* can be transferred to all the words in the language? Dr. Caldwell may perhaps be wrong; but we cannot admit that Mr. Beames is right.

We have in this volume evidence of careful and truth-loving investigation of facts. At the same time Mr. Beames seldom comes across a striking fact without trying to account for it. We would not wish these guesses at truth had been left out, though we may sometimes think he guesses wrong. Thus, in speaking of the difference between the Marâṭhî of the Dakhaṉ and that of the Konkaṉ, we are informed correctly that the latter has more of a nasal sound and prefers *ś* to *s*, in many cases. In this it resembles Bangâlî; and "in both cases, proximity to the sea, and the low swampy nature of the country, may have had a tendency to debase and thicken the pronunciation." It is an interesting inquiry; the effect of climate on pronunciation well deserves attention. But we are unable to accept the explanation offered. We do not think that the pronunciation in the Konkan is thickened or debased, as compared with that of the Dakhan. As for nasal sounds,—they abound in French and are rare in Italian; and we have been in the habit of ascribing their prevalence in the former to the Celtic, which was the old speech of Gaul. In so far as proximity to the sea has an influence, Italian ought to be more nasal than French. Then as to the *s* and *ś*. Take the famous instance of *Shibboleth* and *Sibboleth*; and the explanation fails. So does it, we apprehend, in many other

cases. In spite of proximity to the sea, the inhabitants of Britain say *snow*; while, in spite of distance from the sea, southern as well as northern Germany says *schnee*. Mr. Beames also mentions a tendency to use ण for न as showing the same effect in the Konkan. Well, but all Mahârâshtra makes the infinitive end in णें, while in Hindî it is ना; and we cannot see how climate can account for the distinction. Besides, is not the cerebral *ṇ* a stronger, manlier letter than the dental *n*? But now to have done with fault-finding—the only error we have detected in the Introduction is in the following passage. "In Marâthi the causal verb is formed by the insertion of the syllables *avi*, or *iva*, or *vavi*, as mârnen, "to kill" [this should have been written mâraṇen; it is a trisyllable]; mâravinen, "to cause to kill," khânen, "to eat;" khâvavinen, "to cause to eat;" soḍnen [rightly, soḍaṇen], "to loose;" soḍavinen, "to cause to loose." So far Mr. Beames; but soḍaviṇen signifies "to cause to be loosed," not "to cause to loose"; and mâravinen signifies "to cause to be killed," not "to cause to kill." Khâvavinen, on the other hand, does signify "to cause to eat." There are causals and causals: causals derived from verbs transitive, and causals derived from verbs intransitive; and the syntax becomes a chaos when this distinction is overlooked.

The following mode of grouping the languages will reveal at a glance the relative character of their constituent elements. Let the left side of the page denote the Arabic and Persian pole, and the right side the Sanskrit one; and the seven vernaculars will stand thus:—

Panjâbî		Hindî		Bangâlî
Sindhî	Gujarâtî		Marâthî	Oṛiyâ.

It will be seen that Hindî occupies the middle space. It draws freely from Arabic and Persian on the one hand, and from Sanskṛit on the other; the influence of the Muhammadans balancing that of the Hindus, from their "greater intelligence," as Mr. Beames expresses it, or, as we may add, from their greater energy and the influence of Muhammadan rulers. He ascribes the comparatively small number of Arabic and Persian words in Bangâlî to the circumstance that there is "an immense majority" of Hindus in Bengal. The Muhammadans, however, constitute about a third of the population; and in Eastern Bengal, where they are most numerous, "Musalmân Bangâlî" is a language not only spoken, but with a literature deserving of attention. The true explanation is that educated Bangâlis have been almost all Hindus, and they have been for the most part—especially of late—the most rigid of purists.

Each of the seven vernaculars, with the exception of Oṛiyâ, possesses dialects. Hindî possesses many. The languages, when they meet, seem to melt or pass imperceptibly into each other, without anything like that abrupt transition which you feel in Europe when you go, for example, from Germany into France, Italy, or Russia. The development of all the languages has been in one direction,—it differs only in degree. We can picture the time when the whole Âryan race spoke "what may fairly be called one language, though in many diverse forms." Diversities have grown with time; yet the question naturally occurs whether, in days to come, the many tongues may not again become one. This, however, will not probably be by the dialects gradually assuming one type, but by the "survival of the fittest." Hindî is more likely to extinguish others than itself to be extinguished. It will push out Panjâbî and the multiform dialects of Râjputânâ, and be the ruling tongue from the Himâlayas to the Vindhyas, from the Indus to Râjmahâl. It will then be spoken by a hundred millions, and will press heavily on its neighbours. Gujarâtî will be absorbed without difficulty. Sindhî and Bangâlî will resist much longer, but will yield at last. Oṛiyâ and Marâṭhî will hold out after their sisters have succumbed, but they too must perish. "Yes," says Mr. Beames, "that clear, simple, graceful, flexible, and all-expressive Urdu speech seems undoubtedly destined at some future period to supplant most, if not all, of the provincial dialects, and give to all Âryan India one homogeneous cultivated form of speech—to be, in fact, the English of the Indian world."

That is a bold speculation, truly; yet we are not prepared to deny the possibility of its fulfilment. We deem it very probable that Gujarâtî will be absorbed: and a steady extension of Hindî through the Marâthâ country, until it shall stand side by side with Marâthî, seems also likely. With Bangâlî we think the fight will be harder. Educated Bangâlîs, who are all proud of their language and think of annexing Assamese and even Oṛiyâ to it, will fight to the death against the encroaching tongue. Let it be noted that the dialect which Mr. Beames so much admires is Hindî "in its Persianized form," *i.e.*—Urdu, written, no doubt, in the Persian character. There is a fight in India, "never ending, still beginning," as to the relative merits of the two forms of the language—the Hindî proper, as we shall take the liberty of calling it, and Persianized Hindî (Urdu). Mr. Beames clearly is a champion of the latter. Be it so; but does he not see how difficult it will be for the Hindus generally to adopt a foreign and difficult mode of writing, instead of their native, expressive, and easy Nâgarî? We must remind him of the story he appositely quotes from Bâbû Râjendralâla Mitra. The family of a

Mathurâ merchant was thrown into consternation by this announcement in a letter from his agent—*Bâbû âj mar gayâ, barî bahu bhej dîjiye, The master has died to-day; send the chief wife* (no doubt, to perform the obsequies); but after an immensity of wailing, it was discovered that the words more naturally (and truly) read thus, *Bâbû Ajmer gayâ, barî bahî bhej dîjiye. The master has gone to Ajmer; send the big ledger.* The inveterate omission of vowels in "Persianized Hindî," whether written or printed, seems to us a very serious impediment to its diffusion; and, apart from this, we are so far Âryan in our proclivities, that we had rather keep any Arab intruders from overrunning India.* The praises which Mr. Beames lavishes on Urdu belong equally to Hindî proper; and we think its gradual substitution for its comparatively unwieldy sisters would be a gain to India. But such things cannot be forced. The Marâṭhâs will not relish the change; and the Baṅgâlîs probably still less. Each of these nations has will, and character, and a growing literature. The Baṅgâlîs, it is true, as Mr. Beames says, cannot distinguish between *v* and *b*; † but they can, and do, distinguish between what is indigenous and what is foreign.

These remarks have not taken us beyond the long and interesting Introduction, which counts for chap. I. The rest of the work contains 240 pages. Chap. II. discusses changes of vowels; chap. III. changes of single consonants; and chap. IV. changes of double consonants. Everywhere we find traces of careful inquiry, and occasionally striking generalizations. But our limits begin to press; we cannot venture to quote much, and are hardly disposed to criticize.

The vocalism of the Sanskṛit is singularly pure, the trilogy of *a*, *i*, *u* prevailing; and of other vowel sounds only *e* (long), *o* (long), *ai*, *au*; which moreover, are restricted to derivatives and secondary forms. In the main the vernaculars follow this pure system. On the other hand, the non-Âryan languages both in Northern and Southern India abound in broken and impure vowels; and Mr. Beames is on the whole at last disposed to trace any deviation of the vernaculars from the Sanskṛit pure vocalism to the influence of the non-Âryan tongues.

The vowel changes are less remarkable than the consonantal changes. At first sight the permutations here might well seem a complete chaos; and several writers have spoken in strong terms of the "lawless license" of Indian etymology. Mr. Beames, however, does not believe in this asserted lawlessness; and he offers what he modestly calls "hints," as a contribution towards that full solution which may still be far off.

We may divide the changes undergone by consonants into two kinds—positional and organic. The positional are so called because their character is determined by the position the consonant holds in a word. In regard to such changes the seven vernaculars are on the whole uniform—the same modifications running through all.

Changes from one organ of speech to another which do not depend on position Mr. Beames calls organic. We would simply call them non-positional. In these the peculiarities of the various languages come into strong relief. Each language has a genius or temper of its own which determines the permutation.

In regard to positional changes, the Âryan languages fall under the wonderfully comprehensive rule stated by Grimm. *Anlaut hält die stufen jedes organs am reinsten und treusten; Inlaut ist geneigt es zu erweichen; Auslaut zu erhärten,*—that is, initial letters retain most purely and truly the grade of each organ; letters in the middle incline to weaken it; final letters to harden it. (*Grade* means here the character of *tenuis* or *media*; thus, *k*, *p*, *t*, which are *tenues*, would in the middle of words incline to become the *mediæ* *g*, *b*, *d*.) The rule holds good, in the main, of our Indian tongues.

As to letters given in two forms, Mr. Beames holds that the cerebrals त and द are the "real representatives of the European *t* and *d*." They distinctly differ from our *t* and *d*, however. We cannot at this moment lay our hand on the place where the opinion is given, but we know that the lexicographer Molesworth—of whom Mr. Beames speaks with warm and just admiration—held that our English *t* and *d* would be better represented by the dentals त and द than the cerebrals ड and ट. Mr. Beames discards the theory that cerebrals were obtained from non-Âryan races, and labours, ingeniously at all events, to explain how they came into existence. None of the seven tongues is so fond of cerebrals as Sindhî; and next come Oṛiyâ and Marâṭhî. Yet puzzles abound. For instance, Sindhî has no cerebral *l* (ळ); Oṛiyâ and Marâṭhî delight in it. They may have got it from non-Âryan races;

* In another part of his work we find Mr. Beames himself admitting "the imperfectness of the Arabic character as a vehicle for the expression of Âryan sounds."

† *Apropos* of *v* and *b*, we must not forget one of Mr. Beames's best jokes. He holds that "Bengalis might come under the same head as those Neapolitans of whom it was said 'Felices quibus vivere est bibere,' were it not that, instead of the generous juice of the vine, the Bengali drinks muddy ditch-water in which his neighbours have been washing themselves, their clothes, and their cattle." The Baṅgâlis are capital at quizzing; but we don't know that they can stand being quizzed. The scholarly and sarcastic Collector must take precautions against a mutiny at Balasore.

but whence did Panjâbî and Gujarâtî take it? The latter two have come little in contact with any but Âryan tongues.

But *claudite jam rivos pueri; sat prata biberunt.*

It would be ungracious to complain of defects in a work which has cost its author an immensity of toil, and contains such a mass of information; and we shall therefore merely express the hope that when a second edition appears, Mr. Beames will say something on the following points:—

1. The dialects of Hindî, particularly the Braj Bhâkhâ, which may be called a literary language;

2. The dialects of Râjputânâ; of which he does not even give us the names;

3. The Musalmân Bangâlî;

4. The Assamese:

5. The Konkanî. Mr. Beames speaks indeed of Konkanî, but he means only that form of Marâṭhî which is spoken below the Ghâṭs, and which differs in a very slight degree, and in its inflections not at all, from the language as spoken above the Ghâṭs. But there is another dialect of Marâṭhî which might almost be reckoned as an additional language, differing from Marâṭhî nearly as much as Gujarâtî does; and this is known by the name of Konkaṇî. It extends from about Goa to Honawar. We commend it to Mr. Beames's attention.

6. The dialects spoken by women.—In the Prospectus of his *Hindustânî and English Dictionary* Dr. Fallon mentions that this portion of the language has been "strangely overlooked." He estimates its importance highly, though not, we think, too highly. But it is not only in Hindî and Hindustânî that the speech of women is deserving of study; it is equally so, we believe, in all the dialects. At all events, it is so in Marâṭhî and Bangâlî. In both of these—particularly Bangâlî—there has been an effort on the part of Paṇḍits and many others to drag back the the existing forms of the language to their Sanskrit prototypes, which is no better than childish and vexatious pedantry. The true phonetic forms and idioms will often best be found in the speech of women of the upper and middle classes.

And now to conclude. We have nothing but admiration to express when we think of the vast labour which Mr. Beames has undergone in this important and difficult field of investigation. If the two remaining volumes shall be elaborated with the same loving care as the present, he will not perhaps have bestowed on the world a *monumentum aere perennius*, but he will have achieved all that can reasonably be expected of a pioneer, and will have set a high example, which, we trust succeeding scholars will earnestly seek to follow.

Edinburgh, 16th April 1875.

J. Murray Mitchell.

Statistical, Descriptive, and Historical Account of the North-Western Provinces of India. Edited, under orders of the Government of India, by Edwin F. Atkinson, B.A., Bengal Civil Service. Vol. I. Bundelkhand. Printed at the N. W. P. Govt. Press, Allahabad, 1874.

This is the first volume of the long-promised North-West Provinces Gazetteer; and as a compilation of official statistics it reflects much credit upon the industry of its editor, who has not only brought together a great mass of useful information, but has also shown considerable skill in its methodical arrangement. But as regards matters with which we are more specially concerned, viz. ethnical and linguistic scholarship, we can scarcely speak in such high terms; and without any wish to detract unjustly from the merits of a performance which has been commended in other quarters for its practical utility, we will proceed to point out a few defects which it would be desirable to amend in a re-issue. They are almost all of one kind—the natural result of the writer's extremely limited knowledge of the country and the people, whom he was called upon to describe. To the best of our belief, Mr. Atkinson has never been stationed in any part of Bundelkhand, and if he has visited any even of its most historic sites it can only have been as a hurried traveller. His descriptions are therefore somewhat colourless; and the whole book is not so much what would be called in England a *County History* as a *County Directory*. The former is generally the result of the lifelong labour of some enthusiastic Dryasdust, who knows by heart the ramifications of every genealogical tree, and the date of every sculptured stone in the churches and castles of his neighbourhood; while the latter is manufactured by the agent of a London firm, who puts up for a night at the village inn, and fills in his blank forms after a consultation with the oldest inhabitant and the parish clerk. The information thus derived is at all events *vivâ voce*, and comes direct from the fountain-head; while that upon which Mr. Atkinson has been obliged mainly to depend has twice undergone the process of translation,—in its passage from the Hindi-speaking Patwârî to the Munshis of the Tahsîlî, and from them to the Assistant Magistrate, who reduced the chaotic facts into some semblance of order before transmitting them to the Gazetteer Office at Allâhâbâd. With so many difficulties to surmount in the pursuit of accuracy, it is matter for congratulation that the errors to be eliminated are not more serious than they are: but it is well to bear in mind, whenever a reference is made to the volume, that the statements which it contains on matters of detail are neither those of an actual eye-witness, nor can have been very thoroughly checked.

It may also be regretted that while the whole

of Bundelkhand is populated almost exclusively by Hindûs, their historian is evidently a complete stranger to Hindu legends and literature at first hand, and is in the habit of consulting only either Muhammadan or pseudo-Muhammadan authorities, who are for the most part both prejudiced and ignorant. It is the necessary result of Mr. Atkinson's official good-fortune that he has never had much opportunity for mixing with a rural population or acquiring a knowledge of popular speech; but, except as regards the accumulation of statistics, his position at head-quarters has decidedly interfered with the completeness of his topographical researches. Thus under no other circumstances would it be possible to explain the fact of a civilian of 10 years' standing inditing such a sentence as the following:—"In 1872 the number of Baniyas in the Lalatpur district were, Jainìs 6,556, Saraugîs 322, and Mahesrîs 26;" a form of expression which would be exactly paralleled by a statement that in some part of India the followers of the Prophet numbered 500, of whom 200 were Muhammadans and the remainder Musalmâns,—Jainîs and Saraugîs being terms of identical import. The mistake must have arisen from the fact that the returns were supplied by different native officials, one of whom used the word Jainî, the other the word Saraugî; but it is none the less surprising that Mr. Atkinson was unable, or neglected, to reconcile the discrepancy. The lists of castes appended to the descriptions of the different towns in the second half of the volume supply other illustrations of a similar shortcoming. Thus, no mechanic is more necessary to an agricultural community than a carpenter, and one or two persons plying that useful trade will be found in almost every village. Ordinarily Mr. Atkinson gives their number under the familiar name 'Barhai,' by which as a matter of fact they are universally designated throughout the whole of Upper India. Munshîs, however, in official documents often prefer to style them 'Darodgars;' and whenever they have done so he has followed their lead. He can scarcely have been ignorant of the usage; but in a book of statistics the retention of a double name is a defect which he should have been more careful to avoid. Similarly, Sweepers' in some of the lists appear as 'Bhangis;' in others as 'Khâk-robs:' and, speaking generally, the office clerk—who in most cases would be a foreigner—has been too hastily accepted as the mouthpiece of the people. Thus it cannot for a moment be supposed that a Bundelkhandi knows the inner room of his dwelling-house by the Perso-Arabic name *hujra andarûni*, which is quoted by Mr. Atkinson. The Tahsildâr in his Urdu return used the word, no doubt; but that is a matter of no interest to the reader, who is not taking a lesson in polite phraseology, but rather wants information about the genuine Bundelkhandi patois. In the same way, it is of no consequence to learn that the Tahsildâr of one part of the district uses the word *majnûn* for insane persons, while another prefers the term *pâgal;* or that one in his census tables brings 'idiots' under the heading *kam-samajh*, and 'lepers' under that of *korhi*, while another calls the first class of unfortunates *fatir ul-akl*, and the second *jazâm*. And why, when the number of blind, or deaf and dumb people is noted, Mr. Atkinson should have thought it worth while invariably to add that in the vernacular they were styled *andhe*, and *bahire aur gunge*, is quite beyond our competency to explain; as the book does not profess to be an elementary vocabulary of Hindustânî.

A list of words supposed to be peculiar to Bundelkhand is given in the first part of the volume; but it has not been very carefully compiled; many of the forms quoted as exceptional are common throughout the whole of Upper India; while those given in the comparison column as the rule are many of them comparatively rare. This is one indication of the writer's imperfect knowledge of colloquial usage, which is amazingly illustrated by his remarks on the dhîmars, who (he says) "correspond and probably belong to the kahâr caste elsewhere, but the word is perhaps peculiar, probably being a corruption of the Sanskrit *dhîvara*, a fisherman",—the fact being that the word is in daily use everywhere. It is also a defect that in the list of Fairs, the only two of which lengthy descriptions are given are the Muharam and the Râm Lîla. These are celebrated in every part of India, and might have been passed over with a bare mention of their name and date. Of the festivals peculiar to the district, and of which, therefore, some explanation would have been acceptable, the account given is most meagre, leaving it doubtful whether some—as for instance that of Mahâbîr—are Hindu or Jaini solemnities.

In the Preface it is stated that "the present volume is practically the first published in these Provinces in which an attempt at accuracy in transliteration has been made. The errors of the press are consequently very numerous." To this remark we think the Superintendent of the Press may very reasonably demur: for though he has not succeeded in producing a volume of very attractive exterior, and it certainly is by no means free from errors in spelling, these latter, so far as we can judge, are not due to carelessness in correcting the proofs, but rather to that fundamental defect on the part of the writer of which

we have already spoken. Thus *Jugul* for Jugal, *Anrûd* for Aniruddh, *Satarjit* for Satrujit, *gambîr* for gambhîr, *Rahas* for Râs, *gauwâla* for gwâla, *Ranjor* for Ranchhor, &c. &c. are barbarous misspellings, but they are repeated so often as to leave no doubt that Mr. Atkinson approved of them; some being due to ignorance of the rules of Sanskrit etymology, and others to "fanciful derivations that he has elaborated for himself,"—a practice which he has not been able to avoid, though he condemns it in others. It also appears inconsistent to use such forms as *lambardâr* and *sadr*—which, if any, may justly be called pedantic, and have been made exceptions by Government—and yet to adopt the unmeaning form *Lalatpur*, which is a halfway-house purely of his own invention between the exploded *Lullutpoor*, and L a l i t p u r, which latter is not only correct, but has also received Government sanction.

As might be inferred from these indications of indifference to etymological accuracy, derivations of words are not often given,—and very wisely so, for such as we do find are quite of the pre-scientific type. Thus 'Banda' is said to be compounded of *bâma*, 'mental desire,' and *daatit*, 'given;' though the latter word has no existence either in Sanskrit or any other language; the former is incorrectly translated; and the two could never be combined so as to give such a result as Bânda. Again, if it had been recognized that *Kayan* was simply the Hindi abbreviation for K a r n a v a t i, the Sanskrit name of the chief river of Banda, its connection with Karna would certainly have been mentioned at page 127, where reference is made to the local names and legends that commemorate him and the other heroes of the *Mahâbhârata*. The non-recognition arises from the writer's exclusive use of the Persian written character, in which it is impossible to make any distinction between Ken and Kayan; and the similarity of Ken to Karna is, it must be admitted, not very apparent. Again, *Sarmân*, translated 'a water-carrier,' really means nothing of the kind, but is the Sanskrit *Śraman*, 'an ascetic.' In token of his vocation he is always represented as carrying a small earthen waterpot, known as a *kamandal*; and thus the origin of the error becomes intelligible, a *vivâ voce* explanation in which the waterpot was mentioned having been misunderstood. Further, to translate *Kâmda-nâth*—the name of a place of pilgrimage—by 'Lordly giver of desires' is as little in accord with English idiom as it would be to speak of 'The lady-like giver of victory' meaning thereby 'Our Lady of Victory.' The precise intention of the Hindi compound was probably not apprehended; but it is more difficult to find an explanation for the disregard of Lindley Murray shown in such sentences as the following:—"The principal divisions among the Brâhmans are the Kanaujiyas," no others being enumerated. Again, "Over these is a row of what appear to be *ling* or *phallus*, some bearing a head, others the usual division of the *ling* or *phallus*." Again, on the same page: "Mahadeo also appears as Nandigan, with worshippers; Hanumân with his foot on the demon; and there is also a small seated figure with one standing and presenting an offering to it." As a bit of picturesque word-painting the following is also noticeable:—"The houses at Mau are well-built, with deep eaves of considerable beauty between the first and second stories, of pleasing outline throughout, with here and there a balcony-hung window quite beautiful." Again, to speak of a market as "held on every eighth day" instead of 'once a week,' which is what is intended, however literal a rendering of the Hindustâni document, is calculated to mislead an English reader who is not versed in Oriental idiom. As indications of the writer's slight knowledge of Hindu mythology, take the following passages: "The sixth temple is dedicated to Chaturbhuj, and the seventh to Vishṇu in the boar-avatâr;" which should be corrected to 'The sixth and seventh temples are both dedicated to Vishnu, in his two forms of Chaturbhuj and the Boar respectively.' Again, the sentence "There are two armed figures, one discharging an arrow (Bir Badr) and the other wielding a sword, called Mahâdeo ka putr (son)" implies an error; for Virabhadra (to spell correctly) was himself the son of Mahâdeva. But the most astonishing instance of the writer's scanty acquaintance with Indian literature is afforded by the following word in his description of Râjapur: "In Akbar's reign, a holy man Tulsi Dâs, a resident of Soron, came to the jungle on the banks of the Jamnâ, erected a temple and devoted himself to prayer and meditation." To judge from the date and locality, the Tulsi Dâs intended by Mr. Atkinson's informant was the famous author of the *Râmâyana*, a poet whose works have for the last three hundred years exercised more influence upon the great mass of the population of India than any other book ever written. So curt a notice of so celebrated a personage could only be paralleled by a Warwickshire topographer noting under the head of Stratford-on-Avon 'In the reign of Elizabeth a playwright by name Shakespeare was living in this town.' And with this we conclude, hoping that the next volume of our Provincial Gazetteer may comprise a more Muhammadan part of the country, where the editor's statistical skill may have equal scope, and his moderate acquaintance with Hindu legends and literature may not be quite so severely strained.

G.

SKETCH OF SOME OF THE PRINCIPAL PLACES OF SNAKE-WORSHIP IN KAṬHIÂWÂḌ, WITH A BRIEF ACCOUNT OF THÂN AND THE DHÂNDHAL TRIBE OF KÂṬHIS.

BY MAJOR J. W. WATSON, BHAUNAGAR.

THÂN is one of the most ancient places in India, and the whole of the neighbourhood is holy ground. T h â n itself derives its name from the Sanskrit *sthân*, 'a place,' as though it were *the* place hallowed above all others by the residence of devout sages, by the excellence of its city, and by its propinquity to famous shrines, such as that of T r i n e t r e ś v a r a, now called Tarnetar, the famous temple of the Sun at K a ṇ ḍ o l a, and those of the Snake-brethren Wâsuki and Banduka, now known as Wâsaṅgji and Bândiâ Beli respectively. T h â n is situated in that part of the province of Saurâshṭrâ called the D e v a P a n c h â l—so called, it is said, from having been the native country of D r a u p a d î, the wife of the five Pâṇḍava brethren, from which circumstance she was called Panchâlî, and from her this division of the province is called the P a n c h â l, and because it is peculiarly sacred it is called the D e v a Panchâl. Nor is T h â n famous in local tradition only; one of the chapters of the *Skanda Purâṇa* is devoted to T r i n e t r e ś v a r a and the neighbourhood, and this chapter is vulgarly called the *Thân Purâṇa* or *Tarnetar Mâhâtmya*. Here we learn that the first temple to the Sun was built by Râja M â n d h â t â in the Satya Yuga. The city is said then to have covered many miles, and to have contained a population of 36,000 Brâhmaṇs, 52,000 Vâṇiâs, 72,000 Kshatriyas, and 90,000 Sûdrâs—in all, 250,000 souls. Thân was visited also by Kṛishṇa and his consort Lakshmî, who bathed in the two tanks near the town, whence one has been called P ṛ i t a m, a contraction from *Priyatam*, 'the beloved,' after Krishṇa,—so called as being the beloved of the Gopîs; and the other K a m a l a, after Lakshmî, who from her beauty was supposed to resemble the *kamala* or lotus-blossom. The central fortress was called K a ṇ ḍ o l a, and here was the celebrated temple of the Sun. Immediately opposite to K a ṇ ḍ o l a is another hill, with a fort called in more recent times S o n g a ḍ h, and another large suburb was named Mâṇḍvâ. Within a few miles was the shrine of the three-eyed god T r i n e t r e ś v a r a, one of the appellations of Ś i v a, and close to this the celebrated *kuṇḍ*, by bathing in which all one's sins were washed away. This *kuṇḍ* was called, therefore, the P â p n â ś n u or sin-expelling, as the forest in which it was situated was called the Pâpapnod-nu-vana or the Forest of the Sin-Destroyer. Close to Thân are the M â n d h a v hills, distinguished by this name from the rest of the T â ṅ g â range, of which they form a part; and the remains of Mândhavgaḍh, such as they are, may be seen close to the shrine of Bândiâ Beli, the modern name of Banduka, one of the famed snake-brethren. But T h â n is sadly fallen from its former state, when it could be said—

चोटीलो द्रे सुंदरी त्रीए माता होल ||
वीसो नताल वखांणीये द्वार चत्वारी पोळ || १ ||

(One gate is at) Chotila, a second at Sundari,
the third at Mâtâ Hol:
Let us praise the fourth gate at Viso Natâl.

The shrine of Hol Mâtâ is in the lands of Mahika, under Wâṅkâner; Sundari is a Dhrâṅgadhrâ village; while Viso Natâl is the shrine of a Mâtâ not far from Muli.

Modern tradition only carries us back as far as the B â b r i â s, who ruled here until driven out by the P a r m â r s, who were expelled by the K â ṭ h i s, who in their turn were dispersed by S h u j a a t K h â n, Subâhdâr of Gujarât, and were succeeded by the J h â l â s. The memory of their rule still survives in the following well-known couplet:—

दुहो || थान कंडोला मांडवा नवसे वाव कुवा
राणा पेलां राजीया थान बाबरीया हुवा || १ ||

(At) T h â n, K a ṇ ḍ o l a, and M â ṇ ḍ v â there
are 900 *wâvs* and wells:
Before the rule of the Râṇâs the Bâbriâs reigned
at Thân.

The R â ṇ â s alluded to in the couplet are the J h â l â s, whose title is Râṇâ. The Bâbriâs were expelled by the P a r m â r s, who were driven out by W â l o j i K â ṭ h i when himself fleeing from Pâwargaḍh pursued by Jâm Abrâ. Jâm Abrâ, it is said, followed Wâloji to Thân and laid siege to the place, and Wâloji contemplated flight, when the Sun appeared to him in a dream and assured him of his aid. Wâloji risked a

battle, and Jâm Abrâ was defeated and forced to return to Kachh. Wâloji and his Kâthis now established themselves at Thân, and Wâloji, in gratitude to the Sun, repaired the temple of that luminary on the Kandola hill. This temple, as before stated, is said to have been founded by Râja Mandhâtâ in the Satya Yuga, and there is no doubt that it is really a most ancient fane. It was, it is said, repaired by the celebrated Lâkhâ Phulâni, who for a short time appears to have ruled here, though at what date does not appear, but the neighbourhood abounds in traces of this celebrated chieftain. A neighbouring village is named after him Lâkhâmânchi, or 'Lâkha's stool.' This temple has undergone so many repairs and rebuildings that the original structure has entirely disappeared, and its present appearance is by no means imposing. Wâloji had a daughter named Sonbâi, whom he made a priestess in this temple: he married her to one Wâlerâ Jalu, and gave her twelve villages as her marriage portion, and named after her the fort rebuilt on the hill opposite to Kandola, Songadh. The present village of Songadh is a few hundred yards from the old fort of Songadh, and the descendants of Walerâ Jalu to this day enjoy land at Songadh. As Sonbâi was a ministrant in the temple of the Sun, her offspring were called Bhagats (worshippers), and from her sprung that *tâkâ* or sub-tribe of Kâthis called Bhagats.

The Parmârs are said to have entered Jhalâwâr early in the 13th century (? Samvat), and to have received the Chovisis of Thân, Kandola, and Chotagadh (now Chotila) as a reward for the extermination of Âso Bhilla from Visaldeva, the then Wâghela sovereign of Wadwan, at this time the chief city of Jhâlâwâr. The grant was accompanied, however, with the condition that the Bâbriâs should be expelled, a condition which Visaldeva considered it impossible to effect. The Parmârs, however, succeeded in ousting the Babriâs, who fled thence to Dhândhalpûr. The Parmârs did not hold Thân long, as they were ousted by the Kâthis under Waloji, who, as mentioned above, was himself flying with his Kâthis from Jam Abrâ.

When Kârtalab Khân (who had been honoured with the title of Shujaat Khân) was Subahdar of Gujarat, the Kâthis extended their marauding expeditions to the *Haveli* districts, harassing especially the parganâs of Dhandhuka, Viram-gam, and Dholka. Their excesses at length became so serious that Shujaat Khân, when on his usual *mulkgiri* circuit in Jhâlâwâr, marched from thence in about A.D. 1690 for Thân, which fort he stormed after a great slaughter of its defenders, dispersing the Kâthis and destroying the temple of the Sun. Since this, the Kâthis never returned to Thân, which was occupied by the Jhâlâs shortly afterwards. On this great dispersion of the Kâthis the Khâchar tribe made Chotilâ their head-quarters, which they had wrested from Jagsio Parmâr previously: while the Khawads, who had acquired Sayla in about A.D. 1769, remained there. The Wâlâs' head-quarters were at Jetpûr-Chital, and the Khumâns' at Mitiâlâ, and afterwards Sâbar Kundla. At the time of Shujaat Khân's storm of Thân it was principally occupied by Dhândhals, who have now been dispersed far and wide, and though still to be found as Mulgirâsiâs in Kathiâwâd, their chief possessions lie in the Dhandhuka parganâ, and to this day they retain, in memory of the snake-worship at the shrines of Wâsukhi and Bindhâ Beli which they had adopted, a great reverence for the Cobra. The Kâthis, as is well known, are divided into two principal divisions,—the Shakhâyat (called by Sir G. Le Grand Jacob the noble) tribes, and the Avartiâs or Avarshâkhyas—that is to say, those of other branches.

The Shâkhâyats comprehend the three great tribes of Wala, Khumân, and Khâchar, all of whom are descendants of the original Walâ Rajput who apostatized to Kathidom. The only explanation I can give for the term is that the Walâ branch are called *the* branch 'Shakhâ' *par excellence*, the Walâs being Suryavansi and of the same clan as the Rânâ of Udeypûr. The Avartiâs comprise the original Kâthis, as well as subsequent additions by outcasted Rajputs of other clans, who have intermarried with Kathianis. The most renowned of these Avartiâ tribes are those of Dhândhal and Khawad,—the former sprung from the Râthod, and the latter from the Jhâlâ stock.

As the Dhândhal tribe have not, I believe, been previously described, I will here briefly sketch their origin and principal sub-divisions. The Dhândhals are a famous branch of the Râthods, sprung, it is said, from Dhândhal the

son of Âsothâmâ. Of this stock was Dhândhal Semarsiṅgji, the chief of a small domain. Semarsiṅgji married Phulbâi, a daughter of Râo Mokâji, the Devra chieftain of Sirohi, and had by her two sons, viz. Râmsiṅgji and Kâmloji. Râmsiṅgji succeeded his father, and Kâmloji received some villages. Kâmloji had two sons, Buderâo and Pâbu Râo. Pâbu Râo ruled at Kâlugaḍh, and married a daughter of the Sodhâ chieftain of Amarkot, but while absent at Amarkot celebrating his nuptials Jâdro Khîchî carried off his mare from his village of Jhâyal. Pâbu Râo, on his return to Jhâyal with his wife the Sodhî, commenced hostilities against the Khîchî, but was eventually slain. His wife, the Sodhî, though pregnant, vowed that she would not survive her lord, and when forbidden, on account of her condition, to become a *satî*, she ripped herself open, giving birth to a son, who, from the unusual manner of his birth was named Jharḍoji, from झरडवुं, 'to lacerate.' This done, she ascended the funeral pile, and accompanied her lord through the flames, as became a faithful wife and a princess of her high descent. Jharḍoji on attaining manhood prosecuted his father's feud and slew Jâdro Khîchî. The Khîchîs now banded together against Jharḍoji, who was forced to fly, together with his wife (a daughter of Parmâr Rudrâpâl), to Kalanjhar, where the Parmâr lady gave birth to a son named Badesar. Kalanjhar was at this time a holding of the Padhiâr Râjputs, and Samarsiṅg Padhiâr reigned there. Here Jharḍoji took refuge, and married his son Badesar to Anopkuṅwar, only child of Samarsiṅg. Jharḍoji died at Kalanjhar during Samarsiṅg's lifetime, but his son Badesar succeeded that chieftain on the *gâdi* of Kalanjhar and reigned there. Badesar had two sons, Kâlârâo and Jasrâjrâo, who engaged in hostilities with the Khîchîs of Kolamgaḍh. The Khîchîs, however, slew Jasrâjrâo and defeated Kâlârâo, who flying thence came to the P a n c h â l on his way to Dwârkâ. While on his journey thither he came to the village of Lâkhâmânchi, near Thân, where there was a large encampment of Kâṭhis. The Kâṭhis invited Râo Kâlâ to drink *kasumbâ*, and he accepted their invitation. After drinking he asked them of what Râjput tribe they were, when they informed him that they were formerly Wâlâ Râjputs, but, owing to their ancestor Wâloji having married a Kâṭhiâni, the daughter of Patgar, he had been outcasted, and that they his descendants were now Kâṭhis. On hearing this Râo Kâlâ perceived that he too would be outcasted, and thinking death preferable he drew his sword and pointed it towards his own breast, intending to slay himself. The Kâthis, however, dissuaded him, and offered to give him their daughters in marriage. Râo Kâlâ assented, and married three Kâṭhiânis, viz. Sujânde, daughter of Wâlâ Mandan; Modebâi, daughter of Khâchar Bajesar; and Rupdebâi, a daughter of Râm Khumân. After the marriage ceremonies were completed Râo Kâlâ uttered the following couplet:—

काळो एम बोल्यो कम धज मर धर हंदो* मोड ॥
वाळाने धांधलाने हुइ सगपण हंदी जोड ॥ १ ॥

Kâlo thus spoke:—The *kamdhaj* is the crown of Mârwâḍ.
Between the Wâlâ and Dhândhal is now the bond of marriage.

As Kâlo was by tribe a Dhândhal Râṭhoḍ, his descendants by his Kâṭhi wives are called D h â n d h a l K â ṭ h i s. The Dhândhal Kâthis are again subdivided into thirteen principal branches, viz. Jhânjhariâs, Pâkhḍiâs, Babhânis, Dhângḍiâs, Noriâs, Rephḍiâs, Mokhâsiâs, Sârwalâs, Mâlânâs, Hâlikâs, Kherdiâs, Dhâdhânis, and Viramkâs. Râo Kâlâ had no offspring by the Wâlâ and Khumân ladies, but by Modebâi he had a son named Sagâl. Sagâl married a Khâchar lady named Rândebâi, and also a daughter of Wâlâ Odhâ named Mândebâi, and also a daughter of Râm Khâchar named Modebâi. By Modebâi he had nine sons, viz. Nâgsio, Bubâ, Babio, Dhângḍio, Kâlandrio, Mokhio, Varusio, Sajaṅko, Bubo-saṅgar. The descendants of Bubâ are called Jhânjhariâs, and the descendants of Bubo-saṅgâr are called Pâkhḍias. The descendants of Babio are called Bâbhânis, and they live in the Bhâdlâ village of Deriâsarâ. The descendants of Dhângḍio are called Dhângdiâs, and they enjoy *girâs* in the Jetpûr village of Monpûr. The descendants of Kâlandrio are called Toriâs, and they enjoy *girâs* in Wasâwad. The descendants of Mokhio are called Mokhâsiâs, and they also live at Wasâwad. The descendants of Varusio are called Sârwalâs, and they reside at and hold lands in Paliyâd. The descendants of Sâjankâ are called Mâlânâs The son of Nâgsio

* The use of the old genitive in *hando*, *handi*, &c. is worthy of remark, as it is one of the least common forms.

married Rupdebâi, daughter of Odhâ Khâchar, and by her he had two sons, Bâvdo and Nâgpâl. The descendants of Nâgpâl are called Halikâs, and they live in the village of Wârdi, under Dhandhuka. Bavdo married a Khâchar lady named Modebâi, and had by her two sons, Jâdro and Kalo. The descendants of Kâlo are called Kherdias, and live in the Dhandhuka village of Wâvdi. Jâdro married Satubâi, daughter of Jethsur Khâchar, and had by her one son, Nâho. Nâho married Râibâi, daughter of Kâlâ Khâchar, by whom he had one son, Gângo. From Gângo sprang Dhâdho of the Dhandhuka village of Samadhiâlâ. He bestowed on Châran Râkhâ *lâkh pasâo* in charity, and his descendants were styled Dhâdhâni. They are to be found at Samadhiâlâ aforesaid, and also at Devsar and Pephâ under Chotila in Kâthiâvâḍ, and at Anandpûr and Mewâsâ in the same province. Dhâdho married a daughter of Mehrâm Khâchar named Modebâi, and had by her a son named Naho. The descendants of Nâho are called Rephdias, as they resided at and enjoyed the village of Rephḍi under Dhandhuka. Nâho married Mânkbâi, daughter of Kânâ Khâchar, and had by her two sons, Gângo and Viso. Viso's descendants are called Viramkhâs, and hold lands in the Dhandhuka village of Goriâ. Gângo married Dhandebâi, daughter of another Kânâ Khâchar, by whom he had eight sons, viz. Kumpo, Khimo, Khebo, Sângo, Suro, Nâgdân, Surang, Kâno. Of these the eldest, Kumpo, married Rândebâi, daughter of Râm Khâchar, and had by her ten sons, viz. Ugo, Nâgsio, Devdâs, Budho, Gângo, Mâncho, Râm, Selâr, Jâdro, Dâho. Of these the eldest son, Ugo, married Rândebâi, daughter of Karapḍa Kândhâ.

The history of the two snake shrines at Than is as follows:—

Brahmâ had a son named Mârchi, whose son was Kaśyapa. Kaśyapa had a hundred sons by a Nâga Kanya, the chief of whom were Seshji, Wâsukhi (corrupted into Wâsangji), Banduk (corrupted into Bandia Beli), Dhumrâksh, Patak, Paydarik, Takshâk, Airâvat, Dhritarashtra, &c. &c.

Five Rishis, named Karnâv, Gâlav, Angira, [illegible], and Brihaspati (all sons of Brahma), during the *Treta Yuga* set out on a pilgrimage round the world, and in the course of their wandering came to Deva Panchal land, and stopping in the forest of Pappud, near Thân, determined to perform here religious austerities. They accordingly commenced their ceremonies by performing the *Brahmyadna* (or adoration to Brahma by means of the sacrificial fire). Information of their intention having reached Bhimâsur, who reigned at Bhimpuri, the modern Bhimora, he determined to throw obstacles in their way, and with this view commenced to annoy them, and owing to his persecution the Ṛishis were obliged to remove their residence to the banks of Pânchkunḍi tank, close to Thân, and there commence their penance. Their austerities were so severe that Brahma was pleased with them, and appeared before them in person. On this the Ṛishis implored him to destroy Bhimâsur Daitya. Brahma replied that Bhimâsur was destined to die at the hands of Śeshji, Wâsukhi, and others of the snake family, and that therefore they should address their prayers to them. So saying, Brahma became invisible, and the Ṛishis besought the snake deities to aid them, and the whole snake family appeared in answer to their entreaties. The Ṛishis requesting them to destroy Bhimâsur, Śeshji at once started for Bhimpuri, and there by the force of his poison slew Bhimâsur, and returning informed the Ṛishis of his death. They overwhelmed him with thanks, and begged him to reside constantly in Thân for their protection. As Śeshji was king of Pâtâl, he was unable to comply with their request; he however ordered his brothers Wâsukhi (Wâsangji) and Banduk (or Bândiâ Beli) to remain at Thân and Mândhavgaḍh respectively; and accordingly these two snake brethren took up their residence at Thân and Mândhavgaḍh respectively, where their shrines are to this day. Śeshji then became invisible. To the present day no one is allowed to cut a tree in the grove that surrounds Bândiâ Beli's shrine, and it is said that should any one ignorantly cut a stick in this grove, the snake appears to such person in his dreams and orders him to return the stick, and should he fail therein, some great calamity shortly befalls him; and in fact in or near this grove may be seen many such logs or sticks accidentally cut and subsequently returned. Some of the more famous snake brethren are (1) Seshji, lord of Pâtâl, (2) Wâsukhi, (3) Banduk, all mentioned above, (4) Kâli Nâga—this brother was a snake of renown; he first resided in the Kâlandrio pool of the Jamnâ river near

Gokal, in Hindustân proper. From hence he was ousted by Krishṇa, and is now supposed to reside in the island of Ramnak, near the shrine of Setubandh Râmeśvara. (5) Bhujaṅga, who is worshipped at Bhuj. It is said that in ancient times the inhabitants of Kachh were harassed by Daityas and Râkshasas, and petitioned Śrî Wâsuki, who ordered his brother Bhujaṅga to go to their assistance. Bhujaṅga went, and, effecting their liberation, at their entreaties took up his residence in Bhuj, so named after him. He is popularly called the Bhujio. (6) Another famous brother is Dhumrâksh, worshipped as the Khâmbhḍia Nâga in the village of Khâmbhḍâ under Dhrâṅgadhrâ. (7) Another Nâga shrine in Kâthiâvâḍ is that of Pratik at Talsânâ in Jhâlâwâr, and another (8) is that of Devânik Charmâlio in the village of Chokḍi under Chuḍâ. The shrine of another brother, (9) Paṇḍarîka, is said to be at Paṇḍharpura, in the Dekhan. (10) Takshâk resides in Kurukshetra, (11) Airâvat in Hastinâpur, (12) Dhṛitarâshṭra in the Dekhan, &c. &c.

It will be seen from the above legend how intimately the old tree and snake worship are connected. The Nâgas seem to have been an aboriginal race in Gujarât, and to have worshipped the Elephant, Cobra, Tiger, Monkey, and Trees; and the earlier Hindu immigrants have probably derived from them the cult of Gaṇeśa, Hanuman, Wâgheśvari, Mâtâs, &c. &c. In the lapse of time the descendants of these Hindu immigrants began to confound these Nâgas with whom they had intermarried with the Cobras (Nâgas), and eventually the legends of Nâgakanyas, &c. sprang up.

Ere closing this I may mention that the most famous snake-shrine in Gujarât, if not in India, is that of the celebrated Dharnidhara or 'Earth-holder,' situated at the village of Dhemâ, a few miles to the N. W. of Tharâd, in North Gujarât. This shrine is visited by pilgrims from all parts of India. There is a well-executed image of a cobra in the temple of the Dhemnâg, as the Dharnidhara is locally called, and an inscription roughly executed beneath it. There is also an inscription relating to the Chohâns of Wâv-Tharâd in another temple (the large one), the original Dhemnâg occupying an insignificant little shrine some little distance from the larger temple. Carvings of Nâgakanyâs are not uncommon in the older temples of Gujarât, and when at Pâlanpur I found two representations of them in the ruins of Kâṅkar, probably the city whence the Kânkrej district was named. These I brought to the Superintendency Bungalow. There are many other local shrines in Gujarât and Kâṭhiâvâḍ where the Cobra is worshipped, but these are the most famous that I am acquainted with. I cannot perhaps more fitly conclude these rough notes than by quoting the following *kavita* in honour of Thân:—

|| कवित || थांन मुकाम सोधाम धोळेश्वर ||
नांमवासुकी देव बिराजे ||
धीर मुरीदको धांमधजवेध ||
सुरजदेवकी जातर छाजे ||
तीरथ आवत जीव त्रीनेत्र ते ||
कोटी जन्मको पातक भाजे ||
भजले रांमके नाम भजे कीन ||
नाघट नोबत नांमकी बाजे || १ ||

The place Thân is the excellent site of Dholeśvara, and the famous Wâsuki Deva also honours it with his presence.
To the steadfast devotee the place is as it were adorned with a flag, and the place of pilgrimage of Suraj Dev adorns it also.
Should any one perform the pilgrimage of Trinetrâ,
Then he will destroy the sins of 10 millions of (previous) existences.
Pronounce the name of Râma. Why do you not pronounce it?
In the heart (of the true worshipper) the drums of his name are (perpetually) beating.

NATIVE CUSTOMS IN THE GODÂVARÎ DISTRICT.*

BY Rev. JOHN CAIN, DUMAGUDEM.

Respect paid to a Dog.

The following custom prevails amongst the Brâhmans, as well as amongst the lower Sûdras. At a certain time whilst a woman is pregnant, a number of her female friends assemble and pour before the door of the room where she is, a quantity of paddy-husk and set fire to it. To one doorpost they tie an old shoe, to the other a bush of tulasî (*Ocymum basilicum*), in order to prevent the entrance of any demon. After the woman

* I have since learned that the custom of paying respect to the dog during the woman's pregnancy prevails over great part of South India.

has bathed, she performs *pújá* to the Gavirî Devî in the manner related below. The friends first bring in the stone on which the articles of food are usually bruised, and the stone roller, colour them with saffron, place a mark upon them in the way they daily mark their own foreheads, burn incense and place an oblation (the *naivedyam*) before them. This done, they bring in a bitch, colour it, mark it, burn incense before it, and also place the *naivedyam* before it. The woman then makes obeisance to it, and it is given a good meal of curry and rice. Cakes are also placed upon the curry and rice, and if there happens to be in the room a woman who has not hitherto been blessed with children she eagerly seizes some of the cakes, in the hope that by so doing she may ere long have a child.

The Dog-idol.

Two hundred years ago a Brâhman in the village of Natta Râmeśvara, in the Godavarî delta, had the misfortune to kill a dog. Grieving on account of his sin, he took counsel with the chief Bráhmans of the village as to the best way of making expiation, and received the following advice:—"Build a temple in Râmeśvara, which is in the Gostanadi, place an image of a dog therein, and after your daily ablutions perform *pújá* to the dog, and then your sin will be pardoned." He complied with their advice in every respect. The attention of the pilgrims to the neighbouring temple at Râmeśvara was soon attracted by this new building, and on learning the cause of its erection they worshipped there as well as in the larger edifice, and thus the custom has continued to the present day.

Natta Râmeśvara.

Natta is the Telugu for a snail, shell-fish, cockle, &c.

A large number of pilgrims from the neighbouring districts resort to this village on the occasion of the yearly festival. The following legend is told as the reason of the building of the temple:—In years gone by, a certain king who lived in a country to the east of the Godávarî called one of his leading men and commissioned him to go and buy a number of horses, elephants, and camels. As the man was journeying in search of these, he slept one night in the village of Râmeśvara, and dreamed that a snail appeared to him and told him that he was going to dwell in the village under the form of a *linga*, and as he wanted a temple the man must build him one. The next morning the man told his dream to the chief men of the village, and resolved to obey the command. Accordingly he procured a large number of stones, laid the foundation two fathoms deep in the Gostanaḍi, and built the shrine. Immediately afterwards a *linga* about two feet high, composed of snail-shells, appeared in the temple. He then built a wall all round, about twelve feet high, and cut upon it elephants, horses, and camels. Having completed the whole, he returned to his master, and in answer to the inquiries respecting his purchases replied that he had done as he had been ordered, but was unable to convey them home and had left them all in Rámeśvara. The king immediately sent off other servants to inquire into the truth of the statements, and when they returned and confirmed the whole, resolved to go and see for himself. He did so, and on discovering what had really occurred was so pleased with the piety of his servant that he gave him a village.

A *linga* is still worshipped in the village, and elephants, horses, and camels are engraved upon the wall of the court.

Gostanadi.

This is a small but very winding channel near Natta Râmeśvara, only filled with water during the rains or a rise in the Godâvarî.

In former times there were some saints (*munis*) performing their *tapasa* in the village of Kovvura, near Râjâmandri. They obtained their meat and drink in a remarkable way. Every morning they went to the palmyra-trees of the village, bent them down very low, and attached their pots to the crowns of the trees, and forthwith they were filled with toddy sufficient to satisfy their thirst during the whole of the coming day. They then took a number of millet seeds, scattered them in the neighbouring fields, and immediately a ripe crop appeared, which they cut, and threshed, and ate the same day. One day a cow brought forth a calf in the place where they were performing their devotions, but, lo! before the calf fell to the ground, Garutmantudu flew down and bore it away to the skies. The cow, in great distress at being unable to follow her calf, carefully pursued its shadow, and as she went winding here and there her milk fell to the ground and formed a stream, to the channel of which the name Gostanadi was given. *Gostanamu* = cow's teat.

RELIGIOUS AND MORAL SENTIMENTS FREELY TRANSLATED FROM SANSKRIT WRITERS.

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(*Continued from vol. III. page 337.*)

SECOND SERIES.

1. Svetâsvatara Upanishad, iii. 19. *The Great Spirit.*

No hands has He, nor feet, nor eyes, nor ears,
And yet he grasps, and moves, and sees, and hears.
He all things knows, Himself unknown to all;
Him men the great primeval Spirit call.

2. Mahâbhârata, iii. 1140 ff.* *Impeachment and Vindication of the Divine Government.*

Draupadi *speaks:*

Beholding noble men distrest,
Ignoble men enjoying good,
Thy righteous self by woe pursued,
Thy wicked foe by fortune blest,
I charge the Lord of all—the strong,
The partial Lord—with doing wrong.

His dark, mysterious, sovereign will
To men their several lots decrees;
He favours some with health and ease,
Some dooms to every form of ill.

As puppets' limbs the touch obey
Of him whose fingers hold the strings,
So God directs the secret springs
Which all the deeds of creatures sway.

In vain those birds which springes hold
Would seek to fly: so man a thrall,
Fast fettered, ever lives, in all
He does or thinks by God controlled.

As trees from river-banks are riven
And swept away, when rains have swelled
The streams, so men by God impelled
To action, helpless, on are driven.

God does not show for all mankind
A parent's love and wise concern;
But acts like one unfeeling, stern,
Whose eyes caprice and passion blind.

Yudhishthira *replies:*

I've listened, loving spouse, to thee,
I've marked thy charming, kind discourse,
Thy phrases turned with grace and force,
But know, thou utterest blasphemy.

I never act to earn reward;
I do what I am bound to do,
Indifferent whether fruit accrue;
'Tis duty I alone regard.

Of all the men who care profess
For virtue—love of that to speak—
The unworthiest far are those who seek
To make a gain of righteousness.

Who thus—to every lofty sense
Of duty dead—from each good act
Its full return would fain extract;—
He forfeits every recompense.

Love duty, thus, for duty's sake,
Not careful what return it brings:
Yet doubt not, bliss from virtue springs,
While woe shall sinners overtake.

By ships the perilous sea is crossed;
So men on virtue's stable bark
Pass o'er this mundane ocean dark,
And reach the blessed heavenly coast.

If holy actions bore no fruits;
If self-command, beneficence,
Received no fitting recompense;
Then men would lead the life of brutes:

Who then would knowledge toil to gain?
Or after noble aims aspire?
O'er all the earth delusion dire
And darkness dense and black would reign

But 'tis not so: for saints of old
Well knew that every righteous deed
From God obtains its ample meed:
They therefore strove pure lives to lead.
As ancient sacred books have told.

The gods—for such their sovereign will—
Have veiled from our too curious ken
The laws by which the deeds of men
Are recompensed with good and ill.

No common mortal comprehends
The wondrous power, mysterious skill,
With which these lords of all fulfil
Their high designs, their hidden ends.

* *Vide ante*, vol. III. pp. 163, 164.

These secret things those saints descry
Alone whose sinless life austere
For them has earned an insight clear,
To which all mysteries open lie.

So let thy doubts like vapours flee,
Abandon impious unbelief;
And let not discontent and grief
Disturb thy soul's serenity.

But study God aright to know,
That highest Lord of all revere,
Whose grace on those who love him here
Will endless future bliss bestow.

Draupadi *rejoins:*

How could I God, the Lord of all,
Contemn, or dare his acts arraign,
Although I weakly thus complain?
Nor would I virtue bootless call.

I idly talk; my better mind
Is overcome by deep distress
Which long shall yet my heart oppress:—
So judge me rightly; thou art kind.

3. Naishadha Charita, xviii. 45. *Whether the doctrine of future retribution be true.*

The scripture says, the bad begin,
When dead, with woe to pay for sin,
While bliss awaits—a happier birth—
The good whene'er they quit the earth.
But now, we see, the bad are blest,
And righteous men on earth distrest.
How then, this doubtful case decide?
Tell what is urged on either side.

Did God exist omniscient, kind,
And never speak his will in vain,
'Twould cost him but a word, and then
His suppliants all they wish would find.
If God to men allotted woe,
Although that woe the fruit must be
Of men's own actions, then were he
Without a cause his creatures' foe,—
More cruel, thus, than men, who ne'er
To others causeless malice bear.

In this our state of human birth
Man's self and Brahma co-exist,—
As wise Vedantists all insist,—
But when this wretched life on earth
Shall end, and all redemption gain,
Then Brahma shall alone remain.
A clever doctrine here we see!
Our highest good to cease to be!

4. Vishṇu Purâṇa, iv. 24, 48 ff. *The Vanity of Human Ambition.*

How many kings—their little day
Of power gone by—have passed away,
While yet the stable Earth abides,
And all the projects vain derides
Of men who deemed that She was theirs,
The destined portion of their heirs.

With bright autumnal colours gay,
She seems to smile from age to age,
And mock the fretting kings who wage
Fierce war for Her,—for ampler sway.

"Though doomed," she cries, "to disappear
So soon, like foam that crests the wave,
Vast schemes they cherish, madly brave,
Nor see that death is lurking near.

"And kinsmen, brothers, sons and sires,
Whom selfish love of empire fires,
The holiest bands of nature rend,—
In bloody strife for Me contend.

"O! how can princes, well aware
How all their fathers, one by one,
Have left Me here behind, and gone,
For My possession greatly care?"

King Prithu strode across the world,
And all his foes to earth he hurled.
Beneath his chariot-wheels—a prey
For dogs and vultures—crushed they lay.
Yet, snatched by Time's resistless blast,
He long from hence away has passed:
Like down the raging flames consume,
He, too has met the common doom.

And Kârtavîrya, once so great,
Who ruled o'er all the isles, supreme,
Is but a shadow now, a theme
On which logicians subtly prate.

Those lords of men, whose empire's sheen
Of yore the regions all illumed,
By Death's destroying frown consumed,
Are gone: no ashes e'en are seen!

Mândhâtri once was world-renowned;
What forms his substance now? a tale!
Who, hearing this, if wise, can fail
This mundane life to scorn, so frail,
So dreamlike, transient, worthless found?

Of all the long and bright array
Of kings whose names tradition shows,
Have any ever lived? Who knows?
And now where are they? None can say.

5. Mahâbhârata, xii. 529, 6641, and 9917. "*As having nothing, and yet possessing all things.*" (2 Corinthians, vi. 10.)

How vast my wealth, what joy I taste,
Who nothing own, and nought desire!
Were this fair city wrapt in fire,
The flame no goods of mine would waste.

6. Mahâbhârata, xi. 75. "*For we brought nothing into this world, and it is certain we can carry nothing out.*" (1 Timothy, vi. 7.)

Wealth either leaves a man, O king!
Or else a man his wealth must leave.
What sage for that event will grieve,
Which time at length must surely bring?

7. Mahâbhârata, xi. 75. *The foolish discontented; the wise content.*

Though proudly swells their fortune's tide,
Though evermore their hoards augment,
Unthinking men are ne'er content:
But wise men soon are satisfied.

8. Vriddha Chânakya, xiv. 6. *Men should think on their end.*

Did men but always entertain
Those graver thoughts which sway the heart,
When sickness comes, or friends depart,
Who would not then redemption gain?

9. Mahâbhârata, iii. 17401. "*All men think all men mortal but themselves.*" (Young's *Night Thoughts.*)

Is not those men's delusion strange
Who, while they see that every day
So many sweeps from earth away,
Can long themselves t' elude all change?

10. Dampatiśikshâ, 26: Praśnottara-ratnamâlâ, 15. *Who are the really blind, deaf, and dumb?*

That man is blind whose inner eye
Can nought beyond this world descry:
And deaf the man on folly bent,
On whom advice is vainly spent.
The dumb are those who never seek
To others gracious words to speak.

Vriddha Chânakya, xvii. 6; Subhâshitârnava, 163. *Men devout when in distress.*

In trouble men the gods invoke;
When sick, submit to virtue's yoke;
When lacking power to sin, are good;
When poor, are humble, meek, subdued.

12. Sârngadhara's Paddhati, Dharmavivriti, 4. *Improvement of time.*

The sage will ne'er allow a day
Unmarked by good to pass away;
But waking up, will often ask,
"Have I this day fulfilled my task?
With this, with each day's setting sun,
A part of my brief course is run."

13. Manu, ii. 238. *A man may learn from the humblest.*

From whomsoever got, the wise
Accept with joy the pearl they prize.
To them the mean may knowledge teach,
The lowliest lofty virtue preach.
Such men will wed, nor view with scorn
A lovely bride though humbly born.
When sunlight fails, and all is gloom,
A lamp will well the house illume.

14. Bhâgavata Purâna, x. 22, 35. *The proper aim of life.*

He only does not live in vain
Who all the means within his reach
Employs, his wealth, his thought, his speech
T' advance the weal of other men.

15. Mahâbhârata, v. 1272; xii. 11023. *Men are formed by their associates.*

As cloth is tinged by any dye
In which it long time plunged may lie;
So those with whom he loves to live
To every man his colour give.

16. Hitopadeśa, iv. *Casting pearls before swine.*

He only threshes chaff who schools
With patient kindness thoughtless fools.
He writes on shifting sand who fain
By favours worthless men would gain.

17. Subhâshitârnava, 64. *Heirs often spendthrifts.*

How many foolish heirs make haste
The wealth their father saved, to waste!
Who does not guard with care the pelf
He long has toiled to hoard himself?

18. Mahâbhârata, xii. 12131. *The rich hath many friends.*

A rich man's kinsfolk while he thrives
The part of kinsmen gladly play:
The poor man's kindred die away
Long e'er his day of death arrives.

19. Panchatantra, 1. 15. *The same.*

A wealthy man ev'n strangers treat
  As if they were his kinsmen born :
  The poor man's kindred all with scorn
His claim to kinship basely meet.

20. Vriddha Châṇakya, 32. *What energy can effect.*

Mount Meru's peak to scale is not too high,
  Nor Hades' lowest depth to reach too deep,
  Nor any sea too broad to overleap,
For men of dauntless, fiery energy.

21. Śârṅgadhara's Paddhati, Dhana-praśaṁsâ, 12. *What will not men do to get wealth?*

For gold what will not mortals dare?
What efforts, struggles, labours spare?
The hostile warrior's sword they brave,
And plunge beneath the ocean wave.

22. Panchatantra, 10. 5 (Bomb. ed.) : Vriddha Châṇakya, 15. 10. &c. *Ars longa, vita brevis : The essence of books to be got.*

The list of books is long : mishaps arise
  To bar the student's progress : life is brief :
  Whatever, then, in books is best and chief,
The essence, kernel, that attracts the wise.

23. Panchatantra (Bomb. ed.), iii. 92 and v. 49. *Love of Home.*

Not such is even the bliss of heaven
  As that which fills the breasts of men
To whom, long absent, now 'tis given
  Their country once to see again,
Their childhood's home, their natal place
However poor, or mean, or base.

24. Mahâbhârata, xii. 5497 ff. *A house without a wife is empty : Description of a good wife.*

Although with children bright it teems,
And full of light and gladness seems,
A man's abode without a wife
Is empty, lacks its real life.
The housewife makes the house ; bereft
Of her a gloomy waste 'tis left.

That man is truly blest whose wife,
  With ever sympathetic heart,
  Shares all his weal and woe : takes part
In all the events that stir his life ;
Is filled with joy when he is glad,
And plunged in grief when he is sad,
Laments whene'er his home he leaves,
His safe return with joy perceives,
With gentle words his anger stills,
And all her tasks with love fulfils.

25. Mahâbhârata, xii. 3440. 3450, and elsewhere. *Description of a good king.*

That man alone a crown should wear
  Who's skilled his land to rule and shield :
  For princely power is hard to wield—
A load which few can fitly bear.

That king his duty comprehends
Who well the poor and helpless tends,
Who wipes away the orphan's tears,
Who gently calms the widow's fears,
Who, like a father, joy imparts,
And peace, to all his people's hearts :
On vicious men and women frowns,
The learn'd and wise with honour crowns :
Who well and wisely gifts, on those
Whose merits claim reward, bestows :
His people rightly guides and schools,
On all impressing virtue's rules ;
Who day by day the gods adores,—
With offerings meet their grace implores :
Whose vigorous arms his realm protects,
And all insulting foes subjects :
Who yet all laws of war observes,
And ne'er from knightly honour swerves.

26. Mahâbhârata, iii. 1055. *Mercy should be shown to ignorant offenders.*

When men from want of knowledge sin,
  A prince to such should mercy show,
  For skill the right and wrong to know
For simple men is hard to win.

27. Râmâyana, vi. 115, 41. *Compassion should be shown to all men.*

To bad as well as good, to all,
  A generous man compassion shows.
  On earth no mortal lives, he knows,
Who does not oft through weakness fall.

28. Mahâbhârata, xiii. 651 "*The wolf also shall dwell with the lamb,*" *&c.* (Isaiah, xi. 6).

With serpents weasels* kindly play,
  And harmless tigers sport with deer :
  The hermit's holy presence near
Turns hate to love—drives fear away.

(*To be continued.*)

* The Mongoose (*Herpestes Ichneumon*) belongs to the order *Mustelidæ* (Weasels).—ED.

SANSKRIT AND OLD CANARESE INSCRIPTIONS.

BY J. F. FLEET, Esq., Bo. C. S.

(*Continued from page* 181.)

In connexion with the preceding Kâdamba inscription, the notes made by me, when travelling through the Canarese Country as Educational Inspector of the Southern Division, of inscriptions at Baṅkâpûr, Hânagal, and Banawâsi,—all of them Kâdamba capitals,— may usefully be inserted here.

Baṅkâpûr.

Baṅkâpûr is about six miles to the S. by E. of Śiggaum, the present head-quarters of the Śiggaum or Baṅkâpûr Tâlukâ of the Dhârwaḍ District.

The inscriptions are all in the Fort. No. 1:—Leaning up against a wall to the right of the entrance to the Fort from the E. there is a large stone-tablet bearing an inscription of fifty-nine lines, each line containing about thirty-seven letters, in the Old Canarese characters and language. The inscription is for the most part in fine order; but the fourth line has been deliberately cut out and almost entirely obliterated, and there are fissures in the tablet which would probably result in its falling to pieces if an attempt were made to remove it to a safer place of custody. The emblems at the top of the tablet have been wilfully defaced; but there are traces of the following:—In the centre, a *liṅga*; on its right, a seated or kneeling figure, with the sun above it and a cow and calf beyond it; and on its left, an officiating priest, with the moon above him and a figure of Basava beyond him. The inscription is dated in the Śaka year 977 (A. D. 1055-6), being the Manmatha *saṁvatsara*, while the Châlukya King Gaṅgapêrmanaḍi-Vikramâdityadêva *,—the son of Trailôkyamalladêva; the supreme lord of the city of Kuvaḷâlapura †; the lord of Nandagiri; he whose crest was an infuriated elephant,—was ruling the Gaṅgavâḍit ‡ Ninety-six-thousand and the Banavâsi Twelve-thousand, and while the Great Chieftain Harikêsaridêva, the glory of the family of the Kâdamba emperor Mayûravarmâ§, was governing the Banavâsi Twelve-thousand as his subordinate. The inscription proceeds to record the grant of some land in the Nidagundage Twelve, which was a *kampaṇa*‖ of the Pânuṅgal Five-hundred, to a Jain temple, by Harikêsaridêva, his wife Lachchaladêvî, the assemblage of the five religious colleges of Baṅkâpura, the guild of the Nagaramahâjana, and "The Sixteen."¶ Harikêsaridêva's titles are of much the same purport as some of those of Śivachitta in the Kâdamba inscription of Gulhaḷḷi and of Jayakêśi III. in the Kâdamba inscription of Kittûr *, and most of them are repeated in the short inscription, No. 2, of which a transcription is given below. His name does not occur in Sir W. Elliot's list of the Kâdambas, and I cannot yet determine what his place in the genealogy should be.

Nos. 2 and 3.—Further on in the fort there is a fine old Jain temple called Arvattukam-

* Vikramâditya II of Sir W. Elliot; according to the same authority his reign extended from Śaka 998 to Śaka 1049. The discrepancy between the dates of his reign and of the present inscription may be accounted for on the supposition that Vikramâditya was the Yuvarâja or Viceroy, in charge of the two districts referred to, during his father's reign and before he himself ascended the throne of the Châlukyas on the death of his elder brother Sômêśvaradêva II. Gaṅgapermanaḍi or Gaṅgapemmanaḍi was also adopted as a Kâdamba title.

† The Kôḷâlapura of line 18 of inscription No. II of the series now commenced; the name occurs again as Kuvaḷâlapura in line 33 of Major Dixon's No 71. This and the following two titles are also Kâdamba titles.

‡ The final '*t*' of this word in the original may be a mistake. The Ninety-six-thousand District is mentioned in the Nâgamaṅgala copper-plate inscription published by Mr Rice at pp. 156 *et seqq.* of Vol. II of the *Indian Antiquary*, in note 11, page 161, the name of it is given as Gaṅgavâḍi, and it is said to have been called the Ninety-six-thousand District from its yielding a revenue of 96,000 pagodas; but districts are usually named in this way from the number of towns included in them. The Gaṅgavâḍi Ninety-six-thousand is mentioned again in line 3 of No. 113 of Major Dixon's work.

§ Mayûravarmâ is given by Sir W. Elliot as the first in the Kâdamba genealogy of Banavâsi and the founder of the family. The Kâdambas of Goa (Gove, Gôpakapattana, or Gopikapuri) state in their inscriptions at Dêgâmve and Halsi (Palâśika, Palasige, or Palasi) in the Belgaum district that the founder of their family was Trilôchanakadamba, the Trinêtrakadamba of Dr Buchanan's *Journey through Mysore, Canara, and Malabar*. According to Jain traditions given in Dr. Buchanan's book it was Mayûravarmâ who, though himself a Jain king, first introduced Vedic Brahmans into the Tuluva country; according to the Brâhman traditions, the Brahmans had been previously in the Tuluva country, but they did not like it and were always running away to Ahichhatra, from which place Mayûravarmâ brought them back, effected some reforms, and reinstated them.

‖ See note ‡ to the translation of No. II of the present series, page 211 below.

¶ '*Baṅkâpurada pañchamaṭha(tha)sthânamuṁ nagaramahâjanamuṁ padinâruvarum.*'

* See pp. 296 *et seqq.* of No. XXVII, Vol. X *Jour. Bomb. Br. R. As. Soc.*

bhada-basti, 'the Jain temple of the sixty columns.' On the wall to the left of the S. entrance to the shrine there are two short and very well preserved inscriptions in the Old Canarese characters and languages. No. 2:—The upper one is as follows:—

[1] ಶ್ರೀ [॥] ನಮಸ್ತುಂಗಶಿರಶ್ಚುಂಬಿಚಂದ್ರಚಾಮರಚಾರವೇ [।] ತ್ರೈಲೋಕ್ಯನಗರಾ-
[2] ರಂಭಮೂಲಸ್ತಂಭಾಯ ಶಂಭವೇ ॥ ಸ್ವಸ್ತಿ ಸಮಧಿಗತಪಂಚಮಹಾಶ-
[3] ಬ್ದಮಹಾಮಂಡಳೇಶ್ವರಂ ಬನವಾಸೀಪುರವರಾಧೀಶ್ವರಂ ಜಯಂ-
[4] ತೀಮಧು(ಧು)ಕೇಶ್ವರದೇವಲಬ್ಧವರಪ್ರಸಾದ ಮೃಗಮದಾ-
[5] ಮೋದ ತ್ರ್ಯಕ್ಷಕ್ಷ್ಮಾಸಂಭವಂ ಚತುರಾಶೀತಿನಗರಾಧಿಷ್ಠಿ-
[6] ತ ಲಲಾಟಲೋಚನ ಚತುರ್ಭು(ರ್ಭು)ಜ ಜಗದ್ವಿದಿತಾಷ್ಟಾ-
[7] ದಶಾಶ್ವಮೇಧಯಜ್ಞದೀಕ್ಷಾದೀಕ್ಷಿತಂ ಹಿಮವದ್ಗಿರೀಂದ್ರಶೃಂಗಶಿ-
[8] ಖರ(ಶಿ)ಖರಸಂಸ್ಥಾಪಿತಸ್ಫಟಿಕಶಿಲಾಸ್ತಂಭಬದ್ಧಮದಗಜ ಮಹಾಮ-
[9] ಹಿಮಾಭಿರಾಮ ಕಾದಂಬಚಕ್ರಿಮ[ಯೂರವರ್ಮಮಹಾಮಹೀಪಾಲಕುಲಭೂಷಣಂ]

Translation.—"Be it well! Reverence to Śambhu*, who is made beautiful by a *chowri* which is the moon that lightly rests upon his lofty head, and who is the foundation-pillar for the erection of the city of the three worlds! Hail! The Great Chieftain who has attained the five *Mahâśabdas*; the excellent supreme lord of Banavâsipura: he who has acquired the excellent favour of the god Jayantî-Madhukêśvara†; he who has the odour of musk: the three-eyed earth-born ‡: he who is established in eighty-four cities; he who has an eye in his forehead‡: the four-armed‡: he who is consecrated with the rites of eighteen horse-sacrifices known throughout the world: he whose infuriated elephants are bound to columns of crystal set up on the mighty summits of the king of mountains Himavân§: he who is charming by reason of the excess of his greatness; [the ornament of the family of the great king Mayûravarmâ,] the Kâdamba emperor." The inscription, which is unfinished, breaks off abruptly with the first part of the letter '*y*'; but, as it agrees almost word for word with lines 10 to 13 of No. 1, there can be no doubt that the continuation of line 9 was meant to be '*-yûravarmmamahâmahipâḷakuḷabhûshaṇam*' as in line 13 of No. 1. The emblems at the top of the stone,—very rudely cut, or, perhaps, only marked out for engraving,—are:—In the centre, a *linga* and priest: on their right, a cow and calf; and on their left, a figure of Basava, with some representation above it as to the meaning of which I could not satisfy myself.

No. 3:—The lower inscription is separated by two blank stones from the preceding, with which it seems to have no connexion. It consists of six lines of poetry, each line containing about twenty-three letters, and two letters over in the seventh line. The verses are in praise of a certain Siṁha or Siṅga; but there is nothing to explain who he was, the verses have no meaning of importance, and the inscription contains no date.

Nos. 4, 5, 6, and 7.—In the interior of the same temple there are four inscriptions in the Old Canarese characters and language on stone-tablets let into the wall on the right and left just outside the shrine. Three are on the right hand, and one is on the left hand, as one faces the doorway of the shrine. No. 4:—The highest of the three on the right hand consists of thirty-nine lines of about twelve letters each. It records grants made to the god Nakarêśvaradêva of Baṅkâpura in the Piṅgala *saṁvatsara*, being the twelfth year of the reign of the Châlukya king Bhûlôkamalla.|| No. 5:—The next below consists of sixteen lines of about

* Śiva.

† Jayantîpura is an old name of Banavâsi.

‡ These are family traditions regarding Trilôchanakadamba who, according to the inscriptions of the later Kadambas of Halsi, was the founder of the family.

§ In this passage the word '*śikhara*' between '*raudra*' and '*śikhara*' seems to be superfluous; in lines 10-11 of the Gulhalli inscription there occurs the passage '*Himavadgirîndraraudraśikharasaṁsthâpitamahâśaktiprabhâvam*'. As regards the meaning of '*raudra*', it may perhaps be a variation of '*rudra*', one of the significations of which in Prof. Monier Williams' Sanskrit Dictionary is *great, large*; it is worthy of remark that I have met with this word as yet in Kâdamba inscriptions only.

|| The Châlukya king Sômêśvaradêva II; *i.e.*, Śaka 1060 (A.D. 1138-9).

twenty-three letters each; the characters of this and the following inscription are smaller than those of the preceding. It records a grant made by Bammagâvunḍa of Kiṟiya-Baṅkâpura* to the god Nagarêśvaradêva of Baṅkâpura. The date is the same as that of the preceding. No. 6:—The lowest of the three consists of twelve lines of about twenty-three letters each. It records a grant made by a Daṇḍanâyaka, whose name I could not read with certainty, in the reign of the Châlukya Tribhuvanamalla, *i.e.* Vikramâditya II. The date is effaced, but the name of the *saṁvatsara* is legible, *viz.* Śrîmukha; accordingly the date must be the sixteenth year of Vikramâditya II. or Śaka 1013 (A.D. 1091-2). No. 7:—The inscription on the left hand consists of thirty-seven lines of about seventeen letters each. It records grants made to the Jain temple of Kiṟiya-Baṅkâpura by Mâdigavunḍa and other village-headmen in the Śubhakṛit *saṁvatsara*, being the forty-fifth year of the Châlukya king Vikrama.† These four inscriptions are in tolerably good condition.

Hânagal.

Hânagal, the ancient Pânuṅgal, the head-quarters town of the Tâlukâ of the same name in the Dhârwâḍ District, is about fifteen miles to the S.W. of Baṅkâpûr. There are a great number of monumental stones here, but only three inscriptions proper. Of the monumental stones some are very large and elaborate and curious; particularly two by the tank near the Revenue Bungalow. Of the inscriptions one only, at the temple of Hanumândêva in the fields of Haḷêkôti, would repay examination; I had no time to give any attention to it. Near this inscription there is a small temple with some curious and interesting sculptures of Nâga men and women &c.

In the town there is a fine old Jain temple in the centre chamber of which a large stone lotus is pendent from the roof. In the same chamber the Ashṭadikpâlas,—guardians of the eight points of the compass,—are represented in excellent sculptures in panels pointing towards their respective stations.

Banawâsi.

Banawâsi is situated in the District of North Canara, on the confines of Maisûr, about fifteen miles to the E. by S. of Śirsi. The old forms of its name, as met with in inscriptions, are Vanavâsî, 'the abode in the forest',—the original form; Banavâsi; Banavâse; and Banavase; and another name of it would appear to be Jayantîpura. It is a place of considerable age and reputed sanctity. Probably the earliest authentic notice of it is to be found in the large Cave-alphabet inscription, dated Śaka 507 (A.D. 585-6), in the Śaiva temple at Aihoḷe in the Hunagund Tâlukâ of the Kalâdgi District,—Plate No. 3 of Mr. Hope's work; in line 9 we are told that the Châlukya king Pulikêśî II. reduced to subjection "Vanavâsî, which was girt about by the river Haṁsânadî glistening with the hue of the high waves of the Varadâ, and which rivalled with its prosperity the city of the gods." Banawâsi would appear to have been at that time the capital, or one of the capitals, of an early branch of the Kâdamba dynasty. The Varadâ, modern Wardâ, flows close under the walls of the present town, and Haṁsânadî is probably the old name of a tributary stream of some size that flows into it about seven miles higher up.

The inscriptions are all in and around the great temple of Madhukêśvaradêva; they are all in the Old Canarese characters and language. Four of them are on stones set upright in the ground on the right and left of the portico of the temple, and four are on stones leaning against the wall of the temple enclosure. The temple seems to be of considerable antiquity, but it is not remarkable for architectural beauty. Dr. Buchanan gives an account of some of the inscriptions of Banawâsi and its neighbourhood; but he was dependent for information as to their contents upon a Brâhmaṇ priest called Madhuliṅga who, to conceal his ignorance of the subject, drew pretty freely upon his power of imagination, and the result was the communication of a great deal of nonsense.

No. 1:—This inscription is in a state of very fine preservation. It is partially buried in the ground on the left as one faces the centre shrine; above the ground there are thirty-eight lines of about thirty-seven letters each. The emblems at the top of the tablet have been entirely effaced with the exception of part of the *liṅga*. The inscription opens with the statement that the earth was governed by the kings of the Châlukya race, sprung from Mânasabhava. The Châlukya king mentioned by name is Vibhu-

* *i.e.*, 'the lesser Baṅkâpura.'

† *i.e.* in the Śaka year 1042 (A.D. 1120-1).

Vikramadhavala-Pêrmâḍidêva or Vikramâdityadêva.* The inscription then proceeds to give the genealogy of a Kadamba chieftain Kîrttidêva, who was the subordinate of this king. The first of the Kadambas mentioned is king Chatta or Chattuga, who acquired also the name of Kaṭakadagôva. His son was Jayasiṁha. Jayasiṁha had five sons, Mâvuli, Taila or Tailapa, Śântayadêva, Jôkidêva, and Vikramâṅka.† The greatest among these was Tailapa, and to him and his wife Châvaṇḍaladêvî was born king Kîrtti. The inscription then proceeds to record grants that were made while the Great Chieftain king Kîrttidêva was governing the Banavâse Twelve-thousand. The portion containing the record of the grants and the date of the inscription is below the ground. The titles of Kîrttidêva are very similar to those of Jayakêsi III in the Kittûr stone referred to above.

No. 2.—The stone-tablet containing this inscription also is partially buried in the ground. Above the ground there are twenty-seven lines of about twenty-three letters each. The emblems at the top of the stone, very rudely engraved, are representations of the *liṅga* and Basava, with the sun and moon above them. The inscription is well-preserved and records grants made in the Śaka year 1290 (A. D. 1368-9), being the Kilaka *saṁvatsara*, while the Mahâpradhâna or Prime-Minister Mâdhavâṅka was governing the Banavase Twelve-thousand under the king Vîrabukkarâya who was ruling at Hastinâvatîpura‡. This Prime-Minister is the celebrated Mâdhavâchârya-Vidyâraṇya, the elder brother of Sâyaṇâchârya§, the author of commentaries on the Ṛigvêda and other works; Mâdhavâchârya himself was a scholar and author and was associated in some of his writings with his brother. Bukkarâya,—the younger brother of Harihara I; the son of Saṅgama of the Yâdava family; and the father of Harihara II,—succeeded his elder brother on the throne of Vijayanagara.

No. 3.—The stone-tablet containing this inscription stands by the side of No. 2. The emblems at the top of the tablet are:—In the centre, a *liṅga*: on its right, a cow and calf with the sun above them; and on its left, a lion with the moon above it. The inscription consists of twenty-nine lines of about twenty-five letters each, and records grants made in the Śaka year 990 (A.D. 1068-9), being the Kilaka *saṁvatsara*, while the Great Chieftain Kîrttivarmadêva‖,—the supreme lord of Banavâsipura; he who had on his banner a representation of (Garuḍa) the king of birds ¶; and whose crest was a lion,—was governing the Banavâsi Twelve-thousand. Just below the date a large portion of the surface of the stone has been chipped off; the rest of the inscription is in very good order.

No. 4.—The stone-tablet containing this inscription is on the right as one faces the central shrine. The emblems at the top of the tablet consist of a *liṅga* with the sun above it and a figure of Basava with the moon above it. The inscription consists of thirty-seven lines of about twenty-five letters each. The letters are of a large and somewhat modern type and are rather illegible and difficult to read. Owing to this and to my being pressed for time I could make out no more than that the inscription is dated Śaka 1321 (A. D. 1399—1400), being the Vikrama *saṁvatsara*, or, perhaps, Śaka 1521 (A.D. 1599-1600), being the Vilambi or Vikâri *saṁvatsara*; the first syllable only of the name of the *saṁvatsara* is legible.

No. 5.—The stone containing this inscription stands up against the N. wall of the enclosure of the temple. The emblems at the top of the stone, very rudely cut, are the figures of a man on horseback and of warriors or conquered enemies in front of him. The inscription consists of twenty-four lines of about forty-two letters each; it is in good order, but the letters are of a bad and somewhat modern type and difficult to read. The inscription is dated Śâlivâhanaśaka 1474 (A.D. 1552-3), being the

* Vikramâditya II of Sir W. Elliot.

† In Sir W. Elliot's Kâdamba genealogy, these five are given as the sons of Mayuravarma II, and the names of Chattuga, Jayasiṁha, Châvuṇḍaladêvî, and Kîrttidêva do not occur.

‡ 'Hastinâvatîpura' is perhaps a Sanskrit form of 'Âneguṇḍi,' the ancient name of the site on which Vijayanagara was built, and in later times the popular name of Vijayanagara itself.

§ In the colophon of the Mâdhavîyadhâtuvṛitti, quoted in a footnote to page 192 of Vol. V. of Dr. Reinhold Rost's edition of Prof. H. H. Wilson's works, Sâyaṇâchârya describes himself as "the prime minister of Saṅgama, the son of Kampa, monarch of the eastern, southern, and western oceans; the son of Mâyaṇa; and the uterine brother of Mâdhava."

‖ The name of Kîrttivarmadêva occurs in Sir W. Elliot's Kâdamba genealogy, but anterior by three intervening steps to Śaka 956. Perhaps this Kîrttivarmadêva is the same as the Kîrttidêva of No. 1 above.

¶ '*Sikhâcharêndradhvaja*',—this title is also applied to Harikêsaridêva in No. 1 of the Baṅkâpûr inscriptions.

Paridhâvi *saṁvatsara,* while the valorous king Sadâśivadêvaraya* was ruling at his capital of Vidyânagari.†

No. 6.—The stone-tablet containing this inscription stands up against the same wall. There are no emblems at the top of the stone. This inscription, again, is in good order, but the letters, as before, are not of a good type; it consists of thirty-one lines of about fifty letters each. With the exception that it belongs to the time of Sadâśivadêvamahârâya, I could not ascertain the date and contents of this inscription.

No. 7.—The stone-tablet containing this inscription stands against the E. wall of the enclosure of the temple. The emblems at the top of the stone are a *liṅga* with the sun above it and the figure of Basava with the moon above it. The inscription consists of twenty-two lines of about twenty-three letters each. The letters of this, again, are of a bad type and are also very much defaced, and with the limited time at my disposal I could not make out the contents.

No. 8.—The stone-tablet containing this inscription stands up against the wall as the preceding. The emblems at the top of the stone are the same as those of the preceding. There are traces of about eighteen lines, but hardly a letter is distinctly visible from beginning to end.

In one of the smaller shrines, outside the central temple but in the same courtyard, there is a handsomely carved stone 'Mañcha', *cot, bedstead,* or *litter,* on which the image of the god is carried about the town on the occasion of festivals. The following inscription on the litter is published at page 277 of the Canarese *School-Paper* for March 1873 by Śrinivâs Râmchandra Baṅkâpûr, Master of the Vernacular School at Badangôḍ in the North Canara District:—

श्रीवर्षे विभवे ऋतौ च श(शि)शिरे माघाख्यमासे सिते
पक्षे नाच्छिवरात्रसौम्यदिवसे से.दारघुक्ष्मभृना ।
पर्यंको इममयं(यो) वसंतकुतुकाः(?) आस्थानके मंट(ड)पे
दत्त(त्तः) श्रीमधुकेश्वराय रुचिरः श्रीमज्जयंतीपुरे ॥

With the corrections that I have suggested, the translation is:—"In the year Vibhava, in the dewy season‡, in the month of Mâgha, in the bright fortnight, on Wednesday the day of the Śivarâtri, this handsome litter of stone, intended for the festival of spring, was given to (the god) Śrî-Madhukêśvara by king Raghu of Sôdâ, at the prosperous city of Jayantîpura, in the pavilion used as a hall of audience."

The litter was shown to me when I was at Banawâsi, but the inscription was not pointed out to me nor did it attract my attention independently; I do not know exactly whereabouts on the litter it is. There is said to be another sacred litter or bedstead somewhere in the Fort, similar to the one mentioned above, but without a roof and destitute of any elaborate carvings.

The original of the inscription is, I presume, in the Kâyastha characters. The publisher of it in the Canarese *School-Paper* interprets the first word numerically as giving, by inverting according to rule the order of the letters, the date 641. The system according to which words meaning '*earth*' or '*sky*' are used to denote '*one*', words meaning '*arrow*' to denote '*five*', words meaning '*sun*' to denote '*twelve*', &c., is well-known. There is given, at page 22 of Brown's *Carnatic Chronology,* another system called 'Kaṭapayâdi', according to which each consonant of the Sanskrit alphabet has a numerical power; the table is as follows:—

1.	क	ट	प	य
2.	ख	ठ	फ	र
3.	ग	ड	ब	ल
4.	घ	ढ	भ	व
5.	ङ	ण	म	श
6.	च	त	—	ष
7.	छ	थ	—	स
8.	ज	द	—	ह
9.	झ	ध	—	ळ
0.	ञ	न	—	—

In both systems the unit is named first, then the ten, and so on, and the figures have accordingly to be reversed in reading off the date§. Such a word as '*Śrîvarshê*' of the text must be

* This king is not mentioned in the list of the kings of Vijayanagara given at page 281 of Vol. II. of Thomas' ed. of Prinsep's *Antiquities.* But his name occurs in other inscriptions,—*e g*, Major Dixon's No. 17, from Harihara, dated Saka 1476 or 1477, Ânanda *saṁvatsara*; and *id.*, No 24, or Mr. Hope's No. 38, *a*, from Harihara, dated Śaka 1483, Durmati *saṁvatsara.*

† A corruption of Vijayanagara.

‡ The two months Mâgha and Phâlguna, from about the middle of January to the middle of March.

§ "*Aṅkânâṁ vâmatô gatiḥ.*"

explained according to the Katapayâdi system, if it is to be explained numerically at all. And it is possible to extract from it the date 645, not 641 as given in the Canarese *School-Paper*; but there is an objection to this, viz., that the first and last letters of the word are compound letters and we should have to reject in each instance the letter '*r*' as superfluous, though it has a numerical power according to the table. Moreover, we have still nothing to indicate the initial date from which the date of the inscription is to be calculated; Vikramâditya-saṁvat 645 and Śaka 645 do not work out as the Vibhava *saṁvatsara* or anything near it; nor does Śake 1642, which may be arrived at by calculating the date from the reëstablishment of the Śaka era by the Chàlukya king Vikramâditya-Pêrmâḍidêva at the commencement of his reign in the year 998 of the original Śaka era.

The whole style of the inscription is against its being of any considerable age. 'Sôdà,' in the second line of the verse, is perhaps a mistake on the part of the copyist for 'Sôndà'; at any rate the modern 'Sundà' or 'Sôndâ', the ancient 'Sudhâ' or 'Sudhâpura', in North Canara, is evidently meant. And the king Raghu alluded to is as undoubtedly the Raghunâtha-Nàyaka who governed Sudhâpura under the sovereign of Vijayanagara* from Śaka 1541 to 1561. The Vibhava *saṁvatsara* occurred in his time, *viz.*, in Śaka 1550 (A.D. 1628-9), and this accordingly is the date of the inscription.

No. II.

This, again, is a Kàdamba inscription from Balagâṁve. I have edited it from Plate No. 69 of Major Dixon's work. The original, in the Old Canarese characters and language, is on a stone-tablet 5′ 1″ high by 1′ 9½″ broad. The emblems at the top of the stone are:—In the centre, some representation that I cannot clearly make out in the photograph; on its right, a seated figure, apparently Jain, with the moon above it; and on its left, a cow and calf with the sun above them.

The inscription records the grant, in the Śaka year 997 (A. D. 1075-6), being the Râkshasa *saṁvatsara*, of the village of Kundavige to the Vaishṇava temple of the god Nârasiṁhadêva of Baḷḷigâve. The grant was made by the Kâdamba Gaṅgapemmânadi-Bhuvanaikavîra-Udayâdityadêva, whose place in the genealogy I cannot at present determine, with the sanction of his sovereign the Châlukya king Sômêśvaradêva II.

It is to be noticed that Gaṅgapemmânadi-Bhuvanaikavîra-Udayâdityadêva, though subordinate to the Châlukya king, does not style himself a Chieftain or Great Chieftain and assumes some of the titles of a paramount sovereign.

Transcription.

[1] ನಾರಸಿಂಹವಪುಃ ಕೃತ್ವಾ ಸರ್ವ್ವಲೋಕಭಯಂಕರ(ರಂ) ಹಿರಣ್ಯಕಶಿಪುಂ ಜಘ್ನೇ
[2] ತಸ್ಮೈ ಸಿಂಹಾತ್ಮನೇ ನಮಃ ॥ ಶ್ರೀಮಚ್ಚಾಳುಕ್ಯಚಕ್ರೇಶ್ವರನತುಳಬಳಂ ತ್ರೈಲಪಂ
[3] ಶೌಬ್ರ(ವ್ರ)ತೇಜೋಧಾಮಂ ಸತ್ಯಾಶ್ರಯಂ ವಿಕ್ರಮಗುಣನಿಳಯಂ ವಿಕ್ರಮಾದಿ-
[4] ತ್ಯನತ್ಯುದ್ದಾಮಂ ಸನ್ದಯ್ಯಂಗಣಂ ಸಾಹಸನಿಧಿ ಜಯಸಿಂಹಂ ಧರಾಚಕ್ರಲಕ್ಷ್ಮೀ-
[5] ಧಾಮಂ ತ್ರೈಳೋಕ್ಯಮಲ್ಲಂ ನೆಗಳೆ ನೆಗಟ್ಟುದಿ ಪ್ರಾಜ್ಯಚಾಳುಕ್ಯರಾಜ್ಯಂ ॥ ತನ್ನ್ರಿ(ನ್ನೃ)ಪ-
[6] ನನ್ದನಂ ಭುವನವನ್ದ್ಯಗುಣಂ ಭುವನಯ್ಯ(sc. ನೈಕ)ಮಲ್ಲದೇವನ್ನರನಾಧರಾಜ್ಯರಮಣೀ-
[7] ರಮಣೀಯಪರಾರ್ದ್ಧ್ಯ(ರ್ದ್ಧ್ಯ)ಭೂಷಣಂ ಪನ್ನಗರಾಜಭೂಷಣಪದಾಬ್ಜಪರಾಗಪವಿ-
[8] ತ್ರಶೇಖರಂ ಪ್ರೋನ್ನತಕೀರ್ತ್ತಿದೀಧಿತಿಸುಧಾಧವಳೀಕೃತವಿಶ್ವವಿಷ್ಟಪಂ ॥ ಸ್ವಸ್ತಿ ಸ-
[9] ಮಸ್ತಭುವನಾಶ್ರಯ ಶ್ರೀಪೃಥ್ವೀವಲ್ಲಭ ಮಹಾರಾಜಾಧಿರಾಜ ಪರಮೇಶ್ವರ ಪ-
[10] ರಮಭಟ್ಟಾರಕಂ ಸತ್ಯಾಶ್ರಯಕುಳತಿಳಕಂ ಚಾಳುಕ್ಯಾಭರಣಂ ಶ್ರೀಮದ್ಭುವನಯ್ಯ(sc. ನೈಕ)-
[11] ಮಲ್ಲದೇವರ ವಿಜೆ(ಜ)ಯರಾಜ್ಯಮುತ್ತರೋತ್ತರಾಭಿವೃಧಿ(ದ್ಧಿ)ಪ್ರವರ್ದ್ಧ(ರ್ದ್ಧ)ಮಾನಮಾಚನ್ದ್ರಾರ್ಕ್ಕ-
[12] ತಾರಂ ಸಲುತ್ತಮಿರೆ ॥ ವೃತ್ತ ॥ ಆಪೃಥ್ವಿ(ಥ್ವೀ)ಶ್ವರಪಾದಪಂಕರುಹಸೇವಾತತ್ಪರಂ ವಿ-
[13] ಕ್ರಮಾಟೋಪಪ್ರೋದ್ಧಟಸಾಹಿತಪ್ರಕರಸನ್ನಾಕ್ರಾನ್ತ್ವಣೀಪಾಳಾರ್ಜ್ಜಿತಶ್ರೀಪಾದಾಂ.

* Dr Buchanan, Vol. II. p. 350

[14] ಬುರುಹಂ ವಿರೋಧಿನೃಪತಿಜಡಾರೋಪಿತಾಜ್ಞಾಪ್ರಭಾವೋಪೇತಂ ಭುವನೈ(ನೈಕ)ವೀರ-
[15] ನೆನಿಪಂ ಶ್ರೀಗಂಗತಕ್ರಾಯುಧಂ ◎ ಕನ್ದ ◎ ಶ್ರೀಮಹಿಮಾರ್ಣ್ಣವನಖಿಳಕ್ಷ್ಮಾಮರಚ-
[16] ಕ್ರೇಶನಾತ್ತಭುಜಬಳವಿಜಯೋದ್ದಾಮಂ ಬ್ರಹ್ಮಕ್ಷತ್ರಶಿಖಾಮಣಿ . ರಾಜಾಧಿ-
[17] ರಾಜನುದೆ(ದ)ಯಾದಿತ್ಯ ◎ ಸ್ವಸ್ತಿ ಸಮಸ್ತಭುವನಸ್ತುತಬ್ರಹ್ಮಕ್ಷತ್ರವಿರಾಸ್ವ-
[18] ಯ ಶ್ರೀಪೃಥ್ವೀವಲ್ಲಭ ಮಹಾರಾಜಾ* ಧಿರಾಜ ಪರಮೇಶ್ವರಂ ಕೊ(?ಕೋ)ಳಾಳಪುರಮ(ವ)ರೇ-
[19] ಶ್ವರಂ ನನ್ದಗಿರಿನಾಥಂ ಮದಗಜೇನ್ದ್ರಲಾಂಛನಂ ಸೋಮೇಶ್ವರಲಬ್ಧವರಪ್ರಸಾ-
[20] ದಂ ಸಂಗಕುಸುಮಾಯುಧಂ ಸನ್ನಿಯಗಂಗಂ ಜಯದುತ್ತರಂಗಂ ಸಕಳಜನಚಿನ್ತಾ-
[21] ಮಣಿ ಮಣ್ಡಳಿಕಮಕುಟಚೂಡಾಮಣಿ ಶ್ರೀಮದ್ಗಂಗಪೆಮ್ಮಾನಡಿಭುವ-
[22] ನೈ(ನೈಕ)ವೀರನುದೆ(ದ)ಯಾದಿತ್ಯದೇವಂ ಬನವಸೆಪನ್ನಿರ್ಚ್ಛಾಸಿರಂ ಸಾನ್ತಳಿಗೆಸಾ-
[23] ಸಿರಮುಮಂ ಮಣ್ಡಳಿಸಾಸಿರಮುಂ ಪದಿನೆಂಟಗ್ರಹಾರಮುಮಂ ದುಷ್ಟನಿಗ್ರ-
[24] ಹವಿಶಿಷ್ಟಪ್ರತಿಪಾಳನದಿನಾಳುತ್ತುಂ ಪ್ರತ್ಯನ್ತವಾಸಿಗಳಪ್ಪ ಚೇರಚೋ-
[25] ಳಪಾಣ್ಡ್ಯಪಲ್ಲವಪ್ರಭೃತಿಗಳನಲೆದಾಟನ್ದು ಕಪ್ಪಮಂ ಕೊಣ್ಡು ಚತುರ್ವ್ವರ್ಣ-
[26] ದ್ಧರ್(ದ್ಧರ್)ಪರ್ಯ್ಯನ್ತಂ ನೆಲಸಂ ನಿಮಿರ್ಚ್ಚಿ ವಿಜೆ(ಜಿ)ಗೀಷುವೃತ್ತಿಯನಪ್ಪ ಕೆಯ್ದು ಸುಖಸಂಕಥಾ-
[27] ವಿನೋದದಿಂ ರಾಜಧಾನಿ ಬಳ್ಳಿಗಾವೆಯೊಳಿರ್ದ್ದು ಧರ್ಮ್ಮಬುದ್ಧಿ(ದ್ಧಿ)ಯಿಂ ನಿಜಸ್ವಾ-
[28] ಮಿ ಶ್ರೀಮದ್ಭುವನೈ(ನೈಕ)ಮಲ್ಲದೇವರ್ಗ್ಗೆ ಬಿನ್ನಪಂಗೆಯ್ದು ಪರಮೇಶ್ವರದತ್ತಿ
[29] ಮಾಡಿ ರಾಜಧಾನಿ ಬಳ್ಳಿಗಾವೆಯ ಪೆರ್ಗ್ಗಟ್ಟದೇರಿಯ ಮೂಗಣ ಶ್ರೀಮನ್ನಾರ-
[30] ಸಿಂಹದೇವರ ದೇಗುಲದ ಪೆಸರ್ಕ್ಕಂ ದೇವಪೂಜೆಗಂ ಸ(ಶ)ಕವರ್ಷ ೯೯೭ನೆಯ
[31] ರಾಕ್ಷಸಸಂವತ್ಸರದ ಪುಷ್ಯ ಶುದ್ಧ(ದ್ಧ) ೧ ಸೋಮವಾರದನ್ದಿನುತ್ತರಾಯಣ-
[32] ಸಂಕ್ರಾನ್ತಿಪರ್ವ್ವ(ರ್ವ್ವ)ನಿಮಿತ್ತದಿನದಲ್ಲಿಯು ಮುಖ್ಯರಪ್ಪ ಶ್ರೀಮತ್ಪೂರ್ಣ್ಣನನ್ದಭ-
[33] ಟ್ಟಾರಕರ ಕಾಲಂ ಕರ್ಚ್ಚಿ(?ರ್ಚ್ಚಿ) ಧಾರಾಪೂರ್ವ್ವಕಂ ಸರ್ವ್ವ(ರ್ವ್ವ)ನಮಸ್ಯವಾಗೆ ಬಿಟ್ಟ ಬನವಸೆನಾ-
[34] ಡ ಕಂಪಣಂ ಮುಗುನ್ದ ಪನ್ನೆರಡರ ಬಳಿಯ ಬಾಡ ಕುನ್ದವಿಗೆ ೧ [॥] ಈ ಧರ್ಮ್ಮಮನಾ-
[35] ವನೊರ್ಬ್ಬಂ ಪ್ರತಿಪಾಳಿಸಿದಂ ಗಯೆಯೊಳ್ಗಂಗೆಯೊಳ್ ಕುರುಕ್ಷೇತ್ರದೊಳ್ ವಾರಣಾ-
[36] ಸಿಯೊಳ್ ಪ್ರಯಾಗೆಯೊಳ್ಸಾಸಿರ ಕವಿಲೆಯ ಕೋಡುಂ ಕೊಳಗುಮಂ ಪಂಚ-
[37] ರತ್ನಂಗಳಿಂ ಕಟ್ಟಿಸಿ ವೇದಪಾರಗರಪ್ಪ ಬ್ರಾಹ್ಮಣೋ(ಣ)ರ್ಗ್ಗೆ ಕೊಟ್ಟ ಫಲಮನೆ-
[38] ಯ್ದುಗುಂ [॥] ನ ವಿಷಂ ವಿಷಮಿತ್ಯಾಹುರ್ದೇ(ರ್ದ್ದೇ)ವಸ್ವಂ ವಿಷಮುಚ್ಯತೇ ವಿಷಮೇಕಾಕಿನಂ
[39] ಹನ್ತಿ ದೇವಸ್ವಂ ಪುತ್ರಪೌತ್ರಿಕಂ ॥

Translation.

Reverence to him, the lion-hearted, who, having assumed the form that belonged to him in his incarnation as the Man-lion, slew Hiraṇyakaśipu† who was the cause of fear to all mankind!

The extensive sway of the Châḷukyas was glorious in the glory of Tailapa of unequalled strength, who was the prosperous universal emperor of the Châḷukyas,—of Satyâśraya‡, who was the abode of fierce brilliance,—of Vikramâditya, who was the receptacle of the quality of heroism,—of Ayyaṇa§, who was self-willed and

* This letter,—ಹಾ,—was at first omitted in the original and afterwards inserted below its place in the line.

† Hiraṇyakaśipu, the king of the Daityas or demons, persecuted his son Prahlâda for his devotion to Vishṇu. At last Vishṇu, to protect his worshipper, issued in a form which was partly that of a lion and partly that of a man from a pillar in the hall in which the king and his attendants were seated, tore Hiraṇyakaśipu to pieces, and made Prahlâda king of the Daityas in his stead.

‡ According to Sir W. Elliot's genealogy Satyâśraya,—not the first of the Châḷukyas who acquired that name,—was the son of Tailapa; Vikramâditya, the son of Satyâśraya; Ayyaṇa, the younger brother of Vikramâditya; Jayasiṁha, the younger brother of Vikramâditya; Trailokyamalla, the son of Jayasiṁha; and Bhuvanaikamalla, the eldest son of Trailôkyamalla.

§ Having never met in any other inscription with this name, I follow Sir W. Elliot and divide the '*sandayyaṇam*' of the text into '*sanda ayyaṇam*.' '*Sanda*' must then be taken as the past relative participle of '*sallu*', *to be current* (of money); *to pass* (of time); *to be valid, fit, proper; to be paid or liquidated; to die; to be extended*; e.g. '*sanda hana*,' *money received*, '*sandaninda rollla*', *not among the dead nor among the living*. But '*sanda*' gives no satisfactory meaning in the present passage unless it is taken as simply equivalent to '*âpa*' or '*âda*', *who became, who was*; and it is possible that the name may be Sandayyaṇa instead of simply Ayyaṇa. The name does not occur at all in Mr. Wathen's list of the Châḷukyas as given in Thomas' edition of Prinsep's *Antiquities*.

haughty,—of the impetuous Jayasiṁha,*—and of Trailôkyamalla, who was the abiding-place of the goddess of fortune in the form of the circle of the earth. The son of that king was Bhuvanaikamalla* whose good qualities were worthy to be praised in the world,—who was the inestimable ornament of those who were the lovers of the lovely woman Kingly Sway,—whose chaplet of flowers on his head was (made) pure by the pollen of the lotuses which are the feet of him† who is decorated with the king of serpents (and before which he bowed in worship),—and who made the whole world radiantly white with the updarted rays of his glory.

Hail! While the victorious reign of the prosperous Bhuvanaikamalladêva,—the asylum of the universe, the favourite of the world, the supreme king of great kings, the supreme lord, the most venerable, the glory of the family of Satyâśraya, the ornament of the Chaḷukyas,—was flourishing with perpetual increase so as to endure as long as the moon and sun and stars might last:—

He, who was intent upon doing service (as if he were a bee) to the lotuses which were the feet of that lord of the earth‡, was resplendent,—namely Bhuvanaikavira, who had numbers of enemies by reason of the luxuriant growth of the self-conceit of valour,—who had the lotuses which were his feet worshipped by other kings,—who was imbued with majesty resulting from his commands which were borne on the top-knots of other kings§,—and who was a very Chakrâyudha‖ of a Srî-Gaṅga.

A very ocean of the magnitude of good fortune; a very Chakrêśa¶ towards all Brâhmaṇs; unrestrained in respect of the victories of the strength of his own arm; the best of Brahmakshatras*; the supreme king of kings;—such was Udayâditya.

Hail! While the fortunate Gaṅgapemmânadi-Bhuvanaikavîra-Udayâdityadêva,—he who belonged to the brave lineage of Brahmakshatras which is praised over the whole world; the favourite of the world; the supreme king of great kings: the supreme lord; the excellent lord of the city of Kŏḷâḷapura: the lord of Nandagiri; he who had for his crest an infuriated royal elephant; he who acquired the excellent favour of (the god) Sômêśvara; he who was a very Kusumâyudha† in respect of his affection; Nanniyagaṅga ‡; he who was the portal of victory §; he who granted the desires of all mankind; he who was the crest-jewel of the diadems of chieftains,—punishing the wicked and protecting the good, was governing the Banavase Twelve-thousand, the Sântaḷige‖ Thousand, the Maṇḍali Thousand, and the Eighteen Agrahâras; and while,—having ruined the kings of Chêra, Chôḷa, Pâṇḍya, and Pallava, and others who dwelt on his frontiers, and having levied tribute (from them), and having extended his territories up to the limits of the four oceans, and having pursued the career of one who is desirous of conquest,—he was abiding at his capital of Baḷḷigâve with the recreation of pleasing conversations¶:—having from a religious impulse preferred his request to his master the prosperous Bhuvanaikamalladêva*, and having made an offering to (the god) Paramêśvara,†—on the occasion of the festival of the sun's commencing his progress to the north

* Sômêśvaradêva II, Śaka 991 to 998, Sir W. Elliot.

† Vishṇu, whose couch is the serpent Śêsha.

‡ The phrase in the text corresponds to '*tatpâdapadm-opajîvin*', *he who subsists (as a bee does) on the lotuses which are his feet*, which is the term usually employed to denote the relations of a subordinate chieftain with the supreme sovereign.

§ The allusion is to the oriental custom of placing written commands on the forehead as a token of submissiveness and obedience.

‖ *i.e.*, 'a most excellent Śrî-Gaṅga': '*chakrâyudha*', *he who is armed with the discus*, being an epithet of Vishṇu, and the word 'Vishṇu', or more commonly 'Nârâyaṇa', being used in the sense of *excellent, preeminent*, [illegible]. Or '*Srîgaṅgachakrâyudha*' may mean *he who is armed with the discus of Srî-Gaṅga*; or again,—a possible analysis being '*srî-aṅgana-chakrâyudha*',—[illegible] the goddess of fortune. But, as it is seen below that Gaṅga was one of Bhuvanaikavîra's names, probably the meaning that I have given in the text is the one really intended.

¶ The lord of the discus,—Vishṇu; perhaps the allusion is to the Buddha *avatâra*, when Vishṇu became incarnate as a sage to reform the religion of the Brâhmans.

* Members of a family of both Brâhman and Kshatriya origin, *i.e.*, of mixed descent.

† 'The flower-armed',—Kâmadêva, the god of love; his bow is made of flowers, the string of it is a row of bees, and his five arrows are each tipped with a flower which exercises a particular influence over one or other of the senses.

‡ Meaning not apparent; '*nanniya*' may be the genitive of the Old Canarese '*nanni*', *love, truth*. This and the epithet '*jayaduttaraṅga*' are also applied to Gaṅgapermanaḍi-Vikramâdityadêva in No. 1 of the Bankâpur inscriptions.

§ '*Jayaduttaraṅga*',—the analysis seems to be '*jayada uttaraṅga*'.

‖ In line 24 of No. 72 of Major Dixon's work the form of this name is Sântaḷi; in other passages it occurs in its present form.

¶ '*Sukhasaṅkathâvinôdadiṁ*'; occasionally '*sankathâ*' is written for '*saṅkathâ*'. This phrase is of perpetual occurrence, its exact purport is not clear, but it denotes in some way one of the attributes of sovereignty.

* The Chalukya king.

† 'The supreme lord',—an epithet of Vishnu, Indra, Jina or, most frequently, Śiva.

on Monday the first day of the bright fortnight of the month Pushya of the Râkshasa *saṁvatsara* which was the year of the Śaka 997, he laved the feet of the holy Pûrṇanandabhaṭṭâraka, who was the chief (saint) of that place, and set apart,—with oblations of water and as a grant to be respected by all,—for the decoration of the temple of the god the holy Nârasiṁhadêva, who was located above the bank of the tank called Pèrgaṭṭa* of the capital of Baḷḷigâve, and for the worship of the god,—the one (town) of Kundavige, a town which was near to† the Mugund Twelve which was a *kampana*‡ of the Banavase District.

Whosoever preserves this act of piety shall obtain as much religious merit as if he were to cause the horns and hoofs of a thousand tawny-coloured cows to be fashioned out of the five jewels§ at Gaye, or Gaṅge, or Kurukshêtra, or Vâraṇâsi, or Prayâge, and were to give them to Brâhmaṇs thoroughly well versed in the Vêdas! They say that poison is not poison, but the property of a god is called poison; for, poison slays only one, but the property of a god, (if confiscated), destroys one's children and their posterity.

* 'The tank of the large flight of steps or ghaut',—'*gaṭṭa*' being a Tadbhava corruption of '*ghaṭṭa*'.

† '*Baḷai*'.

‡ I have shown that '*kampana*' is a convertible term with '*nâḍu*' in its second meaning of *a circle of towns constituting an administrative post*; see Note 37 to No. VII of the Raṭṭa inscriptions previously referred to. '*Bîḍu*', a Tadbhava corruption of the Sanskrit '*vîṭi*', *enclosure of a town* or *village, fence, wall, hedge, &c.*, occurs here in its first meaning of a *town*; it occurs frequently as '*wâḍ*' as the termination of the modern names of villages. '*Kampana*' is probably another form of the Canarese '*kampila kampila*', *a cluster, heap, assemblage, multitude*. In No. I of the Baṅkâpur inscriptions this word is written '*kanpana*', the only instance in which I have yet met with it in that form.

§ Gold, the diamond, the sapphire, the ruby, and the pearl; or, gold, silver, coral, the pearl, and the Râgapatta.

SEVEN LIṄGÂYTA LEGENDS.

BY REV. F. KITTEL, MERKARA.

The following legends, of which a literal translation is given, are taken from the *Anubhavaśikhâmaṇi*, a popular Liṅgâyta composition in Kannaḍa (Canarese). It was finished on a Monday (*sômavâra*) which was the fifth lunar day (*pañchamî*) of the dark lunar fortnight (*bahula*) of the sixth lunar month (*bâhdrapada*) of the sarvadhâri year. One of our copies dates from 1844 A.D. Its contents, however, as the author states, are based on a work by the Liṅgâyta poet Râghava, who lived about 1300 A.D., and was the nephew and pupil of the guru and poet Hari, called also Hari Hara and Hari Deva. At least three of the legends are alluded to in the 54th chapter of the Kannaḍa *Basava Purâṇa* of 1369 A.D., the author of which knew the celebrated Râghava and his uncle. The allusions are contained in the following sentences:—"Pârvatîśvara (as Vîrabhadra) took the form of Śarabha, destroyed the Narahari (Narasiṁha), and put on the skin-cloth." (v. 42; No. 5.) "When that Sanatsuta (Sanatkumâra) became proud in the presence of Śrî Sadâśiva, did he not become a camel?" (No. 1.) "When the master Vyâsa, from rudeness, said: 'Even Vâsudeva is god!' and raised his hand, did not *Nandikêśa* become angry, and squeeze and break his arms?" (v. 49; conf. 57, 24; No. 6.) Besides, the author of the *Purâṇa* puts these words into the mouth of the Liṅgâyta Sŏḍḍaḷa Bâchiarasa (Bâchi râja, Bâchi ayya), a contemporary of Basava at Kalyâṇa in the Nizâm's country who was the founder of the Liṅgâyta sect; Bâchi at the time is represented as being angry with king Bijjaḷa for his setting up an image of Govinda. The author therefore refers the existence of the legends to the end of the 12th century A.D. Captain Mackenzie (vol. II. page 49 of this journal) says that the story brought forward by him concerning Vyâsa's arm is from the *Skanda Purâṇa*; to a Sañskrit version of the story the ślokas interwoven with the present Kannaḍa version also point. Further, the Vaishṇava dâsa song quoted in vol. II. p 311 of this journal (conf. vol. II. p. 133). seems to indicate that *Vyâsa's arm* and *Nandi's staff* were already in existence in Râmânuja's time, about 1127 A.D.

So the legends give us some insight into the time when the Vîra Śaivas and Vîra Vaishṇavas in the south were fighting with each other for supremacy, using all sorts of weapons; that about the *janivára* (janvi) is

interesting in so far as it states the vulgar tradition of how the Pañchâḷas came to wear it.*

The legends require the reader to look upon Śiva as the Parabrahma, and upon his phase in the Trimûrti as preeminent. They have not been fabricated by the old Smârtas, or by the followers of Hari Hara, *i.e.* such as believe that Hari and Hara are one; but by the (Śuddha or)† Vîra Śaivas, namely, Liṅgâytas. The abovementioned Sōḍḍaḷa Bâchi râja is introduced in the same chapter of the *Basava Purâṇa* as saying: "Did not Hara (*i.e.* the remover), surging with wrath, make a removal (*apa-haraṇa*) of the name Hari Hara?" (v. 45.) "Even Abhava (Śiva) is the donor of important gifts! Could there be any such among the (other) donor-lords as would give what one wishes? Brahmâ, Vishṇu, Jina and the other masters, to whom have they ever given everlasting bliss?" (v. 66.) "Words that say: 'Vishṇu is all that Śiva is (*yathâ-Śiva-maya*)!', bad speeches that say: 'The Trimûrti is the very Śiva!', wicked devices that say: 'The Ashtamûrtis‡ are the very Śiva!', and those who say: '(Other) men are equal to Śiva's devotees!' cannot be heard (by one) without committing an excessive crime."

Hari Hara, Hari Îśvara, or Hari Deva, if used as a name by Liṅgâytas (and other Vîra Śaivas), denotes "Śiva who is the master of Hari." The author of the Kannaḍa *Basava Purâṇa*, no doubt, was an opponent of the old Smârtas, and probably a personal antagonist of Mâdhavâchârya Sâyaṇa, whose patrons were the kings Harihara and Bukka of Vidyânagara (Ânegundi), and who was pontiff at Sriṅgeri from 1331 to 1386 A.D.§

Conclusion of Chapter IX.

"King of gurus, Gautama, lord of the rishis! By you I have become extremely pure," said he (king Gambhîra of Ratnagiri), bowed down at his feet, joined (and raised) his hands (to his forehead, in supplication), praised him till his mouth was tired, and made another good request, saying: "Why did the son of king Mahandâta of Karaḍikallu (*i.e.* bear-stone) receive the name of Hara's *Bilva* tree? Why did the name *janivâra* come into existence on earth? Tell me!" The muni said: "Lord of the land, chief of kings! Out of love I shall let thee know this. Hear!" (When Satyaśivayogi thus related how Gautama once instructed Gambhîra), the ruler of the land (Uttamottama râya of Kântâvatîpura) joined his hands, and said (to his guru): "O Satyaśivayogi, master of the munis! I shall be a fortunate man, my various sins will be burnt up: O guru, I shall listen with joy if you bestow the favour (of telling me the stories)." (He replied): "By the grace of the Virûpâksha liṅga of Hampĕ that is very great on earth,‖ I shall tell them."

Chapter X.

When Gambhîra inquired about the root of the two, viz. of the manner in which king Billama of Karaḍikallâpura was born on earth, and of the *janivara*, Gautama, from love, told him (the following, beginning with praise): "When at the deluge the earth was covered with clouds, and together with the Trimûrti was continually sinking and rising like a flock of birds, and, without support, cried from anxiety, the beautiful Basava (Vrishabha) was kind enough to take it up with his tail, O my master, Hampĕ's Virûpâksha!"

1. *King Billama.*

Hear, ruler of the land, Uttamottama râya! I shall relate so that thou mayest know all that Parabrahma's¶ guru (Gautama) communicated to his disciple. On the tableland of Rajatagiri (silver mountain*) there grew in a lovely way three *Bilva* trees fit for Kâpâladhara (the skull-bearer, *i.e.* Śiva): two trees with two leaves; and opposite to the two of this description there was a Bilva tree with one leaf.† In the shade of the two there were two ascetics: Durvâsa, an incarnation of Hara, and Kauṇḍinya muni. Another lord of the munis, Devala,

* Conf. *Ind. Ant.* vol. II. p. 214.

† Though the Liṅgâytas are Śuddha Śaivas, these existed before them. Already in the years 1229-30 A.D. we find a Liṅgâyta, who was a Śuddha-śaiva-[illegible]; *Jour. Bomb. Br. R. As. Soc.* 1873-74, No. xxix. p. 285.

‡ Ashṭamûrti is one of the names of Śiva; the *eight forms* by which he is supposed to have manifested himself are earth, water, fire, wind, [illegible], sun, moon, and soul. Conf. the urvi-gagana-mihira-amala-marut-sa[illegible]-vat-ashṭamûrti in the beginning of the Śâsana of 1229-30 A.D. of p. 273 of the same number of the *Jour. Bomb. Br. R. As. Soc.*

§ See Dr Burnell's *Vaṁśa Brâhmaṇa*, pp. xiv. xv.

‖ Hampĕ [illegible] Pampâ. It is the once celebrated place on the Tuṅgabhadrâ near Vidyânagara.

¶ Here Parabrahma is Śiva.

* Probably the Himâlaya or Kailâsa.

† The meaning of this, I think, can only be that the leaves of the first two trees consisted each of two parts, whereas the leaves of the other one were single.

was performing austerities in the shade of the tree with (leaves of) one leaf; he had a disciple. On a certain day, to make pûjâ to the liñga in his hand, he gave him the order: "Take (some) leaves* of the Bilva of one leaf, and bring them!" He went, and said (to himself): "I shall take;" but he could not reach them with his hand. Not daring to climb (the tree) lest he might sin, nor to go back (without the leaves), he looked round about, and, lo, there lay the skeleton of a camel. He trod and stood on it, took leaves, and brought and gave them to the guru. When he (Devala) came to know (the particulars), he said with wrath: "Didst thou dare to tread on bones and take down these leaves?! Be born in the womb of low people (*holeyar*)! Go!" Then Durvâsa and Kauṇḍinya muni, with great wrath, said to that lord of munis: "Dost thou not know?! When Sanatkumâra was proud and provoked Śañkara, the father of many deities, he said: 'Become a camel!' When he (Sanatkumâra) asked: 'At what time (will) the deliverance from the curse (happen)?' he gave the order: 'When thou hast died at the completion of thy age, and the disciple of the great Devala, the lord of the munis, treads on thy bones, on thy backbones, and cuts off Bilva leaves of one leaf, thy curse shall cease.' Afterwards, when he (Sanatkumâra) was thus lying, by means of this man (thy disciple) he saw Śiva's feet (*i.e.* was redeemed). Seeing this, canst thou speak in such a manner?!" Then he (Devala) became astonished, and said: "Let him nevertheless be born as a cowherd (*dhanapâla*)! Let him be called king of Karaḍikallâpura, and be conspicuous by the name of this (Bilva or Bilma) tree!" But they said: "King of the munis! As thou art his guru, be thou born, unhesitatingly teach him the whole road of knowledge, thereupon come with him, and enter thy hermitage!" He consented. Hear further, king! The lord of Karaḍikalpaṭṭaṇa, Mahandâta râya, wished for a son; but his wife had given birth only to girls. When she again became pregnant, the king grew angry, and said to his minister: "If now she gives birth to a female I will cut her throat without fearing to commit the murder of a woman." He heard (the words) to his grief; and when she again gave birth to a female, he quickly took the child, walked through the town (*ûru*), and inquired: "Has nowhere a male been born?" Finding none, he looked to a house in the outer street (where the low people use to live), and went (to it), when *the disciple* of Devala, the lord of the munis, had been born (therein). From compassion he entered, put this child there, took that male child with him, put it at her (the queen's) side, and brought and told the news (of a son having been born) to his master. With the words: "Is it truth or falsehood?" he (the king) went and saw; then he was immersed in the sea of joy, straightway gave all the gifts to the Brâhmaṇas, and distributed cart-loads of sugar. Thereafter he gave (the boy) the name Billama,† performed the ceremony of (giving) the name, and lived in happiness. When Billama had attained to manhood, Mahandâta, from love, had his marriage performed, fastened the royal insignia on him, and went to the abode of the enemy of Cupid (*i.e.* to Kailâsa); but his son ruled the kingdom in happiness, and behaved truthfully. Meanwhile Devala muni, his guru, was born in the world of mortals, was called "master of the (guru-) caste," came quickly (to Billama), uttered the *âgamas* of Śiva, gave him the *dîkshâ*, and entered the cave of Hara, that of Kuṇi (*i.e.* hole) Someśvara. When the king, who had obtained excellent divine knowledge, lived in happiness, his minister Mallayya did not bow his head (before him), and was distant towards him. The lord of the land observed it, had him called, and told him: "Have some Bilva leaves of one leaf brought, and give them to me for the liñga pûjâ!" He said: "Well!" called for the servants, and gave the order. They sought (for the leaves) till they became fatigued, came to the minister, joined their hands and told him. When he had heard (their tale), he was astonished, went to the ruler of the land, and begged (his advice). He gracefully listened, and spoke: "If I tell thee the place, wilt thou alone, with joy, go and bring (the leaves)?" To this he

* Here and further on the text has this noun in the Singular using it for the Plural, as is most frequently so in Kannaḍa with regard to collectives.

† The proper meaning of Billama seems to be "he of the billu (bow)," Billama being another form of Billava. The toddy-drawers of the Tulu country are called Billavas, *i.e.* they of the bow. As Billava and Billa mean the same, it is natural to think that Sañskṛit Bhilla and Dravidian Billa are identical, both denoting "a bowman."

replied: "Without delay, in half an hour, I shall bring," when he (the king) made him acquainted with the manner, and dismissed him. He quickly went to the place of that tree, but looking at it and finding he could not reach (the leaves), he said: "What shall I do?" and felt distressed. Looking this way and that way, he saw the skeleton lying there, and saying: "I, with joy, shall now tread on this and try," he approached it. When the two munis (Durvâsa and Kauṇḍinya) saw that, they said: "Oh, do not! when the disciple of Devala muni, who, sitting in the shade of this tree, was performing austerities, trod on this and cut off (some leaves), he, by the guru's curse, was born in the womb of low people (*holeya*), became king of Karaḍikalpaṭṭaṇa, has (now) a good report, and is conspicuous by the name of the tree. Devala muni said he would become the master of the guru-caste, point out Hara's road (*to his disciple*), make him pure, bring him (back), and as before, like us, live in the shade of this tree: then he went away, and has not yet returned. Do not tread on it! Go silently as thou hast come!" He joined his hands, quickly went (back) to the lord of the land, prostrated, and said: "O treasure of honour! you knew the alienation of my heart, and have cleansed me. I am attached to your feet." The king took his hand, and put him in a happy position, O Gambhîra!

2. *The Janivâra.*

Hear now the particulars of the *janivâra*, O best of kings! I shall dilate upon the particulars which the muni (Gautama) told to the king, so that thou mayest know them all. In the beginning Siva built the glorious Kailâsa, Vaikuṇṭha, and Satyaloka for the Trimûrti, gave them to the three, called Viśvakarma, and said: "Measure the three (towns)!" "Wherewith shall I do so?" he asked. He (Śiva) took and gave him the *yajñopavîta* of Vâsugê (*i.e.* Vâsuki, the king of serpents); then he easily measured the three towns, not feeling fatigued measured also the fourteen worlds, came to Śiva's feet, and said: "So many." He said: "How many? Tell me the amount!" "The top alone of the house of Kailâsa is 324, the rest I could not measure and left it: Vaikuṇṭha is 288, and Satyaloka just as many: all the beautiful fourteen worlds have also just as many," said he. Then he (Śiva) said: "Ho! Make measuring cords (*dhâra*) with care and put them on your necks: and if it meets with your wishes, let them be your sign!" They made them carefully, and put them on with joy. [Then follows an account of how first Îśvara or Hara dressed cotton, and in a certain manner prepared his cord; but as the description enters so much into details, it cannot well be understood without seeing the process actually performed. Thereupon the story proceeds to say:] On the first knot (*gaṇṭu*) Hara fastened that slip-knot, called it the *knot of Parabrahma*, and put it as a *yajñopavîta* on the neck of Rudra. Hari (in the beginning) span all just as Śiva had done, (but then took his own particular course, and after having put the final knot) called it the *knot of Vishṇu*, put it as (his) *yajñopavîta* on his own neck, bowed down to Śiva's feet, and then stood with his hands joined. Except the knot of the left, Brahmâ very quickly made all just as Hari had done, without delay called it the *knot of Brahmâ*, put it as (his) *yajñopavîta* on his own neck, bowed to Mṛiḍa (Śiva), and then stood with his hands joined. Viśvakarma made (his cord) according to the knot of Vishṇu, joined left and right, made a slip-knot of a hand-twist, put Hari's knot into it, tightened it, called it the *knot of Viśvakarma*, put it as (his) *yajñopavîta* on his own neck, bowed to Hara, and then stood with his hands joined. Śiva looked at the four, and he, the lord of the world, spoke: "That no fight may arise between the members of your families (*vaṅśika*), make and use these (cords)! Who asks about the walk of the world? For the walk of the families (or castes, *kula*) has this *janivâra* come into existence.* Regarding family the Brâhmaṇa is Śrî Maheśvara; regarding family the Kshatriya is Nârâ-

* The relater, as it would appear, has considered the first part of the compound of *janivâra*, *jani*, to mean "birth," "caste," especially also as he uses a verb of the root *jan* to express "to come into existence." *Vâra* is a skein of thread: but the relater seems to give it the meaning of barrier. Thus, *janivâra* = that which keeps the castes within bounds. But the word is not connected with the root *jan*, as is shown by the Telugu forms *jandhyamu*, *jandemu*, *jandhamu*. Both in Telugu and Kannada *janna* is a tadbhava of *yajña*. In an old copy of a Kannada *ṭîkâ* on Halâyudha's *Kosha* in my possession there is *jannivara* (?) instead of *janivâra*, so that also in Kannada *janni*, and not *jani*, appears to have been the original form. *Janivâra*, therefore, would mean "sacrificial thread."

yaṇa; regarding family the Komaṭiga* is Sarasijodbhava; and the Pañchâḷa† is Viśvakarma. On the earth all the Brahmas form the Rudravaṁśa, all the kings the Harivaṁśa, all the Vaiśyas the Naḷinodhabvavaṁśa, and all the people of the Pañchâḷa the Viśvakarmavaṁśa. The *yajñopavîta* of Parabrahma's knot is for the Brâhmaṇa; the *yajñopavîta* of Hari's knot is for the Kshatriya; the *yajñopavîta* of Sarasijodbhava's knot is for the Vaiśya; the excellent (*parama*) *yajñopavîta* of Viśvakarma's knot is for the people of the Pañchâḷa." By the order of Para Śiva they looked to their different families (*vaṁśa*), and joyfully took care of them. If, in this respect, one enters that of the other, and people continue to pay regard to him who is spoiled as to family and has become an outcaste (*jâtihîna*), offence will certainly be given. He who walks in the way of the family, and adores the deity of the family, obtains final liberation. To the *yajñopavîta* of the *knot of the lord of many deities* (*i.e.* of Śiva) the others are not equal; those who make them equal (to it) become great sinners, and go to a dreadful hell. Hear, O Gambhîra! The *yajñopavîta* of the knot of Parabrahma is quite equal in weight to the *Rudrâkshê*; repeating the excellent pañchâkshari (*namah śivâya*) without uttering different words, and with excellent faith (*bhakti*), one has to prepare it and put it on; at that very moment all known and unknown sins will be burnt. He who undertakes a sacrifice (*yajña*) has to put on eighteen;‡ the other five. A grantha:

yajñopavîtaṁ dve dhâryaṁ śrautasmârte cha karmaṇi |
tritîyamuttare yat tu vastra-bhâve chaturthakaṁ ||
pañchamam pratidoshaṁ cha chhinnadoshaṁ na vidyate |

or "One has to put on two for vedic and canonical ceremonies; one has to put on another to the north of Kâśî; one has to put on another for raiment, and one for the removal of guilt; so there are five." The Brâhmaṇa who puts (*them*) on is the very Para Śiva; the sins of him who bows down to (*his*) feet are destroyed; he who declares this to be falsehood goes to hell. Thus said he (*Gautama*).

The king (Gambhîra) asked: "O guru, *Nandi's staff* (kolu), the *Mâyimurtâpu*, the *Kîrtimukha*, the *arms* (toḷu) which are tied (to the staff), the *lute* (kinnari), &c., when did they come into existence? Gautama ṛishi, tell me!" He let Gambhîra know. When he (Satyaśivayogi) had told this, the king said: "Satyaśivayogi, image of Indudhara (Śiva), oblige thy child (by telling him the stories)!" He said: "By the favour of the husband of the moon-faced woman, of Hampê's Virûpâksha liṅga, I shall tell."

Chapter XI.

Then Gambhîra said: "Nandi's staff (*dhvaja*), the *Mâyimurtâpu*, the *Kîrtimukha*, the *arms* which are tied (to the staff), the *lute*, &c., when did they come into existence? O guru, tell me!" and joined his hands. The muni began (with the following praise): "When thou hadst become Śrî Brahmâ for the creation of the three worlds, thou becamest Vishṇu to preserve them, and becamest the grave Maheśvara to punish cruel beings, thou who art to the earth the Trimûrti, Hampê's Virûpâksha!"

3. *Nandi's staff.*

Hear! I shall lay open before thee all that Gautama râya told. Listen attentively, being comfortably seated! Hear, best of kings! I am going to tell thee the origin of *Nandi's staff.* The bad Râkshasa, called Lokamaya, was on earth. He became very strong and proud, and gave much trouble to the Suras. Then

* The Komaṭigas are merchants.

† The Pañchâḷas are the five classes of handicraftsmen: the carpenter, blacksmith, brazier, goldsmith, and stonecutter or mason.

‡ The purport of this translation, which follows the general rules of Kannaḍa syntax, is not clear to me. It is perhaps required to translate: "He who undertakes a sacrifice and the other (*varṇas*), that are altogether eighteen, have to put on five." The ashṭâdaśa varṇas are enumerated as follows: 1. Brâhmaṇa, 2. Kshatriya, 3. Vaiśya, 4. Śûdra, 5. Vîra Śaiva, 6. Sâlêya (weavers), 7. Golla (cowherds), 8. Kumbâra (potters), 9. Pañchâḷa, 10. Agasa (washermen), 11. Nâyida (barbers), 12. Mlechchha (Musalmâns), 13. Beda or Kirâta (hunters), 14. Tambula (florists), 15. Bannagâra (dyers), 16. Jînagâra (painters, idol-makers, &c.), 17. Holêya (low people, that serve, *e.g.* as gardeners, horsekeepers, &c.), 18. Mâdiga (shoemakers, curriers, &c.). However, to imagine that all these 18 classes have to put on one of the five janivâras is preposterous. All of them *might* wear the Liṅga. About Śudras Mr. Brown, in his Têlugu Dictionary, remarks: "Some Śûdras in the Ganjam district wear the thread (*jandi*), and are called Kaḷiṅgas." "The Tambaḷavâḍus, a class of beggars who worship Śiva and who beat a drum are generally Śûdras, but wear the sacred thread." Regarding the Southern Marâṭha Country it has been stated by the late Rev. Mr. Wurth: "A portion of the weavers, about 200 years ago, separated from the Liṅgâyta community and formed a new sect, which is called the Devâṅga sect. They have abolished the wearing of the Liṅga, and assumed the holy thread. Their priests are of their own caste." *Saṅkarâchârya* is said to have divided the original four castes in o eighteen subdivisions, and each of these again into four.

all the Suras came together, consulted and said: "Come, let us go to the prince of the Suras, and inform him!" They went, joyfully bowed their heads, and told him: "King of the Suras, Indra! Listen to our complaint, father! Lokamaya, the wicked Râkshasa, has come, gives much trouble, and does not allow (us) to remain in our town." When he heard that, he said: "Stand all up! Bring the most beautiful Airâvata (*[illegible] elephant*)! To-day I will try his power!" He rose in fierce wrath, mounted the elephant which had been brought and placed before him, without delay joined the immortals, went with them at a swift pace to the Râkshasa, and took up a position before him. The Râkshasa, observing him, began to abuse (*[illegible]*) in an unrestrained way, so that the earth was split. When Devendra saw the huge mass coming, he fell with his posteriors turned upwards, rose, and said: "Wherefore shall I mount the elephant (*[illegible]*)? and wherefore the confusion? Let us go where Brahmâ is, and ask advice! It is [illegible] safe (*[illegible]*). Please, and proceed!" and [illegible] came with them to Brahmâ to inform him of all. When he had introduced them to him whose vehicle is Nagini (*[illegible]*), they joined their hands, and told him all at once. Having heard them, he mounted Garuḍa, went, and had a great fight with the Râkshasa; but [illegible] being wounded, said: "Bhûtâksha (Śiva) will be able to do it: I am not!" went where the feet of Śiva were, who is black like a dark-blue cloud, greeted him, and spoke. When the Âdi Mâri heard it, he quickly mounted the Âdi Basava (Vṛishabha), went, and cut off the Râkshasa's head. At that very moment he (the Râkshasa) praised him. Then Śiva was pleased and said: "Ask a boon!" He answered: "Śiva must make my body clean on earth!" Then he was good enough to make a badge of honour of him. He took the backbone and made a *[illegible]* (*[illegible]*) of it: he made a *[illegible]* (or cupola, *[illegible]*) of the head; and made a *flag* (or wing, pakkĕ=paksha*) of the itchy skin. He uplifted the distinguishing sign (*mudrâ*) of the imperishable Nandi on high, appointed it to be Nandi's *staff* (*Nandi kolu*),† and causing it to be carried (lit., causing it to walk) before Nandi in the midst of the true devotees (*śaraṇa*) commenced returning.

4. *The Mâyimaṇḍâpa.*

Then Mâyi, the younger sister of that wicked person (Lokamaya), with excessive rigour, provoked him. Hara, in wrath, cut off her head. She joyfully praised him, saying: "O powerful Paramâtma!" He, from compassion, was pleased, and said: "I will give thee a boon. Pray (for one)!" "O god, make me like my elder brother!" said she. He called her head *Mâyi [illegible]*,‡ caused it to be carried (lit., caused it to walk) to the left of Nandi's nice seat (*[illegible]*), and together with the fine host (*[illegible]*) entered the palace of Kailâsa, and Hari Hara§ lived in happiness. On earth all the eminent faithful prepare the badges of honour of the two, and at Hara's festive processions display them in front.

5. *The [illegible] and Siṁhâsana.*

To the demon (*[illegible]*) Hiraṇya Prahlâda was born, and paid devotion to Hari. His father said: "Pay devotion to Hara!" and gave him various instructions. When he (*[illegible]*) called upon Hari, he (Hari) heard it, in the form of Narasiṁha was born in a pillar, tore open the belly of Hiraṇya, took the entrails, [illegible] with his *[illegible]* lapped the blood, became excessively proud, and attacked the host of the immortals. They prayed. When Śaṅkara, who breaks the teeth of the proud, heard it, he boiled with excessive rage and said: "Come, master Śrî Vîrabhadra! Go thou! Nârâyaṇa is not my equal. Courageously go, and break the display of pride of him who has overstepped his boundary! Thereafter return!" He went in the form of Śarabha, seized the neck of Hari, and whirled (him) on high. He came to Hara's feet, and in falling down praised, saying: "Hara, Hara!" Paramêśvara was pleased, and said: "I will give thee a boon. Ask!" The wicked one said: "Take up my body!" Then he made the *[illegible]*‖ of the head, and of the skin of Hari (or of the lion) which he had taken up, he made a seat (*âsana*). On earth it got the

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* Another MS. reads *[illegible]*.

† This is an ornamented pole with a figure of Basava on [illegible] which is the cupola.

‡ The translator has been unable at Merkara (Mercara) to ascertain the meaning of *Mâyi's [illegible]*.

§ i.e. Hari's lord.

‖ What this badge of honour for Vîrabhadra is, we are at present unable to say. We have seen a large painted figure of cloth hanging in front of a Śiva temple that was called a *[illegible]*. Kîrttimukha is also the name of the [illegible] face so frequently carved on string-courses, and elsewhere on Hindu temples.—ED.

name *siṁhâsana* (lion's throne), and it appears under your hips; king Gambhîra, look there! He said: "King of gurus, I understand."

6. *The arms of Vyâsa.*

I shall now make you acquainted with the circumstances concerning the (two) *arms* (plural of *tolu*) which are tied to Nandi's staff. Veda Vyâsa, who was an incarnation of Indirâramaṇa (Vishṇu), at first particularly related all the greatness of Hara to his disciple Śuka muni. Afterwards Vyâsa, from madness, composed a *Śâstra* about Hari in which he stated that Hari was greater than Hara, called his excellent disciple, and said: "Leave the former way, and joyfully live according to this!" He said: "King of gurus! Formerly one (*way*) and now one! Can there be two?! Knowing devotees have only one. If you instruct me as if you were instructing unknowing people, it will not do for me." He (Vyâsa) grumbled, arose, became angry, lifted up his hands, and went to kill him. He said: "O guru, shall your arms be torn off? There is no use in this! O guru of true and pure spirit, if you, sitting on your lotus-seat before Srì Viśvanâtha (Śiva), read your composition to me with uplifted hands, I will hear and walk according to it." When he (Vyâsa) heard that, he came, sat down before the lord of the three worlds, said: "Now hear with devotion!" He took the *śâstra* with his left hand, read, at the same time lifted his right hand on high, and emphatically said: "The lord Nârâyaṇa is greater than Îśvara!" When lord Basava heard with his ears the string of words (*śabda-sûtra*) uttered (*by him*), he became wrathful, swiftly came, stripped (Vyâsa's) two arms off, and threw them away. Vyâsa arose, came lamenting to Vaikuṇṭha, fell at Hari's feet, stood up with his hands joined, and spoke: "O Hari! When I praised thee, saying 'Except thee there is nowhere another deity!' I suffered the loss of my two arms (*hasta*). O Hari, Nârâyaṇa, remover of evil! If thou, from compassion, wilt be kind enough to give me my two arms (*bâhv*) again, I shall think of thee night and day." He said: "O Vyâsa, foolish man, do not further blaspheme my father! I am the creator of the world, Indudhara (*Śiva*) is my creator. When he takes away, can I give?! Adore the feet of the lord of beings (or, of demons, *bhûta*)! He will graciously show thee favour. Go without fear!" A grantha:—

Nandikeśa idaṁ śrutvâkrodha-rûpo bhavishyati
âkâśopari-chintâyâṁ bâhu-dvayaṁ vinaśyati ||
satyaṁ satyam punaḥ satyamuddhṛitya bhuja-muchyate |
vedâch chhâstram paraṁ nâsti na devo keśavât paraḥ ||
aho vyâsa matibhrashṭa kiṁ dosho mama likhyate |
ahaṁ sarvajagat-kartâ mama kartâ maheśvaraḥ ||

A śloka:

Yajña-kartâ cha devendro jagat-kartâ cha vâkpatiḥ |
ahaṁ jagati kartâ cha mama kartâ maheśvaraḥ ||†

He (*Vyâsa*) made obeisance to the feet of Hari, came to the temple (*guḍi*) of Hara, performed *sâshṭâṅga* at his feet, stood up with his hands joined, and praised him with the *Vyâsâshṭaka* (a certain song). Parameśa at once was pleased, came, and said: "I will give thee a boon. Pray!" Then he said: "O father, thou with the black throat, give me my two arms, O god!" At that very moment Śiva restored them in a faultless condition. Then the devotees carefully tied *the arms* which Nandikeśvara had cut off, to the right of Nandi's staff (*dhvaja*), and displayed them at Kâśî and Kalyâṇa.* Further (or, in course of time) the devotees of the town of Indudhara fastened the *left arm* to the chariot (*vimâna*), which came, sat (in it), and praised properly.

7. *The Lute.*

I shall now tell thee about the *lute*, king

* Of the ślokas as they stand, the following is a translation: (Take care!) When Nandikeśa hears this, he will become wrathful. At (Vyâsa's) thinking (of lifting them) upwards to heaven, the two arms are destroyed. Having lifted up (his) arm, it is uttered (by Vyâsa): (*It is*) true, true, and again true! (My) *śâstra* is not different from the *Veda* (in saying): There is no other god but Keśava! (Vishnu says: Ho, Vyâsa, foolish man! Why is a wrong thing written (by thee) regarding me? I am the creator of the whole world, (*but*) my creator is the great Îśvara!—Devendra is the creator of sacrifice, and Vâkpati (*Brahmâ*) is the creator of the world, and I am creator in the world; my creator is the great Îśvara!

† In the Canarese *Basava Purâṇa*, 58, v. 53, it is stated that when king Bijjaḷa ruled at Kalyâna, and the king himself, a number of Bedas or Kabbilas, and the Liṅgâyta inhabitants of the town were once going in procession to Śiva's Temple, the Liṅgâytas displayed *Nandidhvajas*, flags, umbrellas, and many *Vyâsahastas* (of cloth). Conf. 5, 39. For this legend, see also Capt. Mackenzie's account of the "Vyâsana-tolu Kallu," *Ind. Ant.* vol. ii. p. 49.

Gambhira! The lovely P â r v a t î herself came, was well born as M â y ĕ of K ŏ l l â p u r a, and when growing up shone in many ways. She drove away the munis, and swallowed the contents of Hara's devotion; on her breast she had three nipples, and was a spear for the breasts of men. Hari, Brahmâ, Indra, and others fought with Mâyĕ but were unable to bear, came to Hara, and informed him of all. When he heard, he mounted Nandi, swiftly came, and provoked Mâyĕ. She fearlessly came up to him. He with the three eyes said: "Mean dog! why is there so much (pride) in thee?!", and cut off her head, and played with it as with a ball. Then she quickly praised him. He said: "Without delay I will give thee a boon. Ask!" She said: "Master, purify me!" He seized her tongue and plucked it out, at once made it the sole of a sandal, and put it on. The three pointed steel-nipples he screwed out, looked at them, and made three *calabashes* (*kây*) of them; of the backbone he made the *stick* (for playing the lute, *dandigĕ*), of the fingers the *stops* (or the bridges, *mĕttu*); applied *strings* (*tanti*) of tendons (*nara*); and then the master of the three worlds gave it the alleviating name of *lute* (*kinnari*), and walked about playing it. Hear, O Gambhîra!

CORRESPONDENCE AND MISCELLANEA.

To the Editor of the "Indian Antiquary."

Sir,—I find in the review of the *Panchatantra* (Bombay Sanskrit Series), p. 62 of your fourth volume, the following remark:—

"We will close with one more instance taken from p. 76. We find there this obscure sentence, गत चनृरामं मंतृपिराडस्य, which Dr. Kielhorn renders 'you are not guilty of his majesty's पिराड, *i.e.* you are not guilty of his death.' This is scarcely satisfactory, and we suggest instead 'you have done your duty as regards our master's person.'"

I suppose, Sir, the reviewer takes पिराड to mean the lump of flesh of which his majesty consists.

But for the life of me I cannot understand what objection there is to Professor Benfey's rendering:—"You have made some return to your master for the food which he has given you." This corresponds exactly to the Greek θρέπτρα ἀπέδωκας, and seems to me the rendering which naturally would suggest itself to a reader on first seeing the passage.

It is quite in accordance with Oriental notions, and agrees better with the literal meaning of the word आनृराय, which means "acquittance of debt or obligation."

Please pardon my audacity, and believe me

Yours obediently,

Anubis.

Calcutta, 9th June 1875.

EMBRYONIC, MUNDANE, AND SUPRAMUNDANE LIFE.

Translated by E. Rehatsek, M.C.E.

From the Mesnavi of Jellâl-aldyn-Rûmi, 3rd Duftur.

چون جنین بد آدمي خون بد غذا
از نجس مومن برد پاکي كذا
چون جنین بد آدمي خون خوار بود
بود اورا بود از خون تار و پود
از فطام خون غذایش شیر شد
وزفطام شیر لقمه کیر شد
وزفطام لقمه لقماني شود
طالب اشکار و پنهاني شود
کر جنین را کس بکفتي در رحم
هست بیرون عالمي بس منتظم
یک زمین خرمي با عرض و طول
اندر او صد نعمت و چندین اکول
کوهها و بحرها و دشتها
بوستانها باغها و کشتها
آسمان بس بلند و پر ضیا
آفتاب و ماهتاب و صد صبا
از شمال و از جنوب و از دبور
باغها دارد عروسیها و سور
در صفت ناید عجایبهاي آن
تو در این ظلمت چهٔ در امتحان
خون خوري در چار میخ تنکنا
در میان حبس انجاس و عنا
او بحکم حال خود منکر بدي
زین رسالت معرض و کافر شدي
کاین محالست و فریبست و غرور
زانکه تصویري ندارد وهم کور
جنس چیزي چون ندید ادراک او
نشنود ادراک منکر ناک او
همچنانکه خلق عام اندر جهان
زانجهان ابدال میگویند شان

کاینجهان چاهیست بس تاریک وتنگ
هست بیرون عالمي بی نور و رنگ
هیچ در گوش کسي زایشان نرفت
کاین طمع آمد حجابی ژرف زفت
گوش را بندد طمع از استماع
چشم را بندد غرض از اطلاع
همچنانکه آن جنین را طمع خون
کان غذای اوست در اوطان دون
از حدیث این جهان محجوب کرد
خون تن را بردلش محبوب کرد
زین همه انواع نعمت ماند فرد
غیر خون او نداند چاشت خورد
بر توهم طبع خوشي این جهان
شد حجاب آن خوشی جاودان
طمع ذوق این حیات پر غرور
از حیات راستیت کرد دور
پس طمع کورت کند نیکودان
بر تو پوشاند یقین را بیگمان
حق ترا باطل نماید از طمع
در تو صد کوری فزاید از طمع
از طمع بیزار شو چون راستان
تا نهي پا برسر آن آستان
کاندر آن در چون درآی وارهي
از غم و شادي قدم بیرون نهی
چشم جانت روشن و حق بین شود
بی ظلام کفر نور دین شود

Man feeds on blood as embryo,
Believers thus by dirt get pure!
Whilst in the womb, man feeds on blood,
His warp and woof of blood consists;
When weaned of blood he milk consumes;
He morsels eats when weaned of milk;
But weaned of morsels Lokmân* he becomes,
Investigates things hidden and revealed.
Were one to say to embryos in the womb:—
"Without, there is a well-arranged world,
An earth quite joyous, long and broad,
Of blessings full, and various food;
With mountains, lakes, and prairies green,
Parks, gardens, cultivated fields,
The firmament so high and bright,
The sun, the moon, with hundred winds,
Zephyrs from north and south and west,
With gardens, banquets, nuptials,—
Its wonders cannot be described.
How tried you are in this darkness!
Blood you consume in this closet,
In dirt and misery confined;"
It would deny its state and case,
Reject this message with full force
As false, deceit, impossible.
It has no sense, but understanding blind
Its mind cannot conceive the thing,—
The negative mind hearing scorns.
Just such the crowd is in this nether world
When Abdâls† moot the world beyond:—
"This world is but a narrow and dark well;
Without, the immaterial world exists."
Such words their ears will not accept,—
A hope like this is thickly veiled;
Present enjoyments plug the ear,
The eye is dimmed by interests;
Just as the embryo's greed for blood,
Which was its food in womb's dark cave,
Concealed from it the present world,
The body's blood to it endeared;
Thus, unaware of blessings all,
No other nourishment it had but blood.
Man's lust for joys of present life
Eternal joys has veiled from him.
Your greed for this deceitful life
From true life has removed you;
Be quite aware that lust is blinding you,
Concealing certainty from you.
Truth false appears to you from greed,
Which hundredfold is blinding you.
Oh, free yourself from greed, like all just men,
That you your foot on that threshold may place,
And saved be on entering the gate
From all terrestrial joys and griefs;
Your soul's eye bright and true will see,
Unsoiled by unbelief, the light of Faith.

[The translator does not take it on himself to correct the metre, when it happens to be faulty.]

* Lokmân, the name of a sage, stands here as the emblem of intellect.

† The Abdâls are Illuminati.

MR. F. W. ELLIS.

My attention has been directed to an interesting description, by Mr. R. C. Caldwell, in the *Athenæum* of December 5, of a Tamiḻ MS. in the Library of the India Office, in the course of which he refers to me for a confirmation of some of his statements.

I am glad to have an opportunity of expressing the pleasure I have received from perusing the careful analysis of Beschi's work by so competent a Tamiḻ scholar, and of confirming the accuracy of his narrative as far as relates to the portion with which I am connected. Mr. Caldwell is right in correcting my version of the occasion on which the MS. came into the possession of Muttusámi Pillei, an error into which I ought not to have fallen, since the sketch of Beschi in the eleventh

volume of the *Madras Literary Journal* was prepared by Muttusámi at my suggestion, and in a foot-note at page 257 he describes the discovery of the volume in Tanjore (not Madura) exactly as given by Mr. Caldwell.

The mission of Muttusámi, however, to collect materials for a life of Beschi took place in 1816, and he must have received the precious volume from Mr. Ellis, who died in 1819, earlier than Mr. Caldwell supposes.

Dr. Rost kindly allowed the MS. to be exhibited to the Turanian Section at the meeting of the Oriental Congress in September, on which occasion Baron Textor de Ravisi, late Governor of the French settlement at Carical, enlarging with enthusiasm on the beauty of the composition, and the perfect condition in which the MS. had been preserved, made the observation which Mr. Caldwell has quoted. I was able then to inform him that, before leaving India, the Proviseur of the Collége Royal at Pondicherry had obtained the loan of it, for the express purpose of printing a new edition, founded on the most accurate text procurable. I cannot recall the exact date of this publication, because the copy with which he was good enough to present me was destroyed, with many other books and papers, on the voyage home. The MS. volume was bound before it came into my hands.

The mention of Mr. Ellis in connection with this subject induces me to add a few particulars regarding one whose merits as an Oriental scholar are too little known, and whose untimely death, in the prime and vigour of life, proved an irreparable loss to the cause of Dravidian literature.

Arriving in India as a young civilian in 1796, he early devoted himself to the study of the languages, history, and antiquities of the land in which his lot was cast. For upwards of twenty years he devoted all his spare time to the cultivation of Sanskrit and the various dialects peculiar to Southern India. Having determined to publish nothing until he had exhausted every available source of information, he had amassed a vast amount of material, the elaboration of which would have shed a flood of light on the still obscure history of that region, and likewise anticipated much of the knowledge of its philology and literature which recent researches have brought to light. When his task was almost completed, he undertook a journey to Madura, the Athens of the South, for the elucidation of some minor details, and resided for some time with Mr. Rous Petre, the Collector of the district. During a short excursion to Ramnad, in the same province, he accidentally swallowed some poison, and died on March 10, 1819. No one was at hand who understood or cared for his pursuits. His ordinary tangible property was sold by auction at Madura and Madras, under instructions from the Administrator-General, but all his papers were lost or destroyed.*

The Madras Literary Society thus alludes to the sad event, in recording the loss "of several of its most able contributors, among whom stood pre-eminent, for indefatigable and successful research into the languages, history, and learning of Southern India, for extensive knowledge, ancient and modern, Oriental and European, for accurate judgment and elegant taste, Francis Whyte Ellis.

"This distinguished scholar carried to his early tomb the stores he had accumulated; for he had resolved to dedicate his life to investigation until the age of forty, and before that time to prepare nothing for communication to the world. Scarcely had he completed the prescribed period of preliminary investigation, when death, with awful suddenness, deprived the world of the benefit of his labours."

But such a man could not pass away without leaving some traces of attainments so highly esteemed by his contemporaries. The first article in the *Transactions* of the Literary Society is a paper by Sir Charles Grey, afterwards Chief Justice in Bengal, founded on a series of disquisitions† on Hindu Law which Mr. Ellis had read at meetings of the Society. In introducing it, Sir Charles observes, "I have here endeavoured to give the substance of the first lecture. The subject has been treated of by Sir William Jones, and by Mr. Colebrooke, and by Mr. Ward, but by none of them, as it seems to me, so perspicuously as by Mr. Ellis." As drafted by Mr. Ellis the treatises filled five hundred folio pages, but, having been roughly prepared for delivery, were not in a fit state to be published, and he had intended on his return to revise them for that purpose.

Some discussion having arisen with reference to proprietary right in land, particularly in the provinces of Malabar and Canara, into which the oppressive fiscal system of Muhammadan rule had scarcely penetrated, the Madras Government, in 1812, circulated a series of questions to officers in charge of districts, requiring them to report fully on the incidents of the tenure known as *mirás*, a term approaching in many respects to our fee-simple. Although Mr. Ellis was then Collector of the Presidency only, which afforded little scope for such inquiries, his answers were

* It used to be currently reported that they served Mr. Petre's cook for months to kindle his fire and singe fowls!

† They consisted of three lectures, and a note of some length in answer to the observations upon the Hindu Laws in the fourth chapter of the second book of Mill's *History of British India*. The first lecture treated chiefly of the law-books of the Hindus.

so full, so exact, and so copiously illustrated by references to the ancient literature and history of the country, that the Government ordered them to be printed, and "Ellis's Replies to Seventeen Questions relative to Mirási Right" (pp. 65, with two appendices of pp. 85 and 31, folio, Madras, 1818) continues to this day to be the standard authority on the subject.

Another fragment is a selection of stanzas from the first book of the Kural, an ethical poem greatly esteemed by the Tamiḷs. A free metrical version is given of each couplet, followed by a critical analysis of the text, and the subject-matter is then illustrated by numerous quotations from the best native writers, interspersed with valuable notes and disquisitions on the mythology, philosophical systems, and sectarial tenets of the people. Mr. Ellis had proceeded as far as eighteen chapters of the first book when he left Madras, and of these only thirteen were printed, filling 304 quarto pages, without title or date.

He probably also left other minor compositions; such as his essays on the Tamiḷ, Telugu, Malayâlim (and perhaps also Canarese?) tongues, for the use of the students in the College of Fort St. George: of the third of which a few separate printed copies exist, and the second is embodied in the Introduction to A. D. Campbell's Telugu Grammar, but the first I have never seen. Among some refuse papers at the College, I one day discovered a translation by him of the Jewish copper-plates at Cochin, and inserted it in vol. xiii. pt. 2 of the *Madras Literary Journal*.

Imperfect as these Reliquiæ are, they suffice to show what might have been expected from so ripe a scholar, had he lived to carry out his long-cherished design.

—*Athenæum*. WALTER ELLIOT.

TAMIL PROVERBS.*

The word of the destitute does not reach the assembly. That is, an assembly of learned men, or men in power. The words of the poor, whether they relate to oppression, or to other injuries, or to opinion, are not likely to find admission where alone they can avail.

Light breaks on the head of the destitute. Blame or suspicion will fall on the head of the unprotected and friendless. The poor are at work by break of day.

The destitute brings forth a female child, and that on Friday, under the star Pinadam. Used of one suffering from an accumulation of evils. The condition of the parent, the sex of the child, the day of its birth, and its ruling star are alike inauspicious.

The beauty of the mind appears in the face.

As grain becomes cheaper, enjoyment increases.

He who knows not the price of grain knows not sorrow.

A terrible ascetic, an atrocious cheat.

The friendship of a brother-in-law lasts while one's sister lives.

Will a dog understand the Vedas, although born in a Bráhman village?

Do not beat down the market price. Do not contravene the established opinions and practices of the people with whom you are associated.

One who frequently changes his party will receive two slaps here and three cuffs there.

Stunted grain—friendship at sight. Both valueless.

A fifth-born female cannot be obtained, though earnestly sought. A fifth-born female is regarded as the special favourite of fortune, an eighth as the very opposite.

Demons strike the timid.

Are five young birds a curry? Is a young girl a wife?

A woman of fifty must bend the knee before a boy of five.
Referring to the deference paid to the male sex by the Hindoos.

Even tender creepers when united are strong.

One hand smites, the other embraces. Discipline regulated by love; used sometimes of Divine chastisements.

When a neighbour's roof is in flames one's own is in danger.

The leech is not satisfied, nor is fire. Inordinate desire is never satisfied.

Although one may live six months with an elder brother, one cannot abide with his wife even half an hour. The first condition is proverbially difficult, how much more so the second.

The forms of worship prescribed for Śiva are sixty-four; whereas the seasons for feeding religious mendicants are seventy-four.

The value of a father is known after his decease, that of salt when exhausted.

Why ask of the military officer if there is any compulsory service? Why gratuitously seek avoidable evil?

In the world some are high, and many are low.

On earth those who have no salt have no body.

He who lives as he ought in this world will be ranked with the gods.

In all the world none really good has been seen.

* *Tamil Proverbs with their English Translation.* Containing upwards of six thousand Proverbs. By the Rev. P. PERCIVAL, Chaplain, Madras Military Female Orphan Asylum: Author of *The Land of the Veda*, &c. Second Edition. Madras: Dinavartamani Press, Little Bourne, Mylapore, 1874.

BOOK NOTICES.

(a) BOMBAY SANSKRIT SERIES. The *Mâlavikâgnimitra* of Kâlidâsa, edited with notes by Shankar P. Pandit, M.A. 1869.

(b) The *Mâlavikâgnimitra* of Kâlidâsa, literally translated into English Prose by C. H. Tawney, M.A., Professor of the English Language, Presidency College, Calcutta. 1875.

The number of the *Bombay Sanskrit Series* now to be noticed was edited by one of the few native scholars of the Presidency who have taken part in the work,—the only one perhaps who has grasped the idea of true editorship as held in the West. Mr. Pandit has been most successful in the task he undertook, which was the production, for the first time, of a correct edition of the drama, "based, as every edition of a Sanskrit work ought to be, on the collation of several trustworthy MSS. collected from different parts of India." Seven manuscripts were thus collated, namely, six written in the Devanâgarî character and obtained from various parts of the Dekhan, and one written in the Telugu character.

We regret, however, to notice in this volume, as indeed in the whole of the Series in a greater or less degree, improvements of the text *in the notes at the end*. The text is apparently printed first; and then when the notes are prepared, such passages as are found to be untranslatable, or faulty in other respects, are reconsidered, and emended there instead of in the text. But we maintain that such a thorough sifting and testing from every point of view should be made of the text, before it is finally adopted, as to render any after-corrections unnecessary. At any rate, no better advice could possibly be given to the editors of the Series than that tendered by the Bishop of Gloucester to the present revisers of the text of the English Bible, viz. "*Make the reading of the text better than that of the margin or notes.*"

There is one peculiarity in the Prâkrit of the present edition which does not commend itself to our judgment, and that is the doubling of an aspirate by an aspirate, instead of by a non-aspirate as directed by Vararuchi. Thus लक्ष्मी is represented by लछ्छी, instead of by लच्छी the form prescribed in the *Prâkrita Prakâsâ*. In support of this innovation the editor says, "My authority for the deviation is the concurrent testimony of all the MSS. These have a peculiar method of writing Prâkrit conjuncts. In Sanskrit they give all the components of a conjunct distinctly, but in Prâkrit the presence of the first component of every conjunct letter is merely indicated by a dot placed before it. This dot indicates that the letter before which it is placed is to be *doubled*. Thus what ought to be fully written अत्तमत्त they write अ-तमत्त, ajjaütta is अ-जउ-त and not अज्जउत्त, and so also in the case of conjuncts containing aspirates as दि-ट्ठा, ल-च्छी, पु-फ, पु-च्छिदा." The inference Mr. Pandit draws from this is not, however, a necessary one. Of course as regards unaspirated letters there can be no doubt as to the meaning of the symbol, but it is not at all clear that in the case of aspirates the dot is intended to represent any kind of doubling different from Vararuchi's well-known system. But even supposing for the sake of argument that a departure from the grammar was intended by those nameless copyists, would that be any reason for perpetuating it?

The notes appended to the play are excellent, and will be found of considerable value in elucidating it, but their number might with advantage have been greater. They contain three or four inaccuracies which it may be well to point out. For instance, सुस्वस्था भव on page 23, means 'be natural,' rather than 'be well composed;' and शूना, which on page 31 is rendered 'the shop of a butcher,' would more correctly be 'a slaughter-house,'—the latter being open to the sky, and therefore more likely to attract the birds said to be hovering over it. This is confirmed by Professor Târânâtha's definition of the vocable by प्राणिवधस्थाने. On page 41, line 4, occurs the expression शरकाण्डपाण्डुगण्डस्थला as an epithet of Mâlavikâ, the काण्ड of which Mr. Pandit renders 'the inner part,' instead of 'the stem.' Possibly the *pith* of the reed may have been uppermost in the poet's mind, but as he did not give a form to the thought we have no business to do so for him. The phrase "Nor does conjecture like to acquaint me with that only which is true" is not a good translation of तत्त्वार्थाभिकरसो न तर्कः on page 42. A literal rendering would be "Conjecture does not possess perception of truth as its chief essence," that is, "Conjecture is not always to be relied on." Whence did Mr. Pandit obtain the meaning 'blesses' for the word अर्पयति in the sentence आदाय कर्णकिसलयमस्मादियमत्र चरणमर्पयति, the last member of which he renders 'blesses him (*sic*) with her foot, *i.e.* touches or kicks him with her foot.' The passage needed no note at all, but if the annotator thought otherwise, he might have given us something more accurate than the above. Again, some authority is needed for 'लङ्घ to bite or browse' (page 77, line 6); the root लघ लाघयति = आस्वादने, but लंघ लंघितुं has no such meaning. Authority is also needed for the rendering of वैविक्कानाम् on the next page by 'lovers,' and of चर्मसमुद्गं on page 89 by 'a *leather* box.'

Professor Tawney's translation of this drama is admirable. Though nearly literal, it is written in such good bold English as scarcely to betray a foreign original. It has comparatively few mistranslations, whilst many difficult passages have been rendered in excellent style. For most of his foot-notes the Professor is indebted to Mr Shankar P. Paṇḍit, but the indebtedness is not always acknowledged. The following are the principal mistranslations :—Page 3, line 2, "I long to perform the order of the spectators which I received some time ago with bowed head." The last three words of this sentence have no equivalent in the original, which stands thus :—

शिरसा प्रथमगृहीतामाज्ञामिच्छामि परिषदः कर्तुम्

where the first and last words must be taken together, and so taken mean simply 'to obey' or 'perform.' On the same page, the words 'in which she has for a long time been instructed' are exactly the reverse of what the author says. The translator would seem to have looked at the Sanskrit *chhâyâ* without attending to the Prâkṛit, or observing that, a few pages further on, the queen says "your pupil was but lately handed over to you." Again, 'she is of high birth' (page 6) is an entirely wrong translation of the compound अनूनवस्तुका. Equally so is the phrase 'which resembles the cry of a peacock' as the equivalent of मायूरी. The sound of the drum was '*dear to the peacocks*' (not in the least resembling their cry), because like the sound of the thunder indicating the approach of rain. On pages 35 and 47 we find the expression "*bimba*-like hips" as the rendering of नितंबबिंब and श्रोणीबिंब ;—we have often met with the epithet 'bimba-like' applied to a woman's *lips*, but certainly not to her श्रोणी !

Again, "I accept the omen, the word of a Brâhmaṇ must come true" (page 38), is not the meaning of परिगृहीतं वचः सिद्धिदर्शिनो ब्राह्मणस्य, nor 'besides' of अह वा (page 40). In the latter case the attendant had been saying "I have finished painting one of your feet. It is only necessary to breathe on it." Then, observing that there was a wind, she says "अह वा पवादो एत्थ अअं पएसो," "Yet no, (my breath is unnecessary, for) this place is windy.' It is difficult to see how का अम्हे भट्टिणो एण अप्प-संगम्म can be made to mean "Who are we that we should attract the attention of the king?" (page 46), but perhaps the Professor's text differed from ours.

The word translated 'finger' on page 52 means 'thumb' only; and lower down on the same page the words 'best remedy' should rather be 'the first thing to be done' (पूर्वकर्म); whilst the true force of दष्टमात्रागाम् in the same clause is '*immediately* they have been bitten.' The foot-note on this last word is misleading.

It is to be hoped that the Professor had a different reading from ours of the passage on page 53 which he renders 'the poor creature is attacked with cramps;' our edition reads असुखं दष्टं विकारेण. Again, 'that is very strange,' page 62, is too weak a rendering of अत्याहित, which implies rather 'a great calamity.' Lastly, महासाराणि रत्नयानानि simply means 'jewelled vehicles of great value,' and not 'valuable waggon-loads of jewels.' Jewels were not so plentiful as the learned translator seems to have supposed, even in the gorgeous East. In bidding adieu to these two works we heartily wish them the success they so well deserve.

TÂLIB-UL-ILM.

A DICTIONARY OF THE HINDEE LANGUAGE, BY J. D. BATE, Missionary. Benares : Lazarus & Co.; London : Trubner & Co. 1875.

It is much to be regretted that the liberal policy which led to the compilation of Molesworth's inestimable dictionary of Marâṭhî has not been extended to the sister languages, especially to Hindi, which is without exception the most important of all. Private enterprise has in this case come forward to supply the want, and, we must admit, with admirable success.

Mr. Bate's dictionary leaves comparatively little to be desired,—indeed the author has been prodigal of his stores of knowledge, and has bounteously poured out information of a kind seldom bestowed upon us by dictionary-makers. Not only has he given a separate article to each archaic form of the cases of nouns and pronouns, of the tenses of verbs, and the numerous varieties of adverbs and particles, but he has prefixed to each letter a carefully condensed and digested summary of the phonetic variations which it undergoes, and of the functions which it discharges. These short essays are extremely valuable, and will guide the student through the misty mazes of Hindi spelling. In harmony with the principles laid down in these essays, the author gives with great profusion every conceivable form of which Hindi words are capable. The usefulness of this course cannot be exaggerated; in previously existing works, like Thomson and Forbes, seldom can any but the correct form be found, and the student who found in his Tulsi Dâs or Bihâri Lal a word which those worthies saw fit to distort in order to suit their metre, had no hope of finding out its meaning unless he could of his own knowledge restore the word to its proper shape—a task to which few but the most advanced

scholars would be equal. How great an obstacle the want of a key to these distorted forms has been, may be judged from the fact that some of the first Oriental scholars in Europe have confessed their inability to master old or mediæval Hindi, and the extensive literature which the language contains has chiefly from this cause been refused the attention it merits, and has remained a sealed book to many who would otherwise gladly have studied it. Mr. Bate's work for the first time removes this difficulty, and the Hindi writers are now at last accessible to ordinary students.

All the pure Sanskrit Tatsamas, and all the Arabic and Persian words which are employed either by Hindi authors or by the peasantry of the present day, are given and clearly explained. There is a wealth of illustration on the subjects of religious festivals, legends, superstitions, games, proverbs, and slang terms which is enough to satisfy the most exacting demands, and the renderings of various shades of meaning are judiciously and clearly set forth. Dialectic forms from the Braj Bhâkha, Mârwâṛi, Mewâṛi, and other rustic varieties of speech are freely given, and each word is labelled with the dialect to which it belongs. Perhaps a little more might have been done in this direction, but those who know the difficulty of collecting and explaining these rare words will not be disposed to do more than express a hope that the learned author may be able in a second edition to give us more of this valuable element.

Much attention has evidently been paid to the vexed question of gender, and the author doubtless has good reasons for the decided way in which he labels hitherto doubtful words as either masculine or feminine. Here and there even he is unable to decide the point, and gives us notes such as *m.* (*f.* ?); but these instances are rare.

It gives one rather a feeling of surprise to come across such words as हबकूक "the prophet Habakkuk," यर्मियाह "Jeremiah," यरूशलम "Jerusalem," यर्दन "Jordan," and it is questionable whether these Hebrew words have any right to a place in a Hindi dictionary. They are certainly not commonly used in that language by any class except the very small one of native converts. Those of the ancient Jewish lawgivers and prophets whose names were known to Muhammad, and by him introduced to his followers, generally have had their name Arabicized, and in this way Mûsâ, Dâûd, Sulaimân, and Îsâ are known wherever the Muhammadan religion prevails. In this way they are perhaps known dimly to the Hindus of the Hindi-speaking area; but it is doubtful if more than half a dozen of such names, at the outside, have obtained sufficient currency to justify their being inserted in a dictionary of Hindi. Moreover, if these few words are inserted at all, they should appear in their Musalmân dress, in which alone they are known to the people of these provinces. It is difficult to see why the apostle Paul appears at all, still more so why he is called *Pâvala*. The Roman name which he substituted for his original Hebrew *Shâûl* would be more accurately transliterated पौलुस *Paulus*, and this word is also given in the dictionary. The Muhammadans know him as *Bolus*, and although the ludicrous associations of this word to modern Englishmen would prevent us from recommending its use, yet *Pâvala* is neither one thing nor the other, and arises merely from our English mispronunciation. Because we, with our barbarous perversion of vowel-sounds, have changed *Pow-lus* into *Pawl*, there is no reason to teach the Hindus to do so. The great apostle's name, as he himself pronounced it, would, when deprived of the Latin termination, rhyme to 'growl;' we erroneously make it rhyme to 'bawl.' Perhaps the most strictly accurate spelling, and that which would best reproduce the exact Roman pronunciation in all its broadness, would be not पौलुस but पाउलुस.

Exception might perhaps be taken to the author's practice of inserting under व a large number of words which are pronounced as if written with ब. In Hindi initial व is very rare, and is for the most part confined to the demonstrative pronoun वह and its numerous derivatives. Where the Hindi poets write व, they probably do so merely because with their thick pens it was rather troublesome to put in the fine cross-stroke in the loop of the ब, and most Hindus when reading poetry pronounce both व and ब alike as *b*. We are disposed to think that the initial व should only have been used for Tatsamas and the demonstrative pronoun.

It is unfair to pick holes, however, in so thoroughly excellent a book, which must have cost the author much labour and thought. The best test of its excellence is that to which the present writer has subjected it, namely, reading by its aid several obscure and difficult passages of the Hindi poets, and looking out all the words of the various rural *patois* which he remembers having heard during his sojourn in Hindustân. Tested in this way the work vindicates its claim to be a safe and satisfactory key to the language which it undertakes to expound, and Mr. Bate has undoubtedly earned the thanks of all those who require to study Hindi by this careful and scholarly performance.

J. B.

THE TRADITION OF THE GOLD-DIGGING ANTS.*

BY FREDERIC SCHIERN, PROFESSOR OF HISTORY AT THE UNIVERSITY OF COPENHAGEN.

Translated by Anna M. H. Childers.

HERODOTUS is the earliest Greek writer who mentions gold-digging ants. Omitting irrelevant matter, the following is the account he gives of them :—

"Besides these there are Indians of another tribe, who border on the city of Kaspatyrus and the country of Paktyika: these people dwell northward of all the rest of the Indians, and follow nearly the same mode of life as the Baktrians. They are more warlike than any of the other tribes, and from them the men are sent forth who go to procure the gold. For it is in this part of India that the sandy desert lies. Here in this desert there live amid the sand great ants, in size somewhat less than dogs, but bigger than foxes. The Persian king has a number of them, which have been caught by the hunters in the land whereof we are speaking. These ants make their dwellings underground, and, like the Greek ants, which they very much resemble in shape, throw up sand-heaps as they burrow. Now the sand which they throw up is full of gold. The Indians when they go into the desert to collect this sand take three camels and harness them together, a female in the middle, and a male on either side in a leading-rein. The rider sits on the female, and they are particular to choose for the purpose one that has just dropped her young: for their female camels can run as fast as horses, while they bear burdens very much better. . . . When, then, the Indians reach the place where the gold is, they fill their bags with the sand and ride away at their best speed: the ants, however, scenting them, as the Persians say, rush forth in pursuit. Now these animals are so swift, they declare, that there is nothing in the world like them : if it were not, therefore, that the Indians get a start while the ants are mustering, not a single gold-gatherer could escape. During the flight the male camels, which are not so fleet as the females, grow tired, and begin to drag first one and then the other: but the females recollect the young which they have left behind, and never give way or flag. Such, according to the Persians, is the manner in which the Indians get the greater part of their gold: some is dug out of the earth, but of this the supply is more scanty."†

Such is the story of the gold-digging ants as told by the far-travelled Herodotus, "the Humboldt of his time," who had come to Susa for the preparation of his magnificent history, a work scarcely less valuable from a geographical and ethnological than from a historical point of view. The story, for the truth of which Herodotus was compelled to rely entirely upon the statements of the Persians, we find repeated by a great many later Greek and Roman authors.‡ How deeply the legend had taken root among the ancient Greeks may best be seen from the narrative of Harpokration, who records the sarcasms of the comic poets relative to a fruitless expedition against the gold-digging ants undertaken by the Athenians with troops of all arms, and provisions for three days. "It was rumoured among the Athenians one day," he says, "that a mound of gold-dust had been seen on Mount Hymettus guarded by the warlike ants: whereupon they armed themselves and set out against the foe, but returning to Athens after much expenditure of labour to no purpose, they said mockingly to

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* Professor Schiern's essay was published in the *Verhandl. Kgl. Danischen Gesellsch. der Wissensch.* for 1870, and was also printed separately as a pamphlet in Danish, German, and French. My translation is from the French version, which is considerably abridged, and therefore more suited to the pages of the *Antiquary*. I have slightly condensed the text in a few places. I take this opportunity of pointing out that Professor Schiern is not the first who has supposed the gold-digging ants to be Tibetan miners, as will be seen by the following extract from an article in the *Pall Mall Gazette* of March 16, 1869, written by Sir Henry Rawlinson :—"Now then for the first time we have an explanation of the circumstances under which so large a quantity of gold is, as is well known to be the case, exported to the west from Khoten, and finds its way into India from Tibet; and it is probable that the search for gold in this region has been going on from a very remote antiquity, since no one can read the Pandit's account of the Tibetan miners, 'living in tents some seven or eight feet below the surface of the ground, and collecting the excavated earth in heaps previous to washing the gold out of the soil,' without being reminded of the description which Herodotus gives of the 'ants in the land of the Indians bordering on Kaspatyrus (or Kaspapyrus for Kaśyapura or Kâśmîr), which made their dwellings underground, and threw up sand-heaps as they burrowed, the sand which they threw up being full of gold.' Professor Wilson indeed long ago, and before it was known there were any miners actually at work in Tibet, suggested this explanation of the story in Herodotus, on the mere ground that the grains of gold collected in that country were called *pipilika* or ant-gold." To Professor Schiern is, however, unquestionably due the merit of an independent discovery, and above all of the lucid and laborious exposition of the evidence in favour of his theory.—A. M. H. C.

† Herodotus, iii. 102, 105. I take the translation from Rawlinson.—A.M.H.C.

‡ Conf. Strabo, II. 1; XV. 1; Arrian. *de Exped. Alexandr.* V. 4; *Indica*, 5; Dio Chrysostom. *Orat.* XXXV.; Philostrat. *de Vitâ Apollonii Tyan.* VI. 1; Clem. Alex. *Pæd.* II. 12; Ælian, *de Nat. An.* XV. 14; Harpokrat. s. v. χρυσοχοεῖν; Themist. *Orat.* XXVII.; Heliodor. X. 26; Tzetz. Chil. XII. 330-340; Pseudo-Callisth. II. 29; Schol. ad Sophocl. Antig. v. 1025.

each other, 'So you thought you were going to smelt gold!'"

The gold-digging ants of the Indians are mentioned in the writings of the Middle Ages and in those of the Arabian authors, and the tradition of them survived among the Turks as late as the sixteenth century. None of the authorities throw any doubt upon the truth of the tradition except Strabo, who treats the whole story as a fiction, and Albertus Magnus, who in quoting it adds, "sed hoc non satis est probatum per experimentum."

The advent of criticism did not at once dispel the belief in this fable. So late as the end of the last century we find the learned Academician Larcher, in his French translation of Herodotus,* cautioning his readers against hastily rejecting the narrative of the Greek historian; and two years later, in 1788, Major James Rennel, while admitting the exaggerations of the story, gives it none the less as his opinion that the formidable adversaries of the Indians were termites or white ants.† In the 19th century when people at length ceased to look upon these bellicose gold-diggers as really ants, the opinion began to prevail that there had simply been a confusion between the names of the ant and of some animal of larger size. In connection with this view, or even excluding the hypothesis of a confusion of names, it was also supposed that a certain resemblance between the ant and some larger animal had given rise to the fable, or at least contributed to maintain it. The idea of resemblance was especially grounded on the larger animal's mode of digging its burrow, or excavating the earth with any other object. This animal has been variously identified with the corsac or Tartary fox, the hyena, the jackal, the hamster (*Mus cricetus*) and the marmot.‡ The theory that the auriferous earth cast up by burrowing animals guided the Indian gold-seekers, and originated the tradition of the gold-digging ants, is curiously confirmed by an observation of Alexander von Humboldt: "I have often been struck," he says, "by seeing ants in the basaltic districts of the highlands of Mexico carrying along shining grains of hyalith, which I was able to pick out of the anthills."§ But the supposed similarity which has led to classifying as ants animals widely different from them is not limited to their mode of excavating or throwing up the earth, for an attempt has also been made to extend it to their shape and general appearance. This was done long ago by Jacob Gronovius in his interpretation of the ancient narrative,‖ and even in our own time Xivrey expresses himself still more plainly to the same effect.¶

The hypothesis of a confusion of names had to be entirely abandoned when Wilson pointed out that the ancient Sanskrit literature of India itself mentions these ants. In a remarkable passage of the great Indian epic, the *Mahâbhârata*, we have an enumeration of the treasures sent by the Northern tribes to king Yudhishṭhira, one of the sons of Pâṇḍu, and among them are lumps of *paipîlika* gold, so called because it was collected by ants (*pipîlikâs*).* Apart from this fact, it must be admitted that the burrowing habits of foxes, jackals and hyenas hardly afford a plausible pretext for confounding them with ants: it would be more natural to make comparisons of this sort with certain rodents such as marmots, but even those who adopt this solution make no attempt to ignore its weak points. Thus Lassen writes: "The accounts of their prodigious swiftness, their pursuit and destruction of gold-seekers and their camels, must be looked upon as purely imaginary, since they (marmots) are slow in their movements and of a gentle disposition."† In the same way Peschel makes the following admission: "It has not been hitherto explained on what grounds such remarkable speed and ferocity should be attributed to these ants, while marmots are represented as peace-loving crea-

* Tome III. p. 339.

† *Memoir of a Map of Hindostan*, Int. p. xxix.

‡ Conf. Link, *Die Urwelt und das Alterthum* (Berlin, 1821-22), I. 258, Ritter, *Die Erdkunde*, III. 659; Humboldt, *Kosmos*, II. 176; Wahl, *Erdbeschreibung von Ostindien* (Hamburg, 1805-7), II. 485, 486; Wilford, *Asiat. Res.* XIV. 467; Kruse, *Indiens alte Geschichte* (Leipzig, 1856), p. 39: Heeren, *Ideen über die Politik*, I. 1, 340; Vigne, *Travels in Kashmir, &c.* II. 287; Peschel, *Der Ursprung und die Verbreitung einiger geographischen Mythen im Mittelalter*, II. 265; Lassen, *Ind. Alt.* I. 50, 1022; Cunningham, *Ladak*, p. 232

§ *Kosmos*, II. 422 Compare the story of the diamond anthill in the case of Rubery *v.* Sampson.—Ed.

‖ *Worte in den Anmerkungen zu Tzschuckes Ausgabe von Pomponius Mela* (Leipzig, 1806), III. 3, 245.

¶ *Traditions tératologiques*, pp. 265, 267.

* Wilson, *Ariana Antiqua*, p. 135, and *Jour. R. As. Soc.* (1843) vol. VII. p. 143.

† *Ind. Alt.* I. 1022.

tures."* In short, as regards those writers who have endeavoured to explain the confusion of names by a certain external resemblance, suffice it to say that they have themselves despaired of finding an animal that would satisfy the conditions of their theory. Xivrey naïvely attributes this difficulty to the *auri sacra fames*, holding that a race of gold-digging animals may have really existed, and gradually disappeared before the incursions of man.†

We now come to a wholly different solution of the question. So long ago as the year 1819 Malte-Brun wrote: "May we not also suppose that an Indian tribe really bore the name of ants?"‡ It is by following up the clue thus afforded by our learned countryman that we may hope to arrive at a solution of this question. But it will be necessary in the first place to determine in what direction we are to look for the dwelling-place of the gold-digging ants, by taking as our starting-point the places mentioned by Herodotus. According to the Greek historian, the Indians who went in search of the gold lived in the neighbourhood of the city of Kaspatyrus (Κασπάτυρος) and of Paktyike (ἡ Πακτυική χώρη). Now the inhabitants of Paktyike are none other than the Afghans, who in the west call themselves Pashtun and in the east Pakhtun,§ a name identical with that given to them by Herodotus. As to the second locality, instead of Kaspatyrus, the name given in most editions of Herodotus, the *Codex Sancroftianus*, preserved in Emanuel College, Cambridge, gives that of Kaspapyrus (Κασπάπυρος), a reading found also in Stephanus Byzantinus, and clearly pointing to the ancient name of the capital of Kâśmîr, Kâśyapapura, contracted to Kâśyapura.

We are thus brought to Kâśmîr. We have in our own times seen how the Sikhs, the present masters of Kâśmîr, took possession of large portions of Tibet, namely, of Ladak or Central Tibet in 1831, and of Balti or Little Tibet in 1840. But we know that in former times the Subâhdârs, or governors of Kâśmîr under the Great Mughul, and earlier yet the kings, both Muhammadan and Hindu, of independent Kâśmîr, likewise strove to extend their conquests in the same direction. And hence we may well suppose that it was to Tibet that the Indians of Herodotus repaired when they left their native Kâśmîr in search of gold. This supposition is confirmed by the fact that Strabo and the elder Pliny expressly mention the Dards as those who robbed the ants of their treasures.‖ For the Dards are not an extinct race. According to the accounts of modern travellers, they consist of several wild and predatory tribes dwelling among the mountains on the north-west frontier of Kâśmîr, and by the banks of the Indus:¶ they are the Daradas of Sanskrit literature. They understand Pushtu, the language of the Afghans,* but their native tongue is a Sanskritic idiom. Even at the present day they carry on their marauding profession in Little and Central Tibet, and it is chiefly on this account that the picturesque vale of Huzara, which has at all times belonged to Little Tibet, remains in great part waste, in spite of its natural fertility.† Mir Izzet Ullah, the travelling companion of Moorcroft, who visited Tibet in 1812, writes as follows in his *Journal*:—"The houses of this country from Matayin to this place are all wrecked and deserted. Last year a great number of the inhabitants were carried off by bands of Dards, an independent tribe who live in the mountains three or four days' march north of Diriras, and speak Pashtu and Daradi. The prisoners made by them in these raids are sold for slaves."‡

Ælian, who makes the river Kampylinus the limit of the ant country,§ throws no light upon the question of Tibet, for it is impossible to gather from the text whether or not the Kampylinus denotes a branch of the Indus. But Tibet is indicated with tolerable certainty in the remarkable passage of the *Mahábhárata* above referred to, as well as in the statements of Herodotus, Strabo, and Pliny. For among the north-

* *Der Ursprung und Verbreitung einiger geographischen Mythen im Mittelalter*, in *Deutsche Vierteljahrschrift*, II. 266.

† *Trad. tératologiques*, p. 267.

‡ *Mémoire sur l'Inde septentrionale*, in *Nouvelles Annales des Voyages* (Paris, 1819), II. 382.

§ Hindustanicè Pathân.—Ed.

‖ Strabo, XV. 1; Pliny, *Hist. Nat.* VI. 22; XI. 36.

¶ Vigne, *Travels*, II. 300; Leitner, *Dardistan*, II. 31-34.

* Vigne, *Travels*, II. 298.

† Moorcroft and Trebeck, *Travels*, II. 264; Vigne, *Travels*, II. 250. 297, 300, 306.

‡ *Voyage dans l'Asie centrale*, in Klaproth's *Magasin Asiatique*, II. 3-5; conf. Wilson's preface to Moorcroft and Trebeck's *Travels*, I. xviii.

§ Ælian, *de Nat. An.* III. 4.

ern tribes who brought to king Yudhishṭhira the *paipîlika* gold the Khaśas are expressly mentioned; and not only are the Khaśas frequently alluded to in the Kâśmîrian chronicle *Râja Taranginî*, which locates them in the neighbourhood of the city of Kâśmir,* but they are even known at the present day under the name of Khasiyas, as a people speaking one of the Indian languages, and dwelling on the borders of Tibet.† In the passage relating to the tribute brought to the king by the Khaśas and other northern tribes, the *Mahâbhârata* also speaks of "sweet honey made from the flowers of Himavat," and of "fine black châmaras, and others that were white and brilliant as the moon." Now Himavat is only another name for the Himâlaya, and châmara is the name of the fans or fly-flaps which in India kings only are allowed to use, and which are made from the tail of the Yak or Tibetan ox (*Bos grunniens*).‡

Tibet, and especially Eastern or Chinese Tibet, has for a long time been a *terra incognita*. We owe the best information of recent date respecting this country to the Paṇḍits, or learned Brâhmaṇs, who were commissioned by the British Government to explore Eastern Tibet, and passed themselves off in that country as Bisahiri merchants. The first expedition undertaken by them was in 1865-6, and in the course of it one of the Paṇḍits reached Lassa, the capital of Eastern Tibet, and the course of the Brahmaputra was carefully observed.§ The second expedition, which took place in 1867, placed it beyond a doubt that the Indus has near its source, north of the Himâlaya, an eastern tributary, and that this tributary, named by the Tibetans Singh-gi-Chu or Singh-gi-Khamba, is in fact the true Indus; while the other branch, till then wrongly considered the principal one, is much smaller than the eastern one, and is called by the natives Garjung-Chu.|| During this expedition, the Paṇḍit who had been at Lassa fell in at Thok-Jalung, an important gold-field in the province of Nari Khorsum, with a large encampment of Tibetan miners, and took the opportunity to gain information relative to the working of mines. In the third expedition, in 1868, another Paṇḍit pushed on as far as Rudok, at the north-west extremity of Chinese Tibet, on the frontier of Ladak, and on his way back from Rudok visited the gold-fields of Thok-Nianmo, Thok-Sarlung,¶ and Thok-Jalung. The map which accompanies Major Montgomerie's narrative of the journeys of the Paṇḍits gives in addition the gold-fields of Thok-Munnak, Thok-Ragyok, Thok-Ragung, and Thok-Dalung, situate in the same district. Now we know from the Tibetan annals that the Sarthol* or 'gold-country,' with which these expeditions of discovery have made us more familiar, already bore this characteristic name in the tenth century of our era. And we will now endeavour to prove that fifteen hundred years before the tenth century this country was the scene of the identical mining operations that are witnessed there at the present day—or, in other words, that the gold-digging ants of antiquity are no other than the Tibetan miners with whom the Paṇḍits have made us acquainted.

In the first place the features of the country agree with the descriptions of the ancient writers. Herodotus places the gold-digging ants in a desert (ἐρημίη), and Strabo makes them live on a mountain plateau (ὀροπέδιον) 3000 stadia, or from seventy to eighty geographical miles,† in circumference. This description very fairly corresponds with the lofty plateau of Tibet, containing the gold-fields of Nari-Khorsum. The Paṇḍits who visited the country in 1867 found that eastward of Garthok ‡ it formed a vast table-land, arid and desolate,§ called, from the great number of antelopes found there, Chojotol, or 'plain of antelopes.'|| "No signs of a path or of either houses or tents were to be seen, and the party became anxious as to fresh water.—No palatable water could be got till they found a glacier and melted its ice."|| The single Paṇḍit who, in spite of these difficulties, succeed-

* Troyer's transl. II 321 ff; Neumann, *Geschichte des englischen Reiches in Asien* (Leipzig, 1857), I. 209 Lassen, *Ind Alt.* I 1020; Huc, *Souvenirs d'un Voyage dans la Tartarie*, &c. 264-66, 311, 321, 381.

† Hodgson in *Jour. As Soc. Beng* (1848) XVII. 546; Lassen, *Ind Alt* I. 24, 67, 459, 473-74, 646, 1020-21.

‡ Ælian, *de Nat. An.* XV. 14; conf. Bernier, *Voyage* (Amst 1699), II 308.

§ Montgomerie, *Report of a Route Survey*, in *Jour. R. Geog Soc.* (1868) vol. XXXVIII. pp. 129-219.

|| *Jour. R. Geog. Soc.* vol XXXIX. pp. 146-187.

¶ *Proc. R. Geog. Soc.* XIV. 210; *Jour.* XXXVIII. 174.

* *Sar* is the Tibetan name for gold.

† German geographical miles of 15 to a degree (?).—Ed.

‡ Garthok is situated on the banks of the Gartung-Chu. The second part of the name, Thok or Thog, implies great elevation. Schlagintweit-Sakunlunski, *Reisen in Indien und Hochasien*, III. 54.

§ Montgomerie, in *Jour. R. Geog. Soc.* XXXIX. 149, 150.

|| *Ibid.*

ed in reaching Thok-Jalung found it to be also situated upon a "large desolate plain." When he and the other Paṇḍits, on their return journey, left Giachuroff, a Tibetan encampment on the banks of the Indus, on the 4th of September, they met great numbers of nomads with flocks of sheep and cattle, but it was not until they reached a small village on the 7th of September that they saw the first signs of cultivation. With regard to the journey from Thok-Jalung to the monastery of Tadum, which lies on the highroad to Lassa, they were told that there were other great plains to cross. Again, when the Paṇḍit who got to Rudok in 1868 left that hamlet for Thok-Jalung he could perceive no lofty mountain-peak on the north or east, and established the existence in this direction also of a very extensive plain, called by the Tibetans Chang-tang, or 'the Great Plain.'* It is only in fact in the country north-east of the branch of the Indus called by the natives Singh-gi-Khamba that the gold-fields mentioned above are found. And in this respect the Singh-gi-Khamba recalls the way in which the river Kampylinus is mentioned by Ælian.

Local circumstances also explain how it was that the Tibetan miners gave rise, at first sight, to the notion that they were animals. The origin of the name Himâlaya is the same at that of Sneekoppe, Snowdon, Ben Nevis, and Sierra Nevada.† Dhavalâgirî, like Lebanon and Mont Blanc, means White Mountain, and Thok-Jalung is even higher than Mont Blanc, the miners' camp being, according to the measurements of the Paṇḍits, 16,330 feet above the sea-level. The Paṇḍit who remained at Thok-Jalung from the 26th to the 31st of August 1867, states that never in any of his travels did he experience such piercing cold as at that place, and the director of the mines informed him that in winter all the miners are dressed in furs, since no one could live at that season without them.‡ Now when we consider that the Laplanders, clothed as they were from head to foot with the skins of reindeer, appeared to Tornæus to resemble those animals, we can easily understand that the sight of our Tibetan miners in their winter dress should have called up the same idea. But more than this—the Tibetan features themselves are sufficient to suggest the comparison to foreigners of the Âryan race. Their noses are extremely flat,§ and Pallas, after remarking that Tibetans were often met with among the Mongols and at Kiachta on the border of Siberia, adds, "they all bear in their faces an almost incredible resemblance to apes."‖ Add to this their extraordinary habits. "Their customary mode of saluting one another is to loll out the tongue, grin, nod, and scratch their ear;"¶ and all, from the highest to the lowest, when they wish to sleep "draw their knees close up to their heads, and rest on their knees and elbows. . . . The Tibetans employed in Ladak by the Survey, though provided with tents, universally slept in the way described above, arranging themselves in a circle round the tent."* Fancy a few hundred miners, muffled in furs, lying asleep in this posture!

But why should these men who look like animals suggest the idea of ants in particular? The Paṇḍit to whom we owe our information about Thok-Jalung had remarked on his first journey into Eastern Tibet that the wind is everywhere very strong on the high Tibetan plateaux:† and with regard to the piercing cold which prevails at Thok-Jalung in summer, he observes that it is far rather to be attributed to the icy winds which constantly blow there than to its elevation above the sea. Accordingly the miners do not merely remain underground while at work,‡ but their small black tents, which are made of a felt-like material manufactured from the hair of the Yak, are set in a series of pits with steps leading down into them. "The tents of the diggers," says the Paṇḍit, "are always pitched in pits some seven or eight feet below the surface of the ground, so as to keep out the wind."§ The account received by Herodotus (III. 102) of the gold-digging ants, that "they made themselves subterranean dwellings," is therefore literally applicable to

* Montgomerie in *Jour. R. Geog. Soc.* XXXIX. pp. 151, 156, 162, and *Proc.* XIX. 208-9: *Jour.* XXXIII. 21.

† Pliny, *Hist. Nat.* VI. 17, Ptolemy, *Geog.* VI. 13.

‡ *Jour. R. Geog. Soc.* XXXIX. 152

§ Schlagintweit-Sakünlunski, *Reisen in Indien*, II. 49.

‖ *Sammlungen historischer Nachrichten über die Mongolischen Volkerschaften*, II. 107: conf. Kœppen. *Die Relig. des Buddha*, II. 44. 45.

¶ Hooker's *Himalayan Journals*, I. 192; Huc, *Souvenirs* II. 266. 316. 465, 470.

* *Jour. R. Geog. Soc.* XXXIX. 155.

† *Jour. R. Geog. Soc.* XXXVIII. 152.

‡ On nearing Thok-Jalung the Paṇḍit heard their songs before he could see them.

§ *Jour. R. Geog. Soc.* XXXIX. 154.

the miners of Thok-Jalung; and this fact, added to the active habits of miners, doubtless first occasioned their being called ants by the ancients.

An ancient record, fortunately preserved to our day, seems to prove beyond doubt that the original tradition of the gold-digging ants referred in the first instance to the Tibetan miners: and to this evidence, which we owe to Megasthenes, I attach the greatest importance. Seleukus Nikator I., the founder of the Greek dynasty in Syria, sent Megasthenes as ambassador to the Indian king Sandrakottos or Sandragyptos, whom modern science has long identified with king Chandragupta. At the Indian capital, called by the Greeks Palibothra, but the true name of which was Pâṭaliputra, Megasthenes had frequent opportunities of intercourse with the Brâhmaṇs. During his residence he collected materials for a work in India, which bore the title of τὰ Ἰνδικὰ, but has, unfortunately, only been handed down to us in fragments by other ancient authors. From one of these fragments, preserved by Strabo (XV. 1), who himself had little confidence in Megasthenes, we learn that the latter had recorded the following fact regarding the famous Indian ants:—"It is in winter that they excavate the earth, which they heap up at the mouth of the pit like moles." The same statement is to be found in Pliny (*H. N.* XI. 36), who says: "The gold is dug up by them in winter, and the Indians carry it off in summer." Now it is a remarkable fact that the Paṇḍit tells us of the miners of Thok-Jalung: "In spite of the cold, the diggers prefer working in winter; and the number of their tents, which in summer amounts to 300, rises to nearly 600 in winter. They prefer the winter, as the frozen soil then stands well, and is not likely to trouble them much by falling in."*

Megasthenes informs us that the Indian ants "live by hunting,"† and we know of the Tibetan miners that they procure their food by hunting the Yak and other wild animals.‡ But though possessed of arms they are not, even on their desert plateau, secure from the attacks of robbers. The third Paṇḍit, who visited Eastern Tibet in 1868, was an eye-witness of such an attack when, on his return from Rudok, he reached a Tibetan encampment in the neighbourhood of the gold-field of Thok-Nianmo. An annual fair was being held, and the Sarpon, or chief inspector of the gold district, happened to be present. The assailants, a troop of mounted brigands said to have come from the great Tengri-Nor, or Lake of Nam-cho-Chimbo, consented under these circumstances to withdraw on payment of a sum of money;§ but the incident shows that keeping watch-dogs was by no means a useless precaution on the part of the Tibetan miners. In the 13th century Marco Polo praises the Tibetan dogs, which he says were "of the bigness of asses," for their cleverness in hunting wild beasts,‖ and in our century Mir Izzet Ullah, whose journey we have already alluded to, remarks as follows:—"The dogs of Tibet are twice the size of those of Hindustan: they have large heads, long hair, a formidable amount of strength, and great courage: they are said to be a match for a lion."¶ The Paṇḍit to whom we owe the best information on Eastern Tibet, and who before reaching Thok-Jalung had already had an opportunity of seeing these dogs at Lassa, tells us that they are called by the Tibetans Gyaki, or 'royal dogs.'* It is therefore quite conceivable that the ferocious giant dogs of Tibet should often have been confounded with their masters. Herodotus' stories of the speed with which the gold-digging ants pursued the Indians, and of the presence of some of these animals at the Persian court, are perhaps applicable to these dogs, and not to their masters. Alluding to an account in which a pack of Turkish dogs are represented as having taken part in the war against the Russians in 1769-74, M. de la Barre Duparcq has thought himself justified in taking it as though the *Seghmân* or dog-keepers in the Seraglio at Constantinople had been sent on this occasion in great numbers to reinforce the army.† Now if in the 18th century, by a wrong interpretation, expressions were applied to the Turkish dogs which were intended for their masters, it is easy to understand that a

* *Jour. R. Geog. Soc.* XXXIX. 151.

† Strabo, XV. 1.

‡ *Jour. R. Geog. Soc.* XXXIX. 155

§ *Proc. R. Geog. Soc.* XIV. 209

‖ *Le Livre de Marco Polo*, II. 380.

¶ Klaproth, *Magasin Asiatique*, II. 16.

* *Jour. R. Geog. Soc.* XXXIX. 152.

† *Les Chiens de Guerre* (Paris, 1869), p. 140.

similar or converse confusion may have taken place at a much earlier period.

But, setting aside the giant dogs of Tibet, we have only to recall what has been said about the furs in which the Tibetan miners muffle themselves in winter, in order to arrive at the most natural explanation of the account given by Nearchus, the friend of Alexander's boyhood. When Nearchus quitted India he was commissioned, as is well known, to descend the Indus and proceed by sea from the mouth of that river to that of the Euphrates. It appears that he wrote an account of his voyage entitled Παράπλους, in which, according to Strabo and Arrian, he stated that although he had not, while in India, succeeded in meeting with a living specimen of the gold-digging ants, he had yet seen the skin* of one of them, and that it resembled the hide of a panther. Many of these skins were brought to the Macedonian camp.†

The description of the gold-digging ants contains yet another peculiarity, the explanation of which has hitherto been a great perplexity: I refer to Pliny's assertion that the horns of an Indian ant were preserved as a curiosity in the temple of Hercules at Erythræ.‡ Samuel Wahl, whose idea was that the gold-digging ants were hyenas, in the face of this passage of Pliny, is driven to defend his theory in the following language:—"The horns mentioned by Pliny as belonging to an animal which, to judge from the descriptions of ancient writers, cannot have had horns, may be accounted for by supposing that they belonged to a rare species, or to an individual that was a *lusus naturæ*, as sometimes occurs with other hornless animals: but I am inclined to the belief that the passage of Pliny is corrupt, and that for *cornua* we ought to read *coria* or prepared hides, or else that *cornua* should be taken in the sense of teeth, as in the case of elephants."§

My own wholly different interpretation of this passage of Pliny will, I hope, be considered a more probable one. It rests upon a conjecture long since formed by me upon the dress of the Tibetan miners, but which has developed, thanks to the testimony of an eye-witness, into a certainty. It is to Mrs. Frederick Severin that I am indebted for a piece of information which has been of the greatest value to me in my researches into the tradition of the gold-digging ants. Mrs. Severin is married to a Danish gentleman who has for many years been the proprietor of a tea-plantation in Assam bearing the name of 'Grönlund.' She is the daughter of Mr. William Robinson, formerly Inspector of Government Schools in Assam, author of a book on Assam, and of several memoirs on the Tibetan tribes adjoining that district.‖ It was during a visit recently paid by her to Denmark that I obtained from her the information I had so long sought.

The province of Assam, as is well known, is not less remarkable than the Caucasus as the meeting-place of different races. A variety of tribes flock thither from the most distant quarters,—from the west the Âryan Hindus, from the south the Trans-Gangetic Hindus, from the East the Chinese, and from the north the Tibetans, who inhabit the adjoining district of Bhotan, or, as they themselves call it, Lhopato. On one occasion when Mr. Robinson made a tour in Upper Assam, he took with him his daughter, then only fourteen years of age, to visit a family friend, Colonel Holroyd, who held an important government appointment in the district. Colonel Holroyd took occasion to present to his guests some Tibetans who had just crossed the Himâlaya clothed in their strange costume, and Miss Robinson was able to satisfy herself that there are Tibetans who wear Yak skins with the horns attached and projecting from their heads. We may fairly conclude that it is to this costume of the Tibetans that allusion is made in the *Mahâbhârata*, when it speaks of the "hairy, horned Kankas" who brought presents to king Yudhishthira. These Kankas we know for certain to have been the inhabitants of Eastern Tibet.¶ And there can be little doubt that this characteristic Tibetan head-dress was in view in the story told to those who visited the temple of Erythræ, a story

* Probably the skin of *Felis uncia*, the ounce, the snow-leopard of sportsmen, common in Tibet.—Ed.

† Strabo, XV. 1; Arrian, *Indica*, c. 15.

‡ Pliny, *Hist. Nat.* xi. 36.

§ Wahl, *Erdbeschreibung von Ost-Indien*, II. 184-5.

‖ *A Descriptive Account of Assam*, Calc. 1841, 8vo.; Robinson's *Notes* in *Jour. As. Soc. Beng.* vol. XVIII. pt. i. pp. 183-237, 310-349; vol. XX. pp. 126-137, vol. XXIV. pp. 307-324.

¶ Rémusat in *Mém. de l'Institut Royal*, VIII. (1827) pp. 111, 113, 126; Lassen, *Ind. Alt.* I. 374, 1023.

which appeared to savour in so high a degree of the marvellous, and according to which the pair of horns preserved as a great treasure in the temple had once belonged to a gold-digging ant.

For us this story partakes no longer of the marvellous. The 'gold-digging ants' were originally neither, as the ancients supposed, real ants, nor, as so many eminent men of learning have supposed, larger animals mistaken for ants on account of their appearance and subterranean habits, but men of flesh and blood, and those men Tibetan miners, whose mode of life and dress were in the remotest antiquity exactly what they are at the present day.

THE DVAIÂSHARAYA.

(*Continued from p. 114*)

The Ninth Sarga.

After subduing Hammuk, Bhima went against Chedideśa, conquering the Rājas as he went. Secretly the warriors of Bhima attacked the towns of several rājas When he heard of Bhima's approach, the Raja of Chedi collected an army of Bhallas and Mlechhas, but he considered long whether he should fight with Bhima the unconquered, or should come to an agreement with him. Meanwhile his horsemen and foot advanced, ready for the fight, and the *nobat* and other instruments sounded. Bhima had a servant named Dâmodar, whom he sent to the Râja of Chedi to say that if he would arrange to pay a tribute he would not attack him. Damodar went to the Chedi Raja's court: that Râja's teeth were white as if they had been washed by the washerman; he had no *pân* in his mouth, but Dâmodar had *pân, supârî*, and *camphor* in his mouth, so that it looked very beautiful, his teeth appearing red.* Dâmodar said: "The Râja of Daśârnavadeśa serves my raja; Bhima has also subdued the Râja of Kâśi, conquering and slaying him in battle. You should come to Bhima and say to him, 'I have heard much of your fame, how the Râja of Gajabandhdeśa, Bhadrabhat by name, coming from a distant country, submitted to you, and that he dwells with you peaceably, having presented elephants, &c. So also Yantri Raja, throwing away his arms, paid obeisance; the Râja of Kalinga also, named Tantika, also Nanti, Ganti, Hanti, Wanti, Manti —all know your fame. The Raja of Ayodhya, who never at any time paid tax, even he gave you the treasure that the Râja of Goddeśa had given to him. Your fame is greater than Sahasrârjuna's of old: you are therefore styled Râjâdhiraja; and I am thus pleased to be friendly with you.' Thus should you say or else agree to fight."

The Chedideśa Râja replied: "Of old very famous râjas have been born in this Chandravaṁśa, as Pururavâ and Nahusha, Bharata, Janamejaya. In like manner to the present time these Chandravaṁśa Râjas are of great fame. Of this race at present, Bhima is great in exploits, and he subdues all râjas under him: therefore to be friends with a good man is good, but if I be friendly with him people will blame me, and say that it was because I was not able to fight that I made friends. Never mind! Dâmodar, it is my good fortune that you have come to my court: I will give you these elephants, do you present them on my behalf to Bhima; also this horse that travels more swiftly than the wind. This *mandpíká* (?), which I took from Bhoja Râja of Mâlwâ, do you present to Bhima."

Thus spoke Karna the Râja of Chedideśa, to the Vakil Dâmodar: "Take also this gold *Meru* upon your camel for an offering to Bhima, and tell him to return home knowing me to be his friend. Manage the matter so that Bhima may be altogether pleased with me." Dâmodar said he would do as directed, and then making obeisance he left the court, taking the presents with him. When Dâmodar reached Bhima, Bhima's ministers confirmed the arrangement he had made. Bhima having thus conquered returned to Pattan. The city was adorned for his entry, and the people walked about dressed in holiday attire.

In Bhima's reign his subjects suffered no calamity such as fires, or attacks on the town by plundering enemies.

Bhima had a son named Kshemarâja and another named Karṇa, and Kshemarâja had a son named Devaprasâda.

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* So much for Indian taste!

Afterwards as Mularâja and others, in the desire of paradise, went to perform penances, in like manner Bhima too said to Kshemarâja: "Do you manage the kingdom, and I will go to perform penances." Kshemarâja refused, saying, "I will not separate from you, but will myself accompany you to do penance." Then Bhima and Kshemarâja together seated K a r ṇ a on the throne, and Bhima went to *Svarga* (A.D. 1073).

Afflicted at his separation from Bhima, Kshemarâja retired to a pure place called M u ṇ ḍ î - k e ś v a r a, near the village of D a h î s t h a l a, on the banks of the Sarasvatî, and there performed penances. Then Karṇa Râja gave this village of Dadhîsthala to the Kuṅvarji Devaprasâda, that he might attend upon Kshemarâja in his penances there.

Karṇa Râja too, making *mulkgirî*, kept all râjas under his subjection. Once a *chobdâr* informed Karṇa Râja that a portrait-painter who had travelled in many countries had arrived, and stood at the door, waiting permission to appear in his presence. On the râja's order the painter entered the court and sat down, making obeisance, and said: "O Râja, your fame has travelled into many countries, therefore many people think of you and are desirous of seeing you. I too have been for long so desirous." Then the painter exhibited to the king a roll with paintings on it. There Lakshmî was represented dancing before the râja, and there was painted a maiden much more beautiful than Lakshmî. When the râja saw it he praised the maiden's beauty exceedingly. He inquired of what race the maid was, and the painter answered: "There is in the Dekhan a city named C h a n d r a p u r; the king thereof is J â y a k e ś i: * this maid is his daughter the princess M a y â ṇ a l l a d e v î, in the bloom of youth. Many princes wish to wed her, but she accepts of none. Her attendant told her that the flower of her age was passing away, and that she should accept a husband: then the maid began to worship Gauri, to obtain a bridegroom full of qualities. The Bauddha Jatis too, that shave the hair of their heads and their beards, having painted portraits of many royal princes, showed them to the princess. Afterwards some unskilled painter who came to Chandrapur exhibited your portrait to this princess, who, when she saw it, agreed to marry you. When she sees birds flying from this direction, she asks them if they are come from Râja Karṇa: she refuses to eat or drink, and because her desire to marry you is not speedily gratified she is grieved. For this reason the maiden has sent me privately to your presence. She has sworn that she will have no other bridegroom, and Jayakeśi Râja also has authorized my coming." Having thus spoken, the painter presented the gifts of gold, jewels, &c. which Jayakeśi had sent. Karṇa received them, and great eagerness to marry this damsel arose in his mind. The painter said, moreover, that his Râja Jayakeśi, knowing Karṇa to be a great Mahârâja, had sent an elephant as a present, which he prayed might be accepted. Karṇa agreed and asked where the elephant was: he was told it was in the garden. He went out privately to see it, and after having examined it, went on into the garden, where he saw a very beautiful woman. He considered whether this was not the same whose portrait he had seen in the roll. The Râja asked her attendant who the lady was. She answered that her father's race was called K a d a m b a, and that she was the princess the daughter of Jayakeśi, Râja of the Dekhan, who had come thither with the desire of marrying him,—having taken an oath that if otherwise, she would burn herself. Karṇa said he would marry the lady and make her his *Pat Râṇî*. They went into the city, and the marriage was performed according to the usual custom. The person of the bride was stained with *kanku*; salt was waved over the heads of bride and bridegroom and cast away.

The Tenth Sarga.

Thus the Râja married M a y â ṇ a l l a d e v i, and bestowed great honour upon her. Afterwards K a r ṇ a R â j a, having no son, was very sad, and he used to go to the temple of L a k s h m î and there pray for a son. The Guru taught him a *mantra* of Lakshmî's, which he continued repeating, refraining from food and drink and women, and sleeping on the ground and performing all this observance privately, unknown to any. He also offered *homa* of *tila* and *ghî*, &c., to Lakshmî, and worshipped her, presenting *balidan*, the lotus, &c., also keeping

* *Ind. Ant.* vol. I. pp. 156, 320; vol. III. p. 194.

his eyes fixed on the point of his nose, with a string of beads in his hand, telling them and reflecting on the Nirâkâr Deva. Next day, though it was not the rainy season, rain fell plentifully; the sun went down and it was night: then a band of Apsarasas dressed in ornaments came to the temple of Lakshmî and began to dance. One of them seating herself near Karṇa began to play the *viná*: another danced before him and to incite him to amorousness sported in dalliance and spoke to excite him. When with all these means they could not distract Karṇa from his abstraction, the Apsarasas, seated in a chariot, returned to the skies. Next a very terrible man, with his hair tied in a *jathá*, approached Karṇa and said: "I am a Daitya, an enemy of the Devatas; I am come to slay you though you speak not: behold this weapon which I hold drawn over you." Though he attempted to terrify him by many other means also, yet Karṇa abandoned not his meditation nor opened his eyes. When Lakshmî saw such steadfastness in Karṇa she was astonished and began to shake her head. The *chobdárani* entreated the Devî to protect Karṇa who showed such steadfastness. Then the Devî said to Karṇa: "O Râja! with you I am pleased: therefore will I assuage all your calamities, and your order shall be obeyed even in *Svarga*." Then Karṇa in many ways entreated Lakshmî, and said: "O Devî! Indra too is your servant, and whoever pleases you continues to want nothing. If therefore, O Devî! you are pleased with me, grant me a son." Then the Devî replied: "O Râja! such a son shall be yours as shall cause your fame to increase." Thus saying the Devî vanished. Then was Karṇa very glad, and with his Râṇî began to worship Lakshmî continually. The great chiefs, hearing of this *cardán*, came with joy to visit Karṇa, bringing presents with them. When Karṇa left the temple of Lakshmî to go to the court, the city was adorned and a great festival was held.

*The Eleventh Sarga.**

The Râja and Râṇî with great joy going into the garden feasted from one plate . . . The Râṇî conceived, and the *homa* offering was performed for her protection. The *Gorani* instructed the Râṇî to speak gently, to be careful not to fasten her clothes too tightly . . . to abstain from liquor of all kinds, not to walk too much . . . The Râṇî gave birth to a son very beautiful and of great splendour. The *Joshis* were sent for, and the *janmákshar* caused to be constructed. The Joshis declared that this child was an *avatár* of some Deva, and would be of numerous exploits, slaying Daityas, and performing other deeds of a Deva, causing to cease the obstructions that the Daityas offered to religious worship. To these astrologers Karṇa Râja presented cows and lands. On account of the Kuñvara's birth, he caused the city to be adorned and a great festival to be held. Many musicians played and sang songs: to scholars and others Karṇa made gifts, and ordered that fishermen and the like should that day abstain from destroying life: he released prisoners, even those who had committed great offences. Afterwards the elder ladies of the family bestowed on the Kuñvara the name of Jayasiñha.

That day Karṇa did not dine until he had fed little children. Afterwards when the Kuñvara grew up he began to play on the banks of the Sarasvatî, and to practise in different games. He learnt the art of pugilism thoroughly, also to use the thirty-six kinds of weapons. When Jayasiñha became a young man he began to worship Śiva. Then said Karṇa to Jayasiñha: "Do you now take this burthen of royalty, and I, according to the custom of our ancestors, will perform penance for the good of my soul." Jayasiñha replied: "In your lifetime I will not rule, for my fame in the world would be thus spoilt. I have no desire for royalty now, but will serve you." Karṇa said: "I am now old, and therefore must of necessity prepare to go to *Svarga*. Do you, therefore, accept this burthen of rule." Karṇa added that obedience to parents and Gurus was the best service, and that for this reason Jayasiñha should obey his order. Thus importuning him, Karṇa took Jayasiñha by the hand and placed him on the golden throne: then, calling for the Gor with a golden cup and a *Sankh* filled with water, he caused Jayasiñha to be anointed and *homa* to be performed. A voice was then heard from the sky saying, "This Jayasiñha shall conquer all Râkshasas

* The earlier part of this has been abridged as unfit for publication.

and Râjas and shall be very famous [A. D. 1093.]

On this occasion Karṇa was filled with joy, and gave advice to Jayasiñha to protect Brâhmaṇs and all the four *varaṇas* (castes) according to the practice of their forefathers, and begged him to extend favour to his (Karṇa's) brother's son Devaprasâda. Then Karṇa, fixing his thoughts on Vishṇu, went to Indrapura.

Jayasiñha then performed the funeral rites for his father, feasting Brâhmaṇs of good character.

When Devaprasâda heard that Karṇa had gone to *Svarga*, he came to Jayasiñha and said: "This is my son Tribhuvanapâla; treat him as your own son: he is a worshipper of all the (*shaṭdarśana*) six Darśanas." Having thus said, and having prepared a pyre on the banks of the Sarasvatî, Devaprasâda burnt himself alive, to follow Karṇa.

Then Jayasiñha kept Tribhuvanapâla near himself, and in battle Tribhuvanapâla placed himself before Jayasiñha.

Jayasiñha conquered the whole earth as far as the ocean, and performed sacrifices.

The Twelfth Sarga.

After this Jayasiñha practised the hearing of the *Dharmaśâstras*. One day the Rishis said to him: "O Râja! the Râkshasas come to Siddhapur, causing annoyance, and destroy the place: we suffer from great terror there, and are not able to sleep in peace. The Râkshasas have broken down the temple of Svayambhumâhakâladeva at the Śrîsthalatîrtha (Siddhapur), where you wash the Brâhmaṇs' feet. They are as wicked as Lavaṇa Râkshasa, and have now come and settled at Srîsthala. Even a child of the Châlukya race could protect us: do you therefore so defend us." Jayasiñha replied: "O munis! I am greatly ashamed to hear of this matter. On Kshapâtâdhipa's* doing you so much mischief why did you not at once make the matter known to me? My servants too told me nothing of the matter. I regard it as much better to die fighting among great râjas than to die of disease. This sword is as the ornament of my arm: it will be well if it be stained with the blood of the Râkshasas." Then Jayasiñha took an army with him and went with the devotees to Śrîsthala to destroy the Râkshasas.

The Senâpatis of Jayasiñha were of high families and great reputation, and therefore were not such as would turn back in fight. Jayasiñha halted on the banks of the Sarasvatî, and a Râkshasa seeing Jayasiñha's army went to Bărbăr (or Bărbărăk) and told him. Then Barbarak ordered his army† to engage: the Râkshasas, therefore, seizing their arms, gnashing their teeth, advanced to the battle. When the Râkshasas came to fight at the Sarasvatî river, a great storm of wind arose, which was for them an evil omen. Then the earth began to quake, and the Râkshasas were despondent, foreboding evil. At the orders of their lord, the Râkshasas cast stones, fire, wood, &c. on Jayasiñha's army. These Râkshasas were stout and strong of body, and all joined in close fight and were not scattered, and they were expert in warding off the arrows which Jayasiñha's men shot at them. On account of their strength, the army of Jayasiñha fled backward in such confusion that they stopped not to pick up their clothes that fell: therefore were they ashamed and abandoned the hope of victory. As they ran and fell, some lost their teeth, others had their knees broken, and no one knew what to do next. Then Jayasiñha, desirous of fame, called to his warriors: "O warriors! flying from death whither will you go? Wherever you go death will some day reach you: therefore if you die fighting in this battle with your faces to the enemy, your fame will increase." Thus saying, Jayasiñha too, seizing weapons himself, went forwards. He added: "Should you fall in fight you will go to *Svarga*, if you run away you will go to *Naraka*." Then did the warriors make a stand against the flesh-eating Râkshasas. And now Châraṇs with their *vinas*, chaunting verses, proclaimed the fame of the warriors.

When Jayasiñha's army thus advanced to the attack, Barbar in person attacked Jayasiñha. The Râja of Antardhanadeśa's younger brother was on Barbar's side. Now Jayasiñha and Barbar began to fight: Jayasiñha wounded him and bound his hands. The wife of Barbar, by name Piṅgalikâ, thought that her husband would now be slain, so coming to Jayasiñha, with great humility she entreated.

* The king of the Râkshasas.

† This seems to allude to some Musalmân invader.

saying, "O Râja! you have made this Barbar a prisoner, therefore you have conquered and he is defeated. Many evil deeds has this Barbar done in a pure land, and this is punishment he receives because of it Therefore, now, Barbar will no more do evil, and will leave the Brâhmaṇs in peace, wherefore do spare him." When he heard these entreaties he released Barbar and returneda to his own place at Paṭṭan.

(To be continued.)

PERSONAL NAMES IN THE SOUTHERN PART OF THE AHMADÂBÂD COLLECTORATE.

BY C. E. G. CRAWFORD, Bo. C.S., GOGHÂ.

The following classification is based on the names found in the compiler's *Criminal and Supplementary Returns* for the past thirteen months. It is therefore necessarily imperfect and entirely tentative, and does not make the slightest pretence to contain either all the names in use, or all the castes which use the names it gives. Probably, too, there are many mistakes. The compiler, according to his dim lights, has arranged the names he has collected in four classes, as follows:—

A. Names mostly drawn from mythology and mainly common to all Hindus, but chiefly in use among the high castes and artizans. These only appear in the lists when also used by the lower castes, as in their high-caste use they are well known.

B. Names mainly local, used by all, but chiefly by Râjpûts and by the lower castes.

C. Names used in one caste only.

D. Names used by the lower castes only.

In the lists the specifications of castes are only meant to show the uses which have come under the compiler's observation, without implying that other uses are non-existent.

Of affixes, *lâl*, *chand*, *râm*, *dâs*, are high-caste; *ji* is universal, *bhâi* and *siṅg* are chiefly used by the Râjpût Grâsiâs; aspiring Kolis also use *siṅg*, or *saṅg* as it is locally pronounced. The diminutives *lâ*, *dâ*, *iyâ* are usually appended to the names of Kolis, Ḍheḍs, Wâghris, and the like by members of other castes; *kâ* is used for boys.

Only such Musalmân names are given as are plainly Hindu. These are found very numerously among the Molesalâm Grâsiâs, and point to the imperfect character of their Muhammadanism.

In many cases final *o* is represented by *â* in these lists; it often appears before an affix.

A

Aṁbâ-lâl, Ksh.*-râm, Kaṇ. Aṁbaidâs, So.
Ânand, Khojâ; -râm, Br. Aṇḍâ, Ko. Kuṁ.
Arjaṇ, Wâg. Ko. R. Kuṁ. Sutâr; -lâl, Br.
Bâpu-bhâi, Gr.; -miâṅ, -sâheb, Mol.
Bechar, Wâg. Ko. Jogi, Bhausâr, W. Kaṇ. Kuṁ.; -siṅg, -ji, Gr.
Bhagwân, Ko. Darzi, Br. Kuṁ. R.
Bhagâ, Bhagu, Ko. Chāran.
Bhawân, Kaṇ. Râwaliya, R. W. Ko. Mus.
Bhîmâ, Bhim, Ko. Kâth. Bh. R. Kâth. Kuṁ.; -ji, Gr.
Bhupat-siṅg, Gr. Chhagan, Ko. Br.
Bhurâ, W. Chaku, Ko. W.
Châmpâ, Kâth.; -si, W. Chelâ, Kâth. Wâg. Dh.
Chikâ, Ko. W. Dâdâ, Kâth.; -bhâi, Mol. Gr.; -ji, Gr.
Dâji, R. Darzi; -bhâi, Gr. Dalâ, Ko.; -bhâi, Gr.
Dânâ, Ko. Kâth. Âh.; -siṅg, Ko.
Dayâ, Kaṇ.
Devâ, Wâg. Kâth. R. Kuṁ. Chamâr; -si, -chand, W.; -shaṅkar, -ji, Br.; -dâs, Rabâri.
Devi-siṅg; -Gr. Desâ, Âh.; -bhâi, Gr.
Dhanâ, Kaṇ. Bh. Jogi, Darzi, Ko. Châran, Kuṁ.
Dosâ, Ko. R. Kâth.; -bhâi, Gr.; -miâṅ, Mus.
Dudhâ, Ko. Kaṇ Kuṁ.; -bhâi, Gr. Dyâlâ, Bh. Darzi.
Gagâ, Wâg. Ko. Bhausâr. Gagû-bhâi, Mol.
Gaṅga-bhâi, Gr. -ji, Gr.
Gagal, W. Galâ, Ko.
Gaṇesh, Kaṇ Ko. Gokal, Ko. Kuṁ.
Gemal-siṅg, Gr.
Ghehelâ, Wâg. Kâth. Ko. W. Kaṇ.; -bhâi, Bhârut.

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* Abbreviations.

Âh. Âhir	Kum. Kumbhâr	Gr. Grâsiâ	R. Râjpût
Bh. Bharvâd	Meh. Mehman	Kan. Kanbi	So. Soni.
Br. Brâhman	Mol. Molesalâm	Kath. Kathi	V. Vohrâ
Dh. Ḍheḍ	Mus. Musalmân	Ko. Koli	W. Wâniyâ
		Ksh. Kshatri	Wâg. Wâghri

Gigà, Khoja, Ko. W. Mehman, Kâth. Sutâr.
Gopâl, W.; -sing, Gr. Govind, Wâg. Ko. Kum. Bh.
Goyâ, Kaṇ. Dh.; -bhâi, Gr. Hakâ, W. Khawâs.
Hàlâ, Ko. Hamir, R. Ko. Kâth. Âh.; -ji, Gr. R.
Hari, Ko. R. Kan. Br. Darzi, W.
Harji, Ko. W. Kum. Luwaṇâ. Harkhâ, So.; -ji, Kaṇ.
Hathi-yâ, Ko. R.; -bhâi, Gr.
Hâthî, Ko. Bh. Kâth.; -ji, R. Hirâ, Ko. R.; -ji, Sutâr.
Je-sing, R. Ko. W. Kaṇ.; -chand, W.; -shankar, Br.; -karan, Ko.; -râm, Kaṇ. Br.
Jhaver, Kaṇ. W. Luwâṇâ. Joïtâ, Kâth.
Kalyâṇ, Ko. W.; -sing, Gr.
Karśan, Ko. Kaṇ. W. Kum. R.
Keśav, Ko. Luwâr; -lâl, W. Ksh.
Khimâ, Ko.; -chand, W.
Khuśâl, W. Kaṇ. Kuber, Ko. W.; -ji, Br.
Kunwarâ, Ko. Kaṇ.; -ji, W.; -sing, Mol.
Lakhâ, Ko Khawâs, Mehman.
Lakshmaṇ, Kâth. Sutâr, R.
Lâlâ, Ko. Mus. Kum.; -chand, W. Lalu, So.
Mâdhâ, Ko. Mâdhav-ji, W.; -sing, Gr.
Makan, Luwâṇâ; -dâs, Kâṇ.
Mathura, Br. W. Mâli.
Mohon-ji, Gr. Moti, Kum.; -bhâi, Mol. Gr.; -lâl, W.
Nânâ, Nân, Ko. Darzi, So. Kaṇ. Chamâr, W.; -bhâi, -ji, Gr.
Nâraṇ, Bh. Br. Ko. Narsi, Kaṇ. Darzi, Kum. Kaṇ.; -sing, Gr.
Nâthâ, Ko. Kum.; -ji, Mol. Mus.; -bhâi, Gr.
Nathu, R. Kâth. Mus. W. Ko. Jogi, Kum.; -râm, Br.; -bhâi, Gr.
Parśottam, W. Sutâr, Kaṇ. Pârvati-sing, R.
Pitâmbar, Ko. Luwâṇâ. Prâg, Kaṇ. Ko.
Pratâp-sing, Gr. Premâ-ji, Ko.; -bhâi, Gr.
Raghâ, Ko.; -bhâi, Gr.; -nâth, W.
Râjâ, Ko.; -bhâi, Gr. Râje, Mus.
Râm, Râmâ, Ko. R. Kum. Bhausâr, Wâg. Kâth. Bhangiya; -bhâi,-sing, Gr.; -ji, Ko. Br.; -ji, -sing, R.; -râo, Châran; -chandra, Br.
Ranchhoḍ, Ko. R. Kum.; -ji, Gr. Ratnâ, Bh. Ko. Rabâri, R.
Rupâ, Ko.; -sing, R.; -singji, Gr. Śambu, Kaṇ.
Śâmji, So. Luwâṇa, Br. Sutâr. Śâma, R. Kum.
Trikam, Dh.; -ji, Br. Vithal, Luwâṇa, Kaṇ.
Wanmâli, Sutâr.

B.

Abhe-sing, Gr.; -chand, W.; -ji, Kâth.
Adâ, Ko.; -sing, Gr. Âlâ, Kâth. Bh. Ko.
Ami-ji, Mol. V.; -chand, W.
Amrâ, Kâth. Bh. Ko.; Amarsi, Sutâr, Satwârâ; -chand, W. Bahâdar, Ko.
Bâwâ, Kâth. Ko. Bh. Wâg. Kum.; -ji, Gr. Mol.; -miân, Mus.
Bhâbhâ, Ko. R. Bhai-ji, Ko.; -chand, W. Kum. Mâli; -ji, R.
Bhâṇâ, Kâth. Kaṇ. Ko. Kum. Mâli; -ji, R.
Bhânkhar-ji, R. Bhârmal, Ko.
Bhâthi, Ko. Bhâwâ, Ko. R.
Bhayâ, So. Kâth. Bhojhâ, Ko. Kâth.
Bholâ, Luwâr; -bhâi, Gr.
Hâmâ, Bh.; -bhâi, Gr.
Harbham, Ko.; -ji, Gr.
Himâ, Ko.; -râj, W.
Hothi, Bh. Mol.
Jâgâ, Ko. Jagmal, -ji, Mol. Gr.
Jasâ, Ko. R. Jasmat, Ko. Kum.; -sing, Gr.
Jesâ, Ko.
Jethâ, Kaṇ. R. Ko. W. Kum. Kâth. Khaḍak; -sûr, Kâth.
Jethi, R. Mus.; -sing,-bhâi, Gr. Jhâhâlâ, Wâg.
Jhâlam, Wâg.; -sing, Gr. Jhiṇâ, Bh. Mus. Ko.; -bhâi, Gr.
Jiji-bhâi, Gr. Châran. Jibâwâ, Gr.
Jivâ, Ko. Kâth. Bh. Mus. Kum.; -bhâi, Gr.; -râj. Ko. W.
Jivaṇ, Mus. R.; -â, Kâth.
Jodhâ, Ko. R.; -bhâi. Bhârut.
Juthâ, Kaṇ. Kâth. W. Kâbhâi, Ko.
Kabâ, Ko. R.
Kâhânâ, Wâg. Ko. Bh. Kaṇ. Kum. Khawâs.
Kalâ, Ko. W. Kum.; -bhâi, Gr.
Kâlâ, Ko. Kâth. Kum.
Kâlu, R. Ko. Mus.; -bhâi, Gr.
Kanthaḍ, Kâth. Âh.
Kaslâ, W. Ko. Mus.; -bhâi, Gr. Kaḍwâ, Ko. W.
Kesâ-bhâi, Gr. Kesar, R.
Khengâr-bhâi, Gr.
Khimâ, Ko. Chamâr; -chand, W.; -bhâi, Gr.
Khoḍâ, Ko. W. Luwâr, Kaṇ.; -bhâi, Gr.
Kikâ, W.; -bhâi, Gr. Kumpâ, Kâth.
Lâdhâ, Kum.
Ladhâ, W.; -bhâi, Gr.
Lâkhâ, R. Ko. Bh. Kum. Kâth. Châran.
Luṇâ, Ah. Luṇvir, Kâth.
Mâdan, Ko. Kum.
Mânâ, Ko.; -sing. R. Ko.; -sûr, Kâth.
Maśru, Ko. Kâth.
Mâwâ, Ko. R. Kum.; -ji, W. Sutâr, Kaṇ.; -singji, -bhâi, Gr.
Meghâ, Ko. Chamâr, Bhangiyâ; -râjji, -bhâi, Gr.

Mepà, Ko.; -ji. Gr. Merâm, Ko. Kàth.
Merâ-bhâi, Gr.; -ji. R.
Mulu, Ko.; -bhài, Gr. Mol.
Mulà, Ko.; -ji, Ko. Luwàr; -chand, W.
Nàjhà, Wàg. Ko. Bh. Kàth. Rabàri.
Nàg, Kàth. Bh.; -ji, W. Ko.: -jaṇ, Kàth.
Nanu, Chàran. Oghaḍ, Kàth. R.
Pàthà-bhâi, Gr.
Pathâ, Ko. Pathu, Ko.: -bhâi, Gr.
Petha, Kuṁ. Chàran. Phate, Mus.; -siṅg, Gr.
Phulà-ji, W. Mol.
Puṅjà, Ko. Kuṁ. Kàth. R. Rabâri, Jogi; -bhài, Gr.
Ràṇà, Kan. Kàth. Ko.: -bhâi, Gr.
Ràsà, Khawâs, Ko.; -bhài, Gr.
Rawà-bhâi, Gr. Rewà, Ko.
Ruḍà, Bh. Jogi, Ko.; -bhài, Gr.
Rukhaḍ, Ko. Kàth.
Sadà, Jogi. Sàdul, Ko. Ah. Kàth.
Sàmtà, Sàmat, Ko. Kàth.
Sawà, Ko Bhaṅgiyà, Bhausàr.
Sangâ, Ko.; -ji, W.; -jibhài, Gr.
Sibhài, Ko. Somâ, Ko.
Surà, Ko. Kàth. Rabàri; -siṅg, Ko.
Tejà, W. Ko. Bh. Kuṁ.; -bhài, Gr.
Ukà, Wàg. Dh. Ko. W. Kan.
Wàghà, R. Ko. Kuṁ.; -ji, W.: -bhâi, Gr.
Wahàlà, Ko; -ji, W. Wajà, Bh. Ko.
Waju, Ko.; -bhài, Gr.
Wakhtà, R.; -bhâi, Gr.
Vasràm, Ko. Darzi, Chàraṇ, Kuṁ. R. Sutàr.
Wàsà, Ko. Wastà, Ko. Khaḍak.
Vehelà, Kàth. Ko.; -si, W. Vikamsi, Kàth.
Virà, Ko. R. Sutàr, Kàth. Kuṁ.; -siṅg, -ji, Ko.; -sal, Chàran.
Visâ, Ko.; -bhài, Gr.

C.

(a.) *Kâṭhi.*—Alaiyà, Alek, Chomla, Daśa, Devit, Godaḍ, Golaṇ, Harsur, Hebhal, Jàdrà, Lomà, Màchâ, Mâmaiyà, Mâtrâ, Mehà, Mokâ, Pomlâ, Oḍhâ, Ràṇiṅg, Selâr, Suraṅg, Thebâ, Unaḍ, Viśàmaṇ, Wàskur.

(b.) *Grâsiâ.*—Agarsiṅg, Amâbhâi, Anubhài, Âtàbhài, Baliàbhài, Bàpji, Depàlji, Goḍbhài, Hagâbhài, Hàlubhâi, Hanubhâi, Jagubhâi, Jamâbhâi, Kamàbhài, Kasalsiṅg, Kayâbhâi, Khumânsiṅg, Madârsiṅg, Manubhà, Moḍbhài, Nârsiṅgji, Phaljibhài, Prabhâtsiṅg, Sartânsiṅg, Satâbhâi, Takhtsiṅg, Warsâbhài, Vijàbhâi, Vikabhâi.

(c.) *Molesalâm* (names not *primâ facie* Musalmàn).—Abuji, Ajàbhài, Akubhâ, Gumânbhâ.

(d.) *Koli.*—Aprub, Bhalà, Chauthiyâ, Choṇḍâ, Kâkal, Kàwâ, Ramtu, Rayâ, Sàrâ, Surbàn, Takhâ, Warsi.

(e.) *Kaṇbi.*—Wàsaṇ.

(f.) *Wâṇiyâ.*—Dhârsi, Haṅsrâj.

D.

Ambâ, Ko. Kuṁ.	Mâlâ, Ko. Bh. Wâg. Kuṁ.
Bijal, Wàg. Ko. Rabâri.	Mangâ, Ko.
Boghâ, Ko. Jogi, Wâg. Kuṁ.	Mithâ, Ko.
Butâ, Bh. Ko.	Pânchâ, Ko. Bh. Kuṁ.
Gàndà, Ko.	Parmà, Kuṁ.
Gobar. Ko. Âh. Kuṁ.	Punà, Ko. Jogi, Bh.
Hàjà, Ko.	Râghâ, Bh. Ko.
Jhuṅjhà, Wâg. Bhaṅgiyà.	Sagràm, Ko. Bh.
Khetà, Ko.	Thobhaṇ, Wâg. Ko. Sutâr.
Maghà, Ko. Satâr.	

Such uncomplimentary names as Gâṅḍà and Juṭhà may be given to denote the qualities of their bearers. In one instance I had a name before me which was certainly due to such a cause,—a deaf and dumb Bharwâḍ boy was called Mugâ.

I have been able to collect but the following female names:—

Ajubâ, Gr.; Ambi, So.; Bâjirâj, Gr.; Bâlubâ, Gr.; Dhanubà, Gr.; Jaḍi, W.; Jhiṇi, Ko.; Jekor, Br.; Làdu, Ko.; Lakshmi, Ko. W.; Lâkhu, Ko.; Màjibà, Gr.; Me, Âh.; Moṅghi, Gr.; Nânibâ, Gr.; Pàmbà, Gr.; Pàn, Ko.; Pàrvati, W.; Phaibâ, Gr.: Phul, Kuṁ.; Pûn, Ko. W.; Pûnji, Ko.; Ràdha, Kuṁ.; Ràju, Kuṁ.; Shambâ, Gr.; Sujàbà, Gr.; Tàjubâ, Gr.; Uji, Br; Walu, Ko.

THE GIRNÂR MÂHÂTMYA.

BY RÂMCHANDRA G. ANGAL, B.A., JUNÂGAḌH.

About thirty chapters in the *Prabhâsa Khaṇḍa* are allotted to the description of Girnâr and the holy places about it. The account relates rather to the sanctity of the place than to its topography,—consisting of various mythical stories related by Śiva to his wife Pârvatî. It is the common practice of Hindu writers of mythology to put stories and descriptions into

the mouth of some god, Śiva being generally chosen for this purpose,—evidently with a view to bestow on their account that respect which it would otherwise want; and the author of the *Prabhâsa Khaṇḍa* has, in the *Girnâr Mâhâtmya*, conformed to the rule of his brethren. Throughout the whole of it one cannot but notice the attempt made to exalt Śiva above all other gods, even above Vishṇu.

Though the stories are related by Śiva, their subjects are often incidents in his own past life and that of Pârvatî his wife, who is his hearer; and we find Śiva sometimes quoting dialogues held previously between gods or sages.

According to the *Girnâr Mâhâtmya*, Prabhâsa Kshetra is the holiest of all places of Hindu sanctity, and it is curious enough to note that Girnâr, or Vastrâpatha, as it is called, is said to be holier than Prabhâsa by as much as a barleycorn. Many of the chief Hindu gods and heroes have their names connected with the numerous places of sanctity in Vastrâpatha. The gods have consented to reside here permanently, and the heroes have performed pilgrimages to Girnâr.

The priests who are to officiate in the ceremonies of pilgrimages are the Girnâr Brâhmaṇs. Their ministry is strictly enjoined on the pilgrim. The number of this class of Brâhmaṇs in Kâthiâwâḍ is considerable, and a peculiar sanctity attaches to them. It appears from the *Prabhâsa Khaṇḍa* that they did not originally dwell in Kâṭhiâwâḍ. Their first abode, as stated in the *Girnâr Mâhâtmya*, was at the foot of the Himâlayas.

The general name for the holy places about Girnâr is Vastrâpatha. It is not now in general use, but the following story relates how it came to have this name :—

'One day Śiva and Pârvatî were sitting together in Kailâsa, when the latter inquired of Śiva, 'My lord, will you kindly tell me by what kind of devotion, by what kind of charity, by what charms, what adventures and what works you are propitiated by men?' Śiva said, 'I am pleased with those who are kind to all creatures, who always tell the truth, never commit adultery, and always stand in the front in a field of battle.' The discourse had arrived at this stage when Brahma and other gods came to Kailâsa; Vishṇu was also among them. Vishṇu said to Śiva, 'You always give boons to Daityas, which greatly interferes with the proper performance of my duty of protecting. By the boons granted by you the Daityas are enabled to harass mankind. Moreover you are propitiated with a trifling service. Such being the case, who will undertake to perform my duties?' Śiva said in reply, 'It is my natural habit to be pleased at once, and it shall never be abandoned. However, if you do not like it, I walk away.' So saying, Śiva left Kailâsa and instantly disappeared. Pârvatî said she could not live without Śiva: thereupon all the gods, together with Pârvatî, set out in search of him. Śiva having arrived at the Vastrâpatha Kshetra cast off his garments, and divesting himself of his bodily form became invisible and dwelt there. The gods and Pârvatî also arrived soon after at the Vastrâpatha, pursuing their search after Śiva. Vishṇu sent away his vehicle (Garuḍa) and took a seat on the mountain of Raivat. Pârvatî took a seat on the top of the Ujiyanta (Girnâr). The king of serpents also came thither by a subterranean path. The Gangâ and other rivers also came by the same way. The gods, choosing different spots, seated themselves there. Pârvatî then from the top of Girnâr began to sing the praises of Śiva, who was therewith greatly delighted, and graciously showed his form to Pârvatî and the gods. Pleased at seeing him, all the gods requested Mahâdeva to return to Kailâsa, and Mahâdeva consented to do so on condition that Pârvatî, the gods, and the Gangâ and other rivers agreed to remain in Vastrâpatha. They all did so, whereupon Mahâdeva, leaving a part of his essence there, went to Kailâsa. Pârvatî also did the same. Vishṇu from that time has continued to reside on the Raivatak mountain, and Pârvatî or Ambâ has dwelt on the top of the Ujiyanta.'

This extract shows how the Kshetra received the name of Vastrâpatha from the circumstance of Śiva's casting off his *vastra* or garments when he repaired thither, incensed at the offence given by Vishṇu. We also see the supreme importance attached to Śiva. We make the following extract, which also tends to exalt the position of that deity :—

'Once upon a time in ages gone by, Brahma's night came on, and the three gods Brahma, Vishṇu, and Śiva were re-united in one being or person, and the whole world came to an end. Afterwards, Brahma's day again began, and the

three gods again came into a state of separate existence. Brahma undertook the work of creation, Vishṇu applied himself to the task of protecting, and Śiva promised to attend to his work of destroying. Brahma then created Dakshaprajâpati and the seven Lokas or regions. One day Brahma, Vishṇu, Śiva, and other gods happened to go to Mount Kailasa, where a dispute soon arose between Brahma and Śiva as to superiority,—Brahma said he was superior to Śiva, who also set up a like claim to preëminence. A great altercation ensued, and the quarrel ran to such a pitch that Śiva was on the point of inflicting a blow on Brahma with his trident, when Vishṇu interfered and persuaded Brahma to acknowledge Śiva's superiority, telling him the following story:—'When I and you did not exist, Śiva lay asleep in the ocean, and when he willed to create he first created you. I was then created by you at his bidding. It was due to the grace of Śiva that I assumed the form of a tortoise and protected the whole world. You ought therefore to propitiate Śiva.' When Brahma heard this from Vishṇu, he prayed to Śiva, who, being thereby graciously pleased with him, bade him ask for a boon. Brahma said, 'My lord, under your grace, I create the universe, and I am thence styled Pitâmaha, or grandfather. Favour me with such a boon that I may be able to create you.' Vishṇu approved and recommended this request of Brahma to Śiva. Śiva approved and granted it, and then disappeared. Vishṇu also went to his abode. Brahma then brought the three *Vedas* again into existence, and as soon as he had revived the fourth, the *Atharva Veda*, there came out from his mouth Śiva, having half his body like that of a man, and the other half like that of a woman (*Ardhanârî*). When Brahma saw Śiva, he begged him to resolve himself into separate persons. Śiva did so accordingly, and besides produced from his body eleven other forms. The woman asked Brahma what she was to do. Brahma told her that she should take birth from Dakshaprajâpati and be born his daughter. She accordingly did so, and became the daughter of Daksha, who, by the order of Brahma, married her to Śiva. Brahma then begged Śiva that he should undertake the work of creation. Śiva said that he would confine himself to his own work of destroying, and that Brahma had better keep the creation in his own hands; and Brahma agreed.'

The story proceeds to relate how Śiva was insulted by his father-in-law Daksha, in that he was not invited to a sacrifice performed by Daksha, and how Śiva caused his destruction.

The following extract relates to the sanctity of the V a s t r â p a t h a K s h e t r a:—

'There ruled formerly in a certain country a king whose name was Gaja. In the decline of life he entrusted the government of his kingdom to his son, and repaired to the banks of the Gaṅgâ with his wife, and dwelt there. After some time there came to the banks of the river a sage named Bhadra, accompanied by a large number of other sages. The sage, having bathed in the waters of the Gaṅga, sat down on the bank for meditation and devotion. The Râja happened to see him, and was tempted to go near him. The Râja was rejoiced to see him, and requested the sage to honour his house by a visit. The sage consented, and went to the Râja's abode. The Râja and his wife worshipped him, and, seating themselves before him with joined palms, they entreated Bhadra with great humility to show them the way to salvation. They said: 'O sage, mankind are wandering in a maze of life and death, being deceived by the temptations of the world. Will your holiness oblige the world by pointing out a way by which eternal bliss may be secured?' The sage replied: 'The world abounds with many sacred rivers, such as the Gaṅgâ, and abodes of Vishṇu and Śiva. But they bestow eternal bliss when people bathe in the rivers and visit the places at particular seasons. But the Vastrâpatha Kshetra grants to the pilgrim everlasting happiness in heaven at whatever time he chooses to go there. I was once on a tour to the sacred places and I happened to see Vishṇu. He told me I need not bother myself with visiting all the sacred places,—that I should only pay a visit to D â m o d a r and bathe in the waters of the Dâmodar Kuṇḍa, and that when I had done that, there should be nothing left for me to do. I have accordingly visited that sacred place.' When the Râja heard this he said, 'Reverend sire, it is my desire to know in what country the Vastrâpatha Kshetra is situated, and what rivers, what mountains, and what forests there are in it.' The sage replied: 'The land which contains the Kshetra is surrounded by the sea. It contains many large towns. There is a mountain named U j j i y a ṅ t a near

Bhavanâtha, and to the west of it the mountain of Raivataka, from whose golden top rises a river which is called Svarṇarekhâ. The summits of the mountain look like huge elephants. Birds of various kinds amuse the pilgrim with their sweet melody. Many persons are engaged in digging in the mines for metal. Nala, Nṛiga, Nahusha, Yayâti, Dhuṅdumâra, Bharata, and Bhagiratha have, by the performance of sacrifices there, attained everlasting celestial happiness. The river Svarṇarekhâ has its origin in Pâtâla. The king of serpents also came from Pâtâla, through the channel of the river, to visit the god Dâmodar. Sâṁba, Pradyumna, and other Yâdavas dwell in the Kshetra, with their wives and children, and protect it with their countless forces. Their wives bestow large charities on Brâhmaṇs. There is a tank or kuṇḍa near Dâmodar, constructed by Revati which goes by the name of Raivataka. There is also another holy tank called Brâhma Kuṇḍa, where the god Dâmodar comes to bathe at noon every day. Any one who erects a temple of five stones in this kshetra can thereby obtain the happiness of heaven for five thousand years. The period of happiness varies according to the size of the temple built. Around the Raivataka is a plain four miles in extent, which is called Antargraha Kshetra. It is of the highest sanctity. Its water possesses the property of dissolving the bones of dead bodies, and on that account it is termed Viliyaka. There dwell also many ascetics, who by practising austerities procure salvation.' The sage then left the place. The Râja and his wife, attended by some followers, went to the Vastrâpatha Kshetra, reaching there about the full-moon in the month of Kârtik. After bathing there, the Râja was proceeding to visit Bhavanâtha and Dâmodar, when cars from heaven arrived and waited for him. The Râja, with his wife and followers, got into the cars and ascended to heaven.'

In reply to Pârvatî's questions asking for the boundaries of the Antargraha Kshetra referred to in the above paragraph, Śiva says, 'The Kshetra extends from the river Svarṇarekhâ, which lies to the east of the town of Karṇakubja (Junâgaḍh), to the mountain of Ujiyaṅta. It contains the following sacred spots:—Dâmodar, Bhavanâtha, Dâmodar Vishṇu, the Svarṇarekhâ, Brâhma Kuṇḍa, Brahmeśvara, Gaṅgeśvara, Kalmegha, Indreśvara, Raivataka mountain, Ujiyaṅta mountain, Revati Kuṇḍa, Kubhiśvara, Bhima Kuṇḍa, and Bhimeśvara. These are the celebrated sacred places in the Antargraha Kshetra.'

Śiva gives the following directions for the guidance of pilgrims visiting the Vastrâpatha:—

'In the west of the Vastrâpatha lies the holy mountain of Unnavishka (now called Ośam), which receives its name from the circumstance of Bhima having killed the giant Unnaka there. In that mountain there is a cavity which goes down as far as Pâtâla. There are many *liṅgas* or emblems of Śiva there, and sixteen seats of saints, and many gold mines. When the pilgrim has finished his work here he should bathe in the waters called Gaṅgâ Strota, which lie to the west of the mountain of Maṅgal, and then bow down to Gaṅgeśvara Mahâdeva, situated near it, and perform a śrâddha. He should then go to Siddheśvara Mahâdeva and Chakra Tîrtha (now known as Triveṇi), then to Lokeśvara, and then to Iṅdreśvara, which lies to the west of Siddheśvara. Then he should pay his respects to the goddess Yaksheśvari, which is in the Yakshvan (now called Lâkhâvan) wood, also lying to the west of the mountain of Maṅgal. He should then direct his steps towards the mountain of Raivataka, and having there bathed in the Revati Kuṇḍa and Bhima Kuṇḍa and seen the image of Dâmodar, he should come to Bhavanâtha. There also bathing in the Mṛigi and other kuṇḍs, he should ascend the mountain of Ujiyaṅta. The pilgrim should perform the rites which are to be performed in a pilgrimage at the holy spots in the mountain, such as Amba-Devî, Hâthîpaglaṅ (the elephant's foot), the Rasakupikâ (mercurial well), the Sâtkuṇḍa (seven tanks), Gaumukha, Gaṅgâ, and [the shrines of] Pradyumna and other Yâdavas who have become Buddhas in the Kâli age.'

The following extract probably refers to the foundation of Banthali by Vâman, the fifth incarnation of Vishṇu. The place was at first called after the founder, Vâmanapura, which was afterwards changed to Vâmanasthalî, and this last word in the course of time became corrupted into Vanthali or Banthali:—

'In the line of Hiraṇya Kaśyapa was born a king by name Bali. Under his rule his subjects enjoyed happiness. He was a wor-

shipper of Vishṇu and performed many sacrifices. Lions and deer, cats and dogs, peacocks and serpents, which are natural enemies of each other, lived in peace in his kingdom. One day Nârada, having wandered on the earth, came to the garden in heaven which is called Nandan Vana, and not having yet seen any quarrel he was greatly afflicted. He said to himself that until he had heard the clashing of the weapons of combatants, and until he had seen streams of blood, his soul could not be at rest. He therefore proposed to himself to bring about enmity between Indra and Bali. Accordingly he went to the court of Indra, and there, after praising Bali, he said, 'O Indra, Bali does not even care to notice you. Your celestial damsels desire to make love to him. Your wives also picture to themselves the figure of Bali and think of him night and day. He is a Daitya, and therefore an enemy of yours. You should wage war with him.' Inflamed by this speech of Nârada, Indra called the commander of his forces and ordered him to hold in readiness his troops without losing time, as he said he wanted to go to chastise Râja Bali. Bṛihaspati, the minister of the gods, who was sitting by, advised Indra not to enter precipitately into hostilities with Bali, and, before taking any action, to consult Vishṇu, who, he said, was the disposer of the affairs of the universe and who was cognizant of everything. Indra thereupon despatched the seven Ṛishis to the mountain of Mandâra to invite Vishṇu. The seven ran with haste. Nârada also followed them. On his way Nârada saw some Ṛishis, the chief of whom was Vâlkhilya (whose body was as small as a man's thumb), bathing in the river which flowed by the side of the mountain of Mandarâchal. Nârada bowed to them, and informing them of the mission of the seven, proposed that they should wait there to salute them, as they would be returning with Vishṇu. At this instant Vishṇu and the seven came up, who, seeing the small figure of Vâlkhilya and the other Ṛishis, laughed at them. The latter got exceedingly angry and cursed Vishṇu, saying, 'Thou shalt be also as dwarfish as we are.' When Vishṇu heard this he turned pale, and he and the seven begged pardon, and entreated Vâlkhilya and the others to have mercy on them. They granted pardon, and told Vishṇu that he should be free from this curse when he should in the course of his holy tour on the earth as an incarnate being, have arrived in Vastrâpatha, by which circumstance, they said, the place would be holier than Prabhâsa even, by as much as a barleycorn, and that his body, by some mysterious cause, would then assume vast proportions. After this incident the seven Ṛishis and Nârada came back to Indra and informed him that Vishṇu would go down to the earth under the name of Vâman, and, assuming a dwarfish form, would punish Bali. Now Vishṇu became incarnate in the world assuming a small figure, and after some time, pursuing his holy tour, arrived at Vastrâpatha. Having bathed in the Svarnarekhâ, he bethought himself, 'Shall I first go to see Somanâtha or Bhavanâtha?' He then resolved that he would practise such severe austerities that Somanâtha himself should come to him. So he began his devotion. Some days having passed in such austerities, Somanâtha caused a chasm in the earth and came out in the form of a linga and stood before Vâman. He desired Vâman to ask whatever he wished. Vâman, with joined palms, said, 'My lord, if you are pleased with me, be so gracious as to reside here. I further desire that a town may be founded here, to be called after my name.' Śiva expressed compliance and disappeared. Vâman then set out towards the Ujiyanta, and on his way saw five persons glowing like fire. Vâman was astonished to see them, and asked who they were. One of them said in reply that he was Ekapâda ('the one-footed'). Another said he was Giridâruna. The third gave his name as Sinhanâda ('lion's roar'). The fourth said his name was Meghanâda (thunder). The name of the fifth was Kâlmegha. They declared that they were the guardians of the holy place, and that they were pleased with him. Vâman besought them to do him the favour of remaining there to guard the Kshetra. Thereupon Ekapâda took his station at the foot of the mountain; Giridâruna chose the top of the mountain for his abode; Meghanâda quartered himself on the summit of the Ujiyanta; the Bhavâni peak was appropriated by Sinhanâda; and Kâlmegha contented himself with the banks of the Svarṇarekhâ. Vâman then worshipped these guardians of the Kshetra and ascended Ujiyanta. He beheld Bhavâni, and as he was greeting the sun he saw Śiva in the air. He thereupon praised

Śiva, who was thereby pleased, and told him that he (Vâman) was now free from his curse, and that in a short time his body would begin to enlarge. Śiva further told him to ask whatever boon he desired. Vâman applied for directions as to the method to be followed in performing the pilgrimage of the Vastrâpatha, which he desired to do. Śiva replied, 'On the north-west of the Vastrâpatha there is a large tank, and to the west of the tank is a wood of Bilva trees, which contains an earthen liṅga, by seeing which on the Śivarâtri day a hunter obtained admission to Kailâsa, and Indra was absolved from the sin of the slaughter of a Brâhmaṇ. There is another liṅga to the west of this, which was established by Kubera. South-east of Bhavanâtha is the seat of the Râkshasa called Hiḍaṁba, and near it is a consecrated spot dedicated by Yama to Śiva. There is also another place near it dedicated to Śiva, which was established by Chitragupta, and which is called Chitragupteśvara. On the west of Bhavanâtha is a liṅga which was established by Brahma; it is known by the name of Kedâreśvara, and Brahma is always present there. There is a liṅga on the north-east of Bhavanâtha which is called Indreśvara from its being founded by Indra at the time of his visit to the earthen liṅga, when he was redeemed from the sin of the murder of a Brâhmaṇ. You should therefore see all these places, as also Dâmodar on the Raivataka.' Having said this, Śiva disappeared. Then Vâman, according to Śiva's direction, visited the different places and took up his abode on the west of Bhavanâtha.

'Meanwhile Nârada thought in his mind that Vishṇu would descend on the earth and overthrow Bali. Yet his mind was not at ease, as there was no struggle going on. He said to himself, 'I went to instigate Indra, but Bṛihaspati defeated my object: I shall therefore now go to Râja Bali.' Accordingly he went to Bali, who received him with great respect and worshipped him. Nârada told Bali that the gods could not brook his prosperity, and that they had contrived a plan for his overthrow. He also told him that he should be on his guard. He added that he was going to Vishṇu, who had come to Raivataka, having assumed a small shape with a particular motive. Nârada then went to Vâman and told him that he ought to go and subdue Bali, who was going to make a sacrifice. Vâman replied that Râja Bali was a worshipper of Vishṇu, and besides he himself was destitute of power, and was therefore unable to undertake the task. Nârada said, 'You are the same Vishṇu who became incarnate as Varâha and Nṛisiṁha, and your present incarnation is also for accomplishing the work of gods. You will hereafter become incarnate as Paraśurâma, Râma, Buddha, and Kalki; and Indra and other gods desire that you should press Bali down to Pâtâlâ. Please, therefore, fulfil the desire of the gods by chastising Bali.' Vâman complied and came to the town of Bali. There he lived and took his meals at the houses of Brâhmaṇs, pursuing his studies of the *Vedas*, and at the same time imparting instruction in them to the sons of the Brâhmaṇs. Some time passed in this way. One day while Bali was engaged in his sacrifice, Vâman came to his pavilion and was received with great reverence by Bali. Bali expressed to his priest, Śukra Âchârya, that it was a most fortunate circumstance that Vâman, a sage deeply read in the Vedas, had honoured his sacrifice, and that he (Bali) would grant whatever request might be made by him. Śukra Âcharya showed the Râja that charities bestowed on the blind and the deaf, on dwarfs and on cripples, bore no fruit. Bali said, however that might be, in his eyes a man learned in the Vedas was like Vishṇu. He then told Vâman that all his wealth was his, and that he might ask whatever he desired. Vâman said he was not covetous, like other Brâhmaṇs. He only desired space such as he could cover in three steps, wherein to give instruction to his pupils. Bali granted the request, and as he was pouring water on the palm of Vâman, the latter became so tall and huge that the sun appeared no higher than his navel. Thus by two steps he occupied the whole world and all the regions, and there was no room for the third step. Vâman thereupon asked Bali where he should step for the third time. Bali said that his head was the proper place for his foot. Vâman thereupon pressed Bali down to Pâtâla. This gave great joy to the gods. Vâman then founded a town, called after him Vâmanapur, on the west of Bhavanâtha, on a site which was recommended by Garga Âchârya.'

There remain only two or three stories in the *Girnâr Mâhâtmya* unmentioned. One of them is a long one relating to the Mṛigi Kuṇḍa. The

author there gives unbounded scope to his imagination, and furnishes a very beautiful illustration of the Hindu belief in the transmigration of the soul. The other stories tell how the mountains and the Girnâr Brâhmaṇs came into Vastrâpatha. But the above extracts will convey a sufficiently correct idea of the character of the contents of the *Mâhâtmya*. Śiva gives a caution to Pârvatî against disclosing this account of the Vastrâpatha to an unbeliever. Kailâsa is promised to the hearer of this story.

CORRESPONDENCE AND MISCELLANEA.

PROFESSOR WEBER ON THE YAVANAS, MAHÂBHÂSHYA, RÂMÂYAṆA, AND KṚISHṆAJANMÂSHṬAMÎ.

To the Editor of the "Indian Antiquary."

Sir,—Since I last wrote, you have produced some more translations of papers written by me on different points of Indian literature and antiquities, and I am very thankful to you for this honour. On the other hand, there have appeared, either in your columns or in those of other Indian journals, several articles directed against the views maintained by me therein, or in the papers formerly translated by you. I think it proper therefore, with your leave, to notice them cursorily, and to defend or to give up my own positions according to the value of the objections raised. Following the chronological order, I divide my observations under four heads: 1, the Yavanas; 2, the *Mahâbhâshya*; 3, the *Râmâyaṇa*; 4, the *Kṛishṇajanmâshṭamî*.

1. *The Yavanas.*—Mr. Rehatsek's translation of my paper *Hindu Pronunciation of Greek, and Greek Pronunciation of Hindu Words* (vol. II. pp. 143-150), has elicited from the pen of Bâbu Râjendra Lâla Mitra a very curious article "On the *supposed* identity of the Greeks with the Yavanas of Sanskṛit writers" (*Jour. As. Soc. Beng.* 1874, pp. 246-79). I leave aside all speculations as to the etymology and origin of the name itself, as foreign to the question at issue, and restrict myself to the historical proofs of its actual occurrence in India.

The oldest passages in which we as yet find it are those famous edicts of king Priyadasi, which mention twice the Antiyoka Yonarâja, once alone (*tabl.* II.), and again along with Tulamâya,* Antikonâ, Mâka, Aliksa(ṃ)dala: see the facsimile of the Khâlsi Inscription in Cunningham's *Archæological Survey*, I. 217, pl. xli. This facsimile gives us in the seventh line also the reading *Yona-ka(m)bojesu*, the very compound which is used so often in the Pâli texts, and which (see my *Indische Streifen*, II. 321) fixes, if other proof was required, the geographical position of the Yonas by that of the other frontier-people so closely allied with them therein, the Kambojas. Wherever we find them both mentioned in this compound, or even only along with each other, we may be quite sure that we have to understand under the Yonas the Baktrian Greeks, the neighbours of Kabul. This decides at once the question also as to the meaning of *Yavana* in the oldest works in the Brâhmanic literature in which the word is mentioned,—the *Mahâbhârata*, *Mahâbhâshya*, and *Râmâyaṇa*. The compound *Śaka-Yavanam* in the *Bhâshya* shows the Yavanas in a similar intimate connection also with the Śakas, Indoskythes (and in my opinion, see *Ind. Studien*, XIII. 306, the Yavana king mentioned in it as the besieger of Sâketa is *not* necessarily to be taken as a Greek king, but may possibly already denote a Śaka king, as the name of the Yavanas went with their supremacy to their successors in it, the Śakas; see below). There is only one apparently older passage in which the name of the Yavanas is mentioned, viz. that sûtra of Pâṇini which teaches to form the word *Yavanânî* (*lipi*, writing of the Yavana, as the *vârttikakâra* explains). But the age of Pâṇini is *not settled* at all; and though he may be older than the passages of the *Mahâbhârata*, and is really older of course than the *Mahâbhâshya* or the *Râmâyaṇa*, still there is not the slightest *proof* that he also preceded Alexander and the establishment of the Greek Baktrian kingdoms. And, *no such proof existing*, it is certainly very provoking to take just this his mentioning of the Yavanas as a *proof* to the *contrary*, viz. of his being *later than Alexander* (conf. *Ind. Stud.* XIII. 375): for it would no doubt be very hard to understand under the Yavanas of this Gandhâra author any other people but those famous neighbours of the Kambojas *and* Gandhâras, and this the more so, as in fact we know at present *of no other* people of that name. For with regard to the opinion of some scholars, Lassen for instance, that Yavana was used by the Hindus *originally* for a Semitic tribe or nation, we must consider it as a mere gratuitous supposition, so long as it is not substantiated by any real fact. Where are the passages to countenance it? Let them be brought

* At Junâgaḍh, Tûramayo.

forward to enable us to test them. Meanwhile, for want of any such evidences as I have adduced above in support of the identity of the Yavanas with the Greeks, we have at present no choice but to stick to *that*. And the historical origin of *this* denomination is, moreover, close to hand. We know from the cuneiform inscriptions of the Achæmenidæ that they had no other name for the Greeks but *Ya-u-na* (the Ionians of Minor Asia having been the first Greeks with whom they came in contact, they called the Greek nation in general by their name). Maybe already at that time the name had come over to India through the medium of a few of those Indian auxiliary troops in the army of Darius that escaped its general defeat and returned safely home. But the real notoriety of the name in India dates first from the time when Alexander waged war against her, as it was no doubt by *Persian interpreters* that the communications between the two parties (Greeks and Hindus) were carried on, and from these *Persians* the conquered people at large learned the name of their conquerors. The political supremacy of the Greeks in the north-west of India lasted for about 250 years, during which their culture and their name took deep root and left deep traces; when they ceased to be independent, their name passed, together with their sovereignty, titles, coinage, &c., to their rivals and successors, the Indoskythians (Śakas), and afterwards from them step by step to the other foreign nations reigning in the north-west of India,—to the Parthians, Persians,—and *finally* to the Arabs and the Moslems in general.

With regard to my own paper mentioned above, I beg to call attention to a very interesting communication of M. Julien Vinson in the *Revue de Linguistique*, VI. 120 ff. I had incidentally observed (II. 147 n.) that I did "not think תכיים was connected with *śikhin* .... also the word *togei*, supposed to be Malabarian, can scarcely have originated from *śikhin*, but is rather perhaps some Dakhani word, which in that case might very well be the root of the Hebrew word." M. Vinson starts from this my remark and shows that *tógei* is really a T a m i ḻ word meaning "*plume de paon*, queue de paon, paon," and is radically connected with other Tamiḻ words and roots. Thus he arrives at the result: "Si les marins de Salomon sont réellement allés dans l'Inde, s'ils ont débarqué sur une terre dont ils ont transcrit le nom 'Ophîr, s'ils ont rapporté des paons de cette terre, si cette terre est celle habitée par les Abhîra, non loin des bouches de l'Indus, il est nécessaire d'admettre que ces anciens Sémites ont eu affaire, soit au pays même des Abhîra, soit sur un autre point de la côte occidentale de l'Inde, avec des peuplades Dravidiennes, et que c'est de celles-ci qu'ils ont reçu les paons appelées par elles probablement *tôkei*, peut-être *tóki*. Il n'y a pas loin de cette forme aux leçons de la Bible." This agrees perfectly well with the Malayâlam derivation of the Sanskrit Śṛiṅgavera (ζιγγίβερι), 'ginger,' given by my honoured friend Dr. Burnell in these columns, vol. I. p. 352.

2. *The Mahábháshya*.—I have given in the *Indische Studien*, XIII. 293-502, a detailed exposition of the religious, historical, geographical, social and literary dates resulting from the contents of this highly valuable work, introduced by a discussion of the critical questions relating to its age and composition, and to the authority and evidence-power of the words and passages it contains. Some of these points have been discussed meanwhile also in your columns, and others added, which I had failed to notice. At the end of my paper (pp. 497-502) I have already answered the objections of Prof. Bhâṇḍârkar (*Ind. Ant.* vol. II. pp. 238-40), but I beg to return here to some of them. I have first to state that in the principal passage as to the age of Patañjali, viz. the scholium to Pâṇini III. 2. 123 (*vartamáne laṭ*), the 3rd pers. plur. *bhavanti* as given by Bhâṇḍârkar in vol. I. p. 300n. (शासिनन्या भवन्ति), and repeated thus by myself, *Ind. Stud* XIII. 309, is to be changed to the nom. sing. *bhavantí*, the present tense, as the Banâras edition really has. The sense of the passage itself is however not altered by this correction, and with regard to that I must concede indeed that Bhâṇḍârkar's remark, that the purport of the passage *Pushyamitraṁ yájayámaḥ* "is exactly similar to *aruṇad Yavanaḥ Sáketam*, the historical value of which is admitted by Prof. Weber," hits the very point of the question. But on the other hand I have to draw attention to the possibility that both passages may perhaps be considered as not at all test-evidences for Patañjali's own age, but may belong to the so-called *múrdhábhishikta udáharaṇa* which he *found* already in the *traditional vṛitti* of Pâṇini's text, in which case they ought very probably to be considered as test-evidences *for the age of Páṇini himself* (*Ind. Stud.* XIII. 315, 319, 320, 498). I have further to retract my opposition to Bhâṇḍârkar's taking the word *yatha laukikavaidikeshu* as a vârttika, for I am informed by Prof. Kielhorn that he has got hold of a manuscript of the *várttika-páṭha* (a great desideratum as yet for the right understanding of the *Bháshya*), and that according to this MS. the work of the *várttikakára* really begins with the very words in question, *siddhe—vaidikeshu*. In his "Allusions to Kṛishṇa in Patañjali's *Mahábháshya*," (*Ind. Ant.* III. 14-16) Bhâṇḍârkar has added one metrical passage more which had escaped my notice (VI. 3. 6, *Janárdanas to*

âtmachaturthaḥ eva) to those enumerated already by myself *Ind. Stud.* XIII. 349 ff.). He takes all these passages as real quotations by Patañjali himself, and as dating, therefore, from the middle of the second century before Christ, and he adduces them as testimonies not only to show "that the stories about K ṛ i s h n a and his worship as a god are not so recent as European scholars would make them, who find in Christ a prototype of Kṛishṇa, and in the Bible the original of the *Bhagavadgîtâ*," but also against those "who believe our Purâṇic literature to be merely a later growth," and as direct proofs "that some such works as the *Harivaṅśa* and the *Purâṇas* must have existed then." Here I have to remark that even without paying the least attention to the unsafeness of the ground on which we stand here, and even while fully taking these words and quotations as dating really from the very time of Patañjali, they do not yield anyhow the conclusions at which Bhâṇḍârkar arrives with regard to them. They are quite conclusive and very welcome indeed as testimonies for *that* worship of K ṛ i s h ṇ a , as *a god* or demigod, which forms an *intermediate* stage between his position in the epic as a warrior and hero of the Vṛishṇi race and his elevation to the dignity of Vishnu, of the supreme Being, *of God* (*Ind. Stud.* XIII. 349 ff.), but they do not interfere at all with the opinion of those who maintain, on quite reasonable grounds, that *this latter* development of the worship of K ṛ i s h ṇ a , and especially the legendary and ritualistic portion of it, has been influenced to a certain degree by an acquaintance with the doctrines, legends, and symbols of the early Christian ages; or even with the opinion of those who are inclined to find in the *Bhagavadgîtâ* traces of the Bible: for, though I for my part am as yet not convinced at all in this respect, the *age* of the *Bhagavadgîtâ* is still *so* uncertain that these speculations are at least not shackled by any chronological obstacles. I beg to remark here, *en passant*, that the *origin* of the worship of K ṛ i s h ṇ a as a god or demigod is as yet in complete obscurity. K a n s a seems to have been a demon as well as B a l i , and very probably K ṛ i s h n a too, —though he appears in the epic as a warrior, and in the *Chhândogya Upanishad* as 'thirsty' for holy information,—is to be traced back to a mythological base, as his intimate connexion with A r j u n a , himself a name and form of I n d r a (according to the *Śatapatha Brâhmaṇa* and to the legends in the *Kaushîtaki Upanishad*), points to a common origin of them both; but at present we look still in vain for a key to solve this mystery, which is the more mysterious as the meaning of both names (the Black and the White) appears *à priori* more appropriate for deadly antagonists than for intimate friends. It is curious enough that the name of a paternal uncle of Kṛishna, A k r û r a , who is mentioned already by Yâska (II. 2; Roth takes the passage to be an interpolation), seems to appear even in the *Avesta*, though indeed in the form of Âkhrûra (with long *â* at the beginning), son of H u s-r a v a n h (S u ś r a v a s). But to return to Bhâṇḍârkar. That there existed a Purâṇic literature at the time of the *Bhâshya* is very probable; we did not need these quotations to feel almost sure of that, for we know that *itihâsas* and *purâṇas* existed even as early as the time of the *Brâhmaṇas*, but that "*our* Purâṇic literature," that "*some such* work as *the Harivaṅśa* and *the Purâṇas, must* have existed at the time of Patañjali," is more than I can gather from those highly interesting statements about the popularity of dramatic representations of Kaṅsa's death at the hands of his sister's son Kṛishṇa, and the subjugation of Bali, and from those metrical passages relating to S a ṁ k a r s h a n a , K e ś a v a , J a n â r d a n a , V â s u d e v a , K ṛ i s h n a , which may as well have been taken from some sort of *Mahâbhârata* existing at the time. About the existence of such a one, and even of a composition by Śuka Vaiyâsaki, at the time of the *Bhâshya*, there can be no reasonable doubt, though we must beware of going beyond that and identifying with it directly our present text; for the real age of an existing text can safely be judged only by the internal evidences afforded by its own contents, though even those must be handled with great care, for the more we learn about the history of a Hindu literary composition, the clearer we see that there are many ways to account for statements contained in it. Thus much is certain, that the high state of culture which is apparent from what we learn from the *Bhâshya* about social, mercantile, political, and religious matters, as well as about the highly flourishing condition of sacred, learned, and secular literature, would involve even *à priori* also the existence of a *secular poetry*, and it is therefore quite in accordance with the picture to be drawn from those other statements what we find mentioned in it in this respect. But highly valuable as these indications and the very *quotations from that poetry* are, we must take care to identify it directly with the *poetry* really *in our possession*. There is a gap between the two, which cannot be filled up, or even fairly bridged over, by such weak links, though they may serve indeed to connect them loosely together. The Indian climate (see my *Lectures on the History of Indian Literature*, pp. 171 ff.) is not favourable to the preservation of written literature. *Continued oral* tradition, on the other hand, is but the reward and result of *great*

merit and *great* popularity; the less significant and less popular works are simply lost. If this has been the case even with the Vedic literature (and indeed we have lost, as it seems, almost all of the *old Brâhmaṇas* and *Sûtras*, only scanty débris remaining in quotations here and there), it is much more so with the secular poetry; the happier successor has put aside his surpassed predecessor, whose text is now no more learnt by heart or copied. Thus it has come to pass that what we have still of the old literature are only the master-works, in which each branch of it reaches its culmination, and which served afterwards as models for the modern literature deprived more or less of self-creative faculty.

Thus far we have taken all these "allusions" in words and passages as real evidences for Patañjali's time; but after the publication of the concluding verses of the second chapter of the *Vâkyapadîya* by Prof. Kielhorn in vol. III. pp. 285-287 (at II. 63 the corresponding passage of *Ind. Stud.* V. 158-166 had been left out), I trust Bhaṇḍârkar too will now acknowledge that a work which has suffered such treatment and undergone so many fates as to receive on three different occasions the epithets *viplâvita, bhrashṭa, vichhinna*, is not to be trusted in all its details as conveying *certain* intelligence about the date of its original author. In making use of any of them, we must always keep in mind (*Ind. Stud.* XIII. 320) the possibility that its testimony may not be valid for Patañjali's, nay, even for Chandrâchârya's, but only for Jayâpîḍa's time! whereas, on the other hand, truly it may as well indeed, on the contrary, belong to the above-mentioned *mûrdhâbhishikta* group, and go back even to Pâṇini himself! We are here always in a bad dilemma what to choose. The safest way at present is no doubt to collect first, as I have tried to do, every statement which is to be found in the *Bhâshya*, and to leave it to the future to decide (or not to decide!) on the relative value of each single fact.

3. *The Râmâyaṇa.*—First I have to thank Prof. Bhâṇḍârkar for having corrected (vol II. p. 123) my erroneous statement that Gorresio's edition had nothing to correspond with the passage quoted by Bhavabhûti from the end of the *Bâlacharita* (*Bâlakâṇḍa*); his remarks about the probable interpolations in Gorresio's text at this very place appear to me very judicious. Mr. Trimbak Telang has succeeded (vol. III. pp. 124, 266) in tracing the half-śloka एति जीवन्तमानन्दो नरं वर्षशतादपि which is mentioned in the *Bhâshya* at Pâṇ. III. 1, 67, fol. 43 *b* of the Banâras edition, and (but only the three first words) at I. 3, 12, fol. 246 *a*, to the *Râmâyaṇa*, VI. 128, 2 Bombay edition, or VI. 110, 3 Gorresio's edition; and in his opinion "this passage establishes beyond the reach of controversy the priority of time of Vâlmiki's *Râmâyaṇa* over Patañjali's *Mahâbhâshya*. I am afraid he is mistaken in this his assertion. *Proverbial* sayings of this sort might be introduced by any author into his work without the least difficulty. The verse contains *nothing* to show that it *must* have originally belonged to the *Râmâyaṇa*: it may *as well* have been taken by Vâlmîki *from the Bhâshya*, as by the *Bhâshya* from his work. Or, for instance, do those passages तद्यथा मत्स्यार्थी...यथा वा धान्यार्थी...नहि मृगाः सन्तीति...नहि भिक्षुकाः सन्तीति... which we find in Mâdhava's *Sarvadarśanasaṁgraha*, § 1, as well as repeatedly in the *Bhâshya* (see *Ind. Stud.* XIII. 326, 327, 341, 459), "establish beyond the reach of controversy" the priority of Mâdhava over Patañjali? Here indeed we *know* the contrary as a fact, yet the other case is of just the same stamp: and as we do *not* know Vâlmiki's age from other sources, we certainly cannot establish it from this. There is, moreover, one circumstance attached to the verse, but *overlooked* by Mr. Kâshinâth Trimbak Telang, which makes it an utter impossibility to consider Vâlmiki as its author For he gives it *himself* only *as a quotation*, as an *old popular* verse according to Gorresio's edition (पौराणी चेह गाथेयं लौकिकी प्रतिभाति मे), as a *fine popular* one in the Bombay recension (कल्याणी बत...)! I do *not* take this as an evidence that Vâlmiki borrowed it from the *Bhâshya*,—both may have taken it from a common source,—but *thus much is certain*, the verse is of *no* evidence at all as to the priority of Vâlmiki over the *Bhâshya*! Nor has Mr. Telang been more fortunate with regard to those other indications of the existence of the *Râmâyaṇa* at the time of the latter, which he has brought forward in his former essay, "Was the *Râmâyaṇa* copied from Homer?" and for a full discussion of which I must refer to *Ind. Stud.* XIII. 336 ff. 480 ff.—I come now to Lassen's general objections against my theory about the age and composition of the *Râmâyaṇa* as translated by Dr Muir in your vol III. pp. 102-4. Allow me first to remark that I cannot fully acknowledge the truth of the statement of my views as given by Lassen. For when he says that I maintain that "the *Râmâyaṇa* expresses not the struggle of the Âryan Indians with the aborigines, but the hostile attitude of the Buddhists and Brâhmaṇs to each other," he confounds the views of Mr Talboys Wheeler,—which I am quoting and partly criticising, partly adopting,—with my own views, which are not settled on either side, but rather tend to combine both theories, and moreover to establish a third object as the probable original purport of the poem, viz the restoration of the national gods, the bringing back the hearers to

their allegiance to the Brâhmanical gods. Further, I cannot find that I have *identified* Râma with Balarâma, the mythical founder of agriculture; "it is very obvious *to trace* a *connection* between Râma and the agricultural demigod Râma Halabhṛit" are my words, and in the note I refer also to the *Râman Hvâstra* of the *Avesta*. Finally, I am surprised to learn that in my opinion "the victory of the second Râma over his elder namesake is to be considered as an echo of an acquaintance with the Homeric poems," whereas in fact Paraśurâma (that " elder *namesake*") is nowhere even mentioned in my whole treatise. (Lassen no doubt has confounded the bow of Janaka, and what I say about its bending and breaking, with the bow of Jâmadagnya.) Now, what regards the objections themselves, first I am glad to see that Lassen coincides with me in regarding the Buddhistic narration of Râma as "the now existing oldest form" of the Râma-legend: but on the other hand I am quite at a loss how to combine with this acknowledgment his notion that this narrative is only a misconception or distortion of the Brâhmanical original. The very circumstance which he mentions in support of this, namely, that in the *Dasaratha-jâtaka* it is the *sister*, not the wife of Râma who accompanies him in his exile,—no doubt because she too is afraid of the queen her stepmother,—and further that she, *the sister*, becomes the wife of her brother after their return from the exile, appears to me to attest the *great antiquity* of this form of the legend. For it is only in the Vedic age (compare स्वसारं जारो अभ्येति पश्चात् *Rik.* X. 3. 3; and Âmbikâ as *sister* of Rudra) and earlier, in the Âryan period, that we find traces of intermarriage between brothers and sisters (the hymn in *Rik.* X. 10 seems to be composed just in order to put a *stop* to it !). The Buddhist legend on the origin of the Śâkya family has one instance more of the kind. That the *Râmâyaṇa* contains no direct allusions to the Buddhists is just one of the points which I myself have brought forward as militating against Talboys Wheeler's theory.—With regard to the next consideration of Lassen's, about the wars between the Brâhmanical kings of Southern India and the Buddhists of Ceylon, and to his remark that an attack on the part of the Buddhists could only proceed from the side of Ceylon, I confess my inability to understand their pertinency to the points in question; moreover I beg to draw attention to the fact that the *Mahavanso* mentions *repeated* invasions in Ceylon from India dating in B.C. 237, 207, and 103 (pp. 127, 128, 203, Turnour's translation).—Further, as I have *not* "identified" Râma with Balarâma, it is of no consequence that the Brâhmans always accurately distinguish between the two, nor have I regarded the second Râma directly "as a divine personification of agriculture;" what I maintain is simply that in the old legends, from which Vâlmîki drew, "the reign of Râma was a golden age, and that cultivation and agriculture were then vigorously flourishing." The whole character of Râma is certainly not so much that of a warrior—though he appears in the *Râmâyaṇa* also in this capacity—as that of a righteous, mild and gentle genius or king,—as it were a Buddhist ideal of a prince. Now, whether he was originally only a mythic conception of some as yet undetermined physical phenomenon, or really, as Lassen takes him to be, an historical personage, I dare not as yet decide. But when Lassen goes on to say that Sitâ too was originally an historical personage who was *turned into* a daughter of the earth, into a deified furrow, after Râma had been transported into the ranks of the gods, I cannot follow him at all. The goddess of the Vedic ritual, the spouse of Indra or Parjanya, or, as she appears in the *Taittirîya Brâhmaṇa*, the daughter of Sâvitar and courtier of the Moon, is protected by seven charms against such a dethronement.—When Lassen calls it a "very paradoxical assumption" that the abduction of Sitâ and the conflict around Lañkâ are echoes of an acquaintance with the Homeric poems, as it imputes to the " Brâhmanical poets a great poverty in creative power," I have simply to answer that in literary history we have many instances of the very first poets having taken the ideas and materials for their poems partly from other sources without any damage to their glory and to the halo of their creative power. I beg to mention only Shakespeare, Goethe, and Schiller. And when Lassen further remarks that an "echo in this case would really presuppose an acquaintance with *the Homeric poems*," I beg to state that I never maintained so much as that, nor do I think this presupposition anyhow necessary. There is nothing more *required* than what I have assumed, viz. that "*some* kind of knowledge *of the substance* of the *Homeric story* found its way to India," and here found a fertile soil in the mind of Vâlmîki, who combined *some* ideas from it with the old mythic or historical legends of the golden age of Râma, and created by his own poetical genius that great poem which is the wonder and the love of every Hindu. To deny to the Hindus any traces whatever of *such* an acquaintance with the Homeric saga cycle seems to me rather hard, after what we find in the Pâli writings about Kirke and the Trojan horse; and as in the *Janaka-jâtaka* the rescue of a prince from shipwreck by a sea-goddess is *combined* with the bending of a great bow by him, and winning thus the hand of the Queen, I feel for my part fully convinced that *here* too (and conse-

quently also in the bow of Janaka in the *Râmâyana*) we have before us an "echo" of the story of Odysseus, Leukothea, and the great bow which won him back his Penelope: I am far from attempting to base every story of a bent bow on it, but *this one* I do.—Further, even while waiving the question whether the Hindus derived their *zodiacal* signs from the Greeks, not from the Chaldæans (see, however. *Ind. Stud.* II. 414 ff.), I do not see how the astronomical data occurring in the *Râmâyana* are to have *no force* at all as proofs; it is almost certain that the Hindus got their knowledge also of the *planets* from the Greeks (for in the oldest passages in which they are mentioned, Mars and war, Mercury and commerce, Jupiter and sacrificial ritual are brought into relation), and the mentioning of the planets in the *Râmâyaṇa* points, no doubt, to a time when that Grecian influence was an established custom. The reference "to the Yavanas and Śakas [add the Pahlavas, Kambojas, &c.] as powerful nations *in the northern region*" is—*not* "to show that these nations were known to the Hindus *as such*"! —but pray, as what? I think Lassen said they *were* mentioned "as powerful nations *in the northern region*"; is this *not* the same with an establishment of their dominion in that quarter? Finally, I have to remark that the *Râjataraṅgiṇî*, I. 116, does not contain (as Lassen says it does) any statement that the king of Kâśmîr Dâmodara (reigning in the beginning of the first century B.C. according to Lassen himself) "*caused* the *Râmâyaṇa*, with all its episodes, *to be read* to him"; for the text says quite the contrary,—that Dâmodara is still (*adyâ'pi*) to be seen, his curse *not* yet ended, as he has *not* been able to fulfil the necessary condition, viz. to hear the whole *Râmâyaṇa* in one day. To close, I may be allowed to add to those correspondences in the *Dasarathajâtaka* with verses in the *Râmâyaṇa* which have already been pointed out by Fausböll one passage more, which has been indicated to me by Dr. J. Muir (and to him by Prof. Cowell). When Bharatakumâra comes to tell Râma of the death of Dasaratha and to call him back, he finds him sitting at the door of the hermitage *satthuthapitakañchanarûpikam viya* (Fausböll, p. 3, l. 7, *infra*). Thus Râvana saw Sitâ विभ्राजमानां वपुषा काञ्चनीं प्रतिमामिव (III. 52, 21, Gorresio; the Bombay edition, III. 46, 15, has only विभ्राजमानां वपुषा).

4. *The Krishṇajanmâshṭamî.*—I am particularly thankful to you for having laid a translation of § 3 of my paper on it before the English and Hindu public at large, as I do not think that it had attracted due attention before, so long as it was known only in German. But I should have liked very much that you had given also a condensed review (if nothing more) of the contents of §§ 1 and 2, which serve as its base, as I discuss in the first the literary sources from which I have derived my information, and in the second give a picture of the festival itself according to their statements.* I have since found a full description of it, containing almost all the passages I had succeeded in bringing together, and even some others, in an excellent work, for an acquaintance with which I am very much indebted to my honoured friend Dr. R. Rost, viz. in the *Haribhaktivilâsa* of Śrî Gopâlabhaṭṭa (Calcutta edition Sakâbdah 1767, A.D. 1845), pp. 519 to 541. (Wilson, *Sel. Works*, vol. I. p. 167, ed. Rost, mentions a *Haribhaktivilâsa* by one Sanâtana, disciple of Chaitanya).

Now as regard the strictures on my paper offered by Mr. Growse in vol. III. p. 300, I am glad to see that he coincides in his positions 1—5 with the principal arguments of it; but I should like to know what he means by saying at the end of his 2nd head "This again is no novel discovery." I should be indeed thankful to him if he pointed out the place where the Indian tradition that the doctrine of salvation by faith in the one God Kṛishṇa was brought by Nârada from the northern region of Śvetadvîpa" was spoken of *before I drew attention to it*. What he says under his 6th head shows clearly that he has, with all his great care in reading my article, thoroughly failed to understand the sense of the particular and very simple point in question. It is because the custom of the Egyptian Church of celebrating *the birth and baptism* of Christ together on the *same day* prevailed only from the second half of the fourth century till the year 431, when the celebration of *the birth alone* took its place, that I "feel strongly induced to put the borrowing of that form of the Kṛishṇajanmâshṭamî in which "the *nâmakaraṇam*, the giving a name, forms an integral part of its celebration" at the very time during which that custom peculiar to Egypt prevailed. The *date* itself (December or July, midwinter or midsummer) plays *no part at all* in this my discussion, and is only spoken of incidentally in the note. Though "I frankly admit that one-half of my subject [in that section], viz. Christian archæology, is strange ground" to me, I hope I have shown myself not so thoroughly inadequate to the task as in Mr. Growse's opinion is evidently the case. I have consulted the best authorities at

* The contents of § 4, concerning the artistic representations of Krishna as a suckling, would also be of general interest, especially when accompanied by a copy of that beautiful drawing on the second plate from Moor's *Hindu Pantheon*, pl. 59.

hand either in print or in person, and given everywhere *their* statements in full. Nor do I think that Mr. Growse on his part has been very fortunate with regard to those particular points in which he attempts to set right, with considerable confidence, what I have said. For when he calls the rosary "a devotion instituted by St. Dominic in the 13th century" he is somewhat behind the real state of the investigations on this point. What he says is indeed the usual tradition of the Dominicans, to whose exertions no doubt the common use of the rosary owes its popularity, but according to *Steitz*—the last, as far as I know, who wrote on this subject (see *Herzog Real-Encyclopädie für protestant. Theologie und Kirche*, III. 127, Gotha, 1860)—this tradition is "*as dubious*" as the opinion of those who maintain that the rosary was invented by Benedict of Nubia, or by the Venerable Bede, or by Peter the Hermit. Steitz repudiates also the opinion of those who believe that the rosary came to the West with the Crusaders, though he concedes that the influence of the Muhammadan custom may have contributed to its propagation. In his opinion the *belts* of the Anglo-Saxon Church in the ninth century (*septem beltidum paternoster pro eo cantetur* in the tenth canon of the *Concilium Celichitense*, A.D. 814) testify to the *independent* origin of the rosary in the West; whereas to Koppen as well as to me it seems very improbable that so singular an invention should have been made independently in two parts of the world, in the West *and* in the East. In the latter we find it no doubt earlier than in the former, as its Hindu use goes back to the *Atharva-pariśishṭas*, the *Râmâyana*, *Kumârasambhava*, *Varâhamihira*. Besides, we have here a good explanation of its name as well as of its origin. After all, it was not I, but Koppen, who first derived it from Śiva's garland of skulls, and he made the conjecture (Mr. Growse would do well to read the passage in the book itself, *Die Religion des Buddha*, II. 319, 1859) without even knowing the least of the particular relation of the rosary to the Śiva-cult which I have pointed out in my note, viz. the indispensable use of it at the Śivapûjâ, which is fruitless *vinâ rudrâkshamâlayâ*, and the very name *rudrâkshamâlâ*, which we find at least already in the *Râjataranginî*. I add that Śiva himself is called *akshamâlin* in the *Mahâbhârata*, XII. 10,374, and Gaurî wears the rosary in *Kumârasambhava*, V. 11. And for the particular point in question it is of some interest after all that in *Jaimini Bhârata*, XXII. 26, a Brahmarâkshasa actually appears: नग्नस्तसूत्रमूलं कण्ठे यज्ञोपवीतकं। बिभ्रच्चर्मकपालानां जपमालां न्यासकां॥. I adduce this passage only as an illustration, not as *evidence* of the conjecture, for I am not prepared to assume also that the *yajñopavîta* owed its origin to a string of human entrails! whereas I think it very probable that the garland of human skulls worn by Śiva himself, as well as, in his honour, by the Śivaitic Kâpâlika sect, may have become, in the diminutive form of the rosary, from an emblem of his service an expedient also for the right execution of the prescribed numerous repetitions of his names, as well as of the solemn *mantra* professing faith in him. In Koppen's opinion the rosary has been borrowed by the Christians (as already Baumgarten proposed in his *Christliche Alterthümer*, Halle, 1768) through the intermediation of the Moslems; but the Anglo-Saxon *belts* make this rather doubtful indeed (see Binterim, *Denkwürdigkeiten der kathol. Kirche*, VII. 111 ff. Mainz, 1831), and point to an earlier age for the borrowing. How old the rosary (سُبْحَة) is in Islâm is uncertain as yet; an Arabic Dictionary with full quotations from the oldest literature downwards—as we have it for the Sanskṛit in the great *Petersburg Dictionary* of Böhtlingk and Roth, which is to be completed in these days—does not yet exist, and we have therefore no distinct guide for the oldest use of the word and, what is the same, of the thing. The Qorân itself does not mention either, and my learned friend Prof. Dieterici is of opinion that the rosary was adopted by the Moslems especially in order to secure the right enumeration of the hundred fine names of Allah collected from the Qorân (سُبْحَانَ اللّٰه الرحمان الرحيم), the beginning of which formula, viz. the words, سُبْحَانَ اللّٰه praise of God, repeatedly occurs in the Qorân itself.

I proceed to the second rectification of Mr Growse, viz. to his statement that St. John Chrysostom, in that very sermon in which he notes that the Christmas festival had in Antioch been in existence only for ten years, "*adds* that *at Rome* it had been celebrated on the 25th of December *from the first days of Christianity*." Here also Mr. Growse has taken his information from a very unsafe source: for there is not a word of all that in the *text* of the sermon of the saint (Joann. Chrysost. *Opp.* II. 418, 419, Paris and Leipzig, 1835), as he does not mention either *Rome* or the *first days of Christianity*; what he says is more general and at the same time more restricted; he calls the festival new as well as old,—*new* because it had been introduced *with us* (πρὸς ἡμᾶς δὲ) only recently, *old* because it had been known to the inhabitants *of the West of ancient time* (παρὰ μὲν τοῖς τὴν ἑσπέραν οἰκοῦσιν ἄνωθεν γνωριζομένη). Now to render ἄνωθεν by "from the first days of Christianity" is certainly a very free and extended translation, whereas "*Rome*" alone does not suffice to cover "the

inhabitants of the West," the more so as Chrysostomos himself shortly after, in repeating his statement, tells us distinctly what he means by West, viz. all the countries from Thracia to Gades in Spain, *καὶ ἄνωθεν τοῖς ἀπὸ Θράκης μέχρι Γαδειρῶν οἰκοῦσι κατάδηλος καὶ ἐπίσημος γέγονε*. The *substance* of this passage I have given in Piper's words: "the Festival then came from the West to the East;" to enter more into the above details was not to the purpose of my essay.* Finally I cannot find words strong enough to express my indignation at the tone in which Mr. Growse speaks of my remarks about the question of a connection between the Madonna-cult and the worship of Isis, saying "that they can *scarcely* have been introduced *except from a wanton desire to give offence;*" he seems not to be aware of the full import of these insulting words, which heap on the scientific as well as moral character of an earnest scholar the highest possible abuse and dishonour. The very fact that I am striving through "several long columns" to get at the truth ought to have prevented Mr. Growse from throwing such foul dirt on my name. And this much the more as it is not at all, what he completely omits to mention, *my own theory* or hypothesis which he combats, for I am only *quoting*, and *criticizing all the while*, the opinions of others, viz. M. Raoul Rochette and Mrs. Jameson; and he ought therefore to have directed his wrath not against me, but against these distinguished writers, both of whom, on the other hand, ought certainly to be secure in their graves from such an affront, even if Mr. Growse should be too much exasperated by that horrid idea to spare the living.

Allow me now to return also in a few words to my questions concerning Chaturañga in vol. I. p. 290. That Râdhâkânta the friend of Sir W. Jones and disciple of Jagannâtha, mentioned by the latter as standing at the head of his school, in the introduction to the *Vivâdabhangârṇava*, v. 4 (see Colebrooke's *Digest of Hindu Law*, 1796; Madras, 1864, I. 1), is different from the celebrated author of the *Śabdakalpadruma*, is self-evident from what I have said already before, but I had not succeeded in getting any further particulars about him till lately I met in my own *Catalogue of the Sanskrit MSS. of the Berlin Library*, p. 359, with the following note by Sir R. Chambers, dated Sept. 16th, 1785: "Râdhâkânta Tarkavâgîśa informs me that this book is *Bhaktiratnâvali*." We have here before us not only the second name of this Râdhâkânta, but moreover a statement dated five years earlier than the paper of Sir W. Jones, and but two years later than the *birth* of Râdhâkânta Deva. The questions regarding the *Chaturañgakrîḍâ* itself are now keenly debated with us, as the beautiful and excellent work of Dr. Antonius van der Linde, *Geschichte und Literatur des Schachspiels* (two large vols., Berlin, 1874), has drawn to it anew the attention of the learned, as well as the public at large. It would be very welcome if any *new* information on this noble play, the invention of which does so much credit to the imaginativeness and speculative power of the Hindu mind, could be got from Sanskrit sources. Dr. Bühler informs me that the manuscript of the *Mânasollâsa* in his possession (see vol. IV. p. 83), which contains a chapter on it, is too defective to admit of a restoration of the text.

I am, dear Sir, truly yours,

A. WEBER.

Berlin, 13*th April* 1875.

* Allow me to correct here a slight mistake in the translation of my note as given on page 51, l. 5, *infra*; "long afterwards" is a good deal more than "but at second hand", "erst secundar," as the original has.

COINS.

Sir D. Forsyth lately obtained some gold Byzantine coins (from A. D. 408—668) from the ruined cities round Kâshgarh, and a few large and old Chinese coins, with very elaborate inscriptions not yet deciphered. The most interesting is, however, a coin with, on one side, a loose horse within a circle, and, on the margin outside the circle, a Bactrian-Pali inscription, which Mr. E. Bayley, from a rubbing sent to Calcutta by General Cunningham, reads as *Mahârâjasa râjadehrajassa Mahâtakasa* (*Sp*)*aramayasa*. The *Sp* is doubtful, but as the preceding word commonly occurs as a title of Spalirises in the coins hitherto known (Prinsep, ii. 204), there can, he thinks, be little doubt as to the correctness of the reading. But the curious point about the coin is that the other side is entirely filled with an inscription in old Chinese not yet deciphered. Among some silver Gupta coins obtained by Miss Baring at Faizâbâd, and presented by her to the British Museum, there is one very perfect Toramana, with a complete inscription and a date. This coin will be of interest, since Mr. E. Thomas's reading of the name Toramana on one of the coins of the later Gupta dynasty (Prinsep, i. p. 339) has recently been doubted by Prof. Kern. In Col. Gardner's collection of coins, which Mr. Bayley has examined, there are several interesting Kâshmirian coins which supply four new kings: viz. Parva Gupta, Tribhuvana Gupta, Râma Deva, and Râja Deva, besides one or two names not yet deciphered. General Cunningham has been working at the Barahat Tope, and has now recovered all that has been preserved, including

three gates and most of the railing. The local zamindârs have presented the sculptures to the Indian Government, and it is hoped that they will soon be safely lodged in the Museum at Calcutta. The great merit of these sculptures is that the sculptor has been kind enough to label nearly all of them, so that they are easily identified. A large number of them represent scenes from various jâtakas, or stories of Buddha's former existences. Amongst other interesting pieces of sculpture is the medallion bust of a "Râja of Himavat," whose name, unfortunately, is lost.

NOTE.

A story similar to that quoted against "Persianized Hindi" at page 189 of the June part of the *Antiquary* is charged against the Vâniya method of writing Gujarâti. The message received was

કક અજ મર ગય છ ન કક કર છ

which was read as

કાકો આજ મરી ગયો છે ને કાકી કુટે છે.

(Uncle has died to-day, and aunt bewails him.)

But it should have been

કાકો આજમેર ગયો છે ને કાકી કોટે છે.

(is at Kot).

C. E. G. C.

[The joke alluded to in p. 189, note, has also several forms. There is an epigram of (we think) the younger Scaliger upon

" * * Gascones * * *
Queis nihil aliud est vivere quam bibere"

and we remember having read somewhere of certain Trebizondian envoys who gave unintentional offence by the greeting "Semper bibat Imperator."—Ed.]

BOOK NOTICES.

General Report on the Administration of the Bombay Presidency for 1873-74. Printed at the Government Central Press Bombay, 1875

The red-letter chapters of last year's Report, which contain most of the matter interesting to readers of the *Indian Antiquary*, are not republished this year, which as regards the article on Physical Geography is perhaps prudent. Dr. Wilson's paper upon castes and languages, which we republished last year (vol. III. pp. 221 ff.), is one of those thus omitted. This year's Report, however, contains a paper upon the climate of Bombay by Mr. Chambers, F.R.S., Superintendent of the Observatory at Kulâbâ (p. 294), which is interesting in many ways, and remarkable for an extraordinary derivation of the term "Elephanta" applied to the thunderstorms which occur pretty generally throughout the Presidency (except in Sind) at the close of the monsoon (Mr. Chambers is mistaken in applying it to the "mango showers" which usher it in, and which are called Rohinîchî pânî), "from the fact of their reaching the town of Bombay from the direction of the island of Elephanta." The name of the island was given by the Portuguese, from the stone elephant which formerly stood there, and whose *disjecta membra* now ornament the approach to the Victoria Museum. The name of the storms is derived from the Haste Nakshatra, or lunar mansion under the sign Haste, commonly called by the Marâthâs 'Hatti Nakshatra.' The Portuguese translated the vernacular term literally, and we have inherited it from them.

The Archæological section (p. 508) we reprint nearly in full, to show what has been accomplished and may be hoped for from the liberality of Government in this direction.

"The Bombay Sanskrit Series, edited by Dr. Buhler and Dr. Kielhorn, has been enriched by three new numbers published during the year. Two of these contain new critical editions of works which have been published both in India and in Europe, and the third is the last number of Dr. Kielhorn's edition of Nâgoji-bhaṭṭa's difficult and famous grammatical work.

"Dr. Buhler went on a three months' tour in Râjputâna to search for Sanskrit MSS., and visited Jodhpur, Jesâlmir, Bikaner, and Bhâtner. He appears to have been particularly successful in Jesâlmir and Bikaner. In the former town he gained access to the ancient library of the Oswâl Jainas, which enjoys a great reputation among native scholars on account of its supposed extent and importance. Dr. Bühler says regarding it:—'The MSS. which are now found in the Bhândar belong to three classes. The first consists of palm-leaf MSS., the oldest of which is dated Samvat 1160, or A.D. 1104, while the youngest belongs to the beginning of the 15th century. To the second class belong a number of very old and beautiful paper MSS. dating from the 14th and 15th centuries, which, according to the special lists accompanying them, are votive offerings given by rich pilgrims. The third class contains modern paper MSS. which formerly were the property of monks who died at Jesâlmir without spiritual descendants.

"'It might be expected that a Jaina collection like the Jesâlmir Brihajjñânakosha (great storehouse of learning) would be composed entirely of religious books of the sect to which it belongs. But that is by no means the case. Fully one-third of the MSS. contain Brâhmaṇical or profane works by Jaina authors.'

"Dr. Bühler has made arrangements to obtain copies of all the important new works found in this library. He thinks also that careful collations of all the old Brâhmanical MSS. should be made, as the present editions are based on much later and less trustworthy MSS. The total number of MSS. copied or purchased in Râjputâna is upwards of two hundred. Besides, thirty MSS. have been acquired in Gujarât: several of these have been lent to Sanskṛitists in India and in Europe; and Dr. Bühler has an edition of the Vikramânkakâvya in the press."

In the Educational part of the report it is to be noticed that the Superintendent of the School of Art states that "the Ajaṇṭâ Expedition and Mr. Burgess's explorations have affected his returns by drawing off some of his best pupils." As they could hardly be better employed, we will not lament over the falling off in the returns, and it is pleasant to observe that Mr. Griffiths considers "the art-experience gained" to have been "of great practical value to the students who have been employed in copying and restoring" the Ajaṇṭâ paintings, although we regret to observe that several of the students employed in the expedition have since suffered from fever,—which illustrates the dangers and difficulties under which researches of the sort are carried out, and which, perhaps, are not always fully appreciated by those who have not undergone them.

"All the paintings brought from Ajaṇṭâ in the preceding year were photographed, and the originals, after exhibition at the Town Hall and Victoria Museum, were sent home to the Indian Museum. The Government of India have now sanctioned a repetition of the expedition at a cost of Rs. 5,000 yearly until the work is finished; and since the close of the year under report Mr. Griffiths has been sent to England to study the latest processes for the restoration of the paintings, and to make inquiries as to the possibility of removing those paintings which are already partly detached, or which could be easily detached."

"ARCHÆOLOGY.—During the past year a regular survey of the architectural and other archæological remains in the Bombay Presidency was commenced by Mr Burgess. This survey originated in the despatch of His Grace the Duke of Argyll, No. 173, of 11th October 1871, in which it was proposed that arrangements should be made by this Government to carry into effect certain suggestions which had been made for the production of a complete work on the Rock-Cut Temples of Western India.

"A detailed scheme was accordingly drawn out by the Honourable Mr. Gibbs, was fully concurred in by His Excellency in Council, and recommended to the Government of India in this Government's letter No. $\frac{2599}{100}$-G, dated 24th July 1873. This contemplated the employment of Mr Burgess on this special duty for about three years, during which time he was to spend six months of the dry weather in the field, and six months at home elaborating the notes he had made during his tour, preparing the plans and drawings, and printing the photographs. The Government of India had in 1868 set apart Rs. 13,000 for this work in the Bombay Presidency, and this sum was not exceeded in the scheme proposed. But it was pointed out that with more liberal allowance for establishment the field work would be carried on much more rapidly, and in the end the work would be proportionately cheaper. It was also proposed that the operations should extend over Haidarâbâd, the Berârs and Central Provinces, in addition to the Bombay Presidency, and that whilst the main object of the survey would be the caves and other Buddhist remains scattered over this extensive area, careful surveys of some at least of the most interesting Brâhmaṇical and Jaina remains should be included.

"The scheme was sanctioned by the Government of India on the understanding that the expense should not exceed the authorized grant of Rs. 13,000, and on the condition that the operations should be restricted to the Bombay Presidency." The latter limitation, however, excluded the Ajaṇṭâ, Elorâ, and other groups of caves just outside the Bombay Presidency, and thus rendered impossible the production of a complete work on the rock-cut temples of Western India. This has been remedied since, and Haidarâbâd and the Central Provinces have now been added to Bombay and Berâr as the field to be surveyed.

"Mr. Burgess did not take charge of the duties of Archæological Surveyor and Reporter till the 15th January 1874, and his actual work in the field did not begin till the 2nd February. He concluded it on the 16th April, as, owing to a thunder-storm, he apprehended his materials might be injured by rain. His first season was thus a very short one, and in addition he had other difficulties to contend against. He states that the means at his disposal were too limited for the organization of a proper staff, and that the allowance for photography in particular was manifestly inadequate."

"On the whole, however, it appears that a good

beginning has been made, and the amount of work done in so short a time is considerable. Mr. Burgess confined himself during the season to the Kanarese districts. The caves at Badâmi and Aiholli or Aiwalli, of which hitherto so very little was known, were surveyed, as also the ancient Jaina and Saiva temples at Belgâm, Paṭṭadkal, and Aiwalli: and such other places of importance in an archaeological point of view as were easily accessible were also visited." "Between 30 and 35 inscriptions were copied, some of them very successfully, by paper casts. 54 photographs in all were taken. The following list of them is here given, as it shows in a brief space the field over which the operations of the year extended:—

1. Belgâm.—Temple No. 1, outside the Commissariat Stores. 2. Temple No. 2, inside the Commissariat compound. 3. Roof of Temple No 2. 4. Inner door of the same. 5. Gateway of the fort.

6. Old Temple at Konur. 7 Konur.—Temple of Mâhâlingeśvara on the Ghâṭprabhâ. 8 Temple of Mâhâlingeśvara from the west. 9. Inscription in the same. 10. Falls of Gokâk, and Temples. 11. Cromlech or Dolmen No. 1, near Konur. 12. No. 2, in the jungle. 13. No. 3, in a field.

14. Kadaroli.—Old Temple in the bed of the Mâlprabhâ. 15. Inscribed stone or Śilâśâsanam in the village of Kâdaroli.* 16. Sâmpgâm Mosque. 17. Bail Hongal.—Old Temple.† 18 Saundatti. A Śilâśâsanam.

19. Huli.—Front of the Temple of Panchalinga Deva 20 Side view of do. 21. Old Temple on the top of the hill. 22. Old Temples at a tank

23. Manauli.—Temples of Panchalingeśvara. 24. Sculptured stones in the same. 25. A Śilâśâsanam at Panchalingesvara.

26. Badâmi —Front of Cave I. 27. 18-armed Śiva &c. at Cave I. 28. Front of Cave II. 29. Vishnu, &c. in the veranda of Cave II. 30. Cave III. from the north-east. 31. Cave III. from the north-west. 32. Cave III. —Pilaster and sculpture at the east end of the veranda. 33 Garuda and figures under the roof of the entrance, with brackets of central columns of the veranda. 34. West end of the veranda with figure of Nrisiñha. 35 East end of the veranda with Vishnu on Ânanta. 36. Varâha with Prithvi and pilaster with the old inscription.‡ 37 Virabhadra at the west side of the Cave 38. Cave IV —The Jaina Cave. 39. West end of the veranda and figure of Parśvanâtha, columns, &c. in Cave IV. 40. East end of the veranda; a Jina, columns, &c 41. View of the old Fort of Badâmi with several Temples (from two points).

42 Aiholli.—Brahmanical Cave and Monolith. 43. Figures in the south corner of the Cave. 44. Sculptures in the Brâhmanical Cave, north corner of the hall. 45. Ditto east corner. 46. The Durga Temple. 47. Pillar in the porch of the Durga Temple. 48. Door of the same. 49. Sculptured slabs lying outside. 50. Siñha, &c. and corner of basement of Temple. 51. Two inscriptions on the gateway of the same. 52. Columns in one of the old deserted Temples in the village. 53 Ruined Gateway to a Temple near the village. 54. Group of Temples and Dolmen at the same place.

"In his *Report*,—which has been separately printed," at the India Office, illustrated by 21 photographs of buildings, &c., 6 of inscriptions, and 20 plates of plans, details, inscriptions, and sculptures—Mr. Burgess has "given a detailed description of the remains he visited during the season." "He is of opinion that the materials which he has yet collected do not adequately represent the antiquities of the Kanarese country, but only open up a field which would repay a much wider and more detailed survey."

"The antiquarian researches of Mr. J. F. Fleet, C.S., are also deserving of mention. During the year under review he examined the inscriptions at Gadak, in the Dambaḷ Tâlukâ of the Dhârwâḍ District, and published an account of them, together with a transcription and translation of the largest of them,§ which relates to the kings of the Hoysaḷa dynasty. He afterwards employed himself in preparing for publication some inscriptions previously collected relating to the Raṭṭa chieftains of Saundatti and Belgâm, the Yâdava kings of Devagiri, and the Vijayanagara dynasty, and in the early part of 1874 copied some fresh inscriptions at Naregal in the Dhârwâḍ District, relating to chieftains of the Sindavaṁśa, subordinate to the Châlukya kings." His paper on the Raṭṭa chieftains of Saundatti and Belgâm is printed in the *Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, vol. X., but the others are not yet ready for publication.

"Finally it may be mentioned that it is now proposed to carry out a scheme for the collection and preservation of ancient Kanarese inscriptions which was suggested by His Grace the Duke of Argyll in his despatch No. 4, dated 27th January 1870. This scheme contemplated the employment of a competent scholar to revise the transcripts of the Kanarese inscriptions prepared by Sir W. Elliot, and to add others not included in the collection, and it was suggested that when the revision and additions are completed, the bulk of them should be printed in India in modern Kanarese, only those should be photolithographed which, in the opinion of the editor, present double

* See vol. I. p. 141.

† Vol. [illegible] p. 115.

‡ See vol. III. p. 305.

§ See *Ind. Ant.* vol. II. pp. 296—303.—Ed.

readings, or are interesting for their great antiquity. In a minute recorded by the Honourable Mr. Gibbs on the 4th June last, it is proposed that the work be divided into *two* portions—(1) the copying the inscriptions; (2) their decipherment and publication. As regards the first portion it is considered that the best plan is to have copies (Fr. *estampages*) taken by means of the stout unsized paper used by those *savants* who have been engaged on similar duty in Egypt. It is recommended that the second part of the duty should be entrusted to Mr. Fleet."

W. F. Sinclair.

Keralâcharâm, or the Practice of Malabar.—Calicut, Collectorate Press (19 pp. 4to), 1866.

This small pamphlet contains the sixty-four Anâchârams, also called the sixty-four Âchârams; for although they are Anâchârams in the larger portion of the Presidency, they are considered Âchârâms in the land of Kerala or Malabar—originally the country now comprised under the names of Kânarâ, Malabâr, Cochin, and Trâvankor—the narrow strip between the Western Ghâṭs and the Arabian Sea, stretching from Gokarṇa in North Kânarâ to Cape Kumârî. They are precepts given by Śrî Śaṅkarâcharya of Śringeri—one of the most celebrated teachers of the Vedânta philosophy—after consulting the *Dharmaśâstra*. They are embodied in twenty-six Sanskrit ślokas. These every Malayâli considers himself strictly bound to attend to and revere.

In the pamphlet—printed, as the title-page and preface tell us, for the edification of the public—are also given Malayâlam equivalents for the Sanskrit words in the ślokas, with a rendering in Malayâlam in parallel columns. Before, however, giving an abstract translation of the *Âchârams*, something regarding the author may be interesting.

Śankarâchârya was the son of Mahâdeva or Śiva by a Brâhmaṇ widow. From his very boyhood he was well instructed, so that in time he became the most learned man of his day, to whom all looked up for instruction and advice. As he was born of a Brâhman widow, the Brâhmans of the village refused to join in the ceremonies attending his mother's death. On this occasion he therefore dug the pit (*hômakuṇḍa*), cut the body of his mother into pieces and burnt them. The ceremonies that ought to be performed by a junior member of the family were done by Śûdras, so that from this period began the custom of "no ceremony for Brâhmaṇs without the assistance of a Śûdra," and *vice versâ*.

By order of the sage Govinda Sanyâsi, Śankarâcharya wrote a history of Kerala in 24,000 *granthams*.

He divided the Malayâlis into 68 or 72 (?) sects, assembled the sixty-four village Brâhmans, allotted their particular duty to each class as well as to other castes, laid down rules for the daily observance of each and every class of his division, and fixed penalties on those who infringe the caste privileges.

This great man was noted even during his day. There is a large and celebrated pagoda at Tiruvetthur, four miles to the north of Madras, built by his followers, where worship is still offered to the gods by Malabâr or Namburi Brâhmans.

Buchanan notices the three *appearances* of Śankarâchârya in his *Journey through Mysore and Malabar*, vol. III. 91 (edition of 1807).

Being the offspring of a god, he is considered an incarnation of the deity himself, and several wonders are attributed to him. The following is an abstract translation of each of the precepts, embodied in twenty-six ślokas:—

1. Do not clean your teeth with a stick.
2. Do not bathe (in a tank) with the clothes you wear.
3. Do not wipe your body with the cloth you have worn.
4. Do not bathe before sunrise.
5. Do not cook rice, &c. before bathing.
6. Do not use the previous day's water—literally, the water drawn and kept (in a vessel) the previous day.
7. Do not think of the attainment of any particular object when bathing.
8. Do not use the remainder of the water in the vessel kept for one purpose for another.
9. Bathe if you touch certain low castes—Śûdras,—lit. He who desires holiness, or not to be polluted, should bathe whenever he touches low-caste men, &c.
10. Bathe if you approach certain lower castes—Chaṇḍâḷas (pariahs).
11. Bathe if you touch wells and tanks touched by the Chaṇḍâḷas.
12. Do not tread with your foot on the ground cleaned with a broom before water is sprinkled on it.
13. This is the mode of putting holy ashes on the forehead:—A Brahman should make a figure in the form of a long *gôpi*, as \|/; a Kshatriya a semi-circle, as ◡; a Vaiśya a circular figure, as ●; and a Sûdra three parallel lines, as ≡.
14. Repeat to yourself the *mantrams* when performing any ceremony of which a *mantra* is an accompaniment.
15. Do not eat stale rice, *i.e.* do not eat in the morning what has been prepared the previous day

16. Do not eat the *uchchhishta* (what remains in the dish after one's meal is over).

17. Do not eat what has been offered as *naivedya* to Śiva.

18. Do not eat meals served with the bare palm; *i.e.* rice, ghee, and curry must be served with a spoon-like utensil.

19. Do not use buffalo's ghee and milk for *homas* (sacrificial ceremonies).

20. Do not use buffalo's ghee and milk for obituary anniversaries.

21. Take your meals so that there may be no remainder at the end on (1) the leaf, (2) the hand when each morsel is swallowed.

22 Do not chew betel-leaf when you are unclean.

23. Lead the life of a Brahmachâri (after the *Upanayana* ceremony), perform the *homas*, and the sixteen various ceremonies prescribed for him.

24. Give the dues in the shape of money presents to your tutors.

25. Do not recite the *Vedas* in villages and streets.

26. Do not sell females, in marriage

27. Do not stick to any vow solely for the attainment of any one aim.

28. If a female touches a girl who has *just* attained puberty—before the holy water (*punyâha*) is sprinkled on her—she must bathe before taking her food, being unclean. If a male Brâhman does so, changing the holy thread and purification by holy water are requisite

29. Brâhmans should not weave.

30. Do not wash your clothes yourself.

31. Kshatriyas, &c. should not—Brâhmans only should—worship Rudrâksha beads or the *linga* of Śiva.

32. Brâhmans should not accept the *manes'* offerings of a Śûdra's *śrâddha*.

33. Performance of śrâddha is necessary for a deceased father, father's father, mother's father, and their wives.

34. Performance of śrâddha on full-moon days is necessary to ingratiate the Pitṛis or ancestors.

25. Perform the *sapinḍi* ceremony at the prescribed time

36. Keep your head un-shaved for a complete year, as a vow, on the death of your father and mother.

37. Death anniversaries are to be performed by reference to the nakshatra (lunar mansion) on which the person died.

38 If you become polluted by a female relative bringing forth, at the time when you are to perform a *sapinḍi* ceremony, perform it after the pollution has left you, not otherwise.

39. An adopted son should perform the anniversary ceremonies of the deaths of his natural father and mother.

40. The corpse should be burnt in the person's own soil, not in that of another person.

41. Sanyâsis should not see women.

42. Have always a love and regard for the future world.

43. Do not perform śrâddhas for departed Sanyâsis.

44. Brâhman women should not see men other than their husbands.

45. Brâhman females should not stir out (of their houses) without maid-servants.

46. Wear only white clothes.

47. Do not bore a hole in your nose.

48. If a Brâhman drinks (liquor) he loses his caste.

49. If a Brâhman takes to wife another (*i.e.* other than his wife) Brâhman woman, he loses his caste.

50. Within the walls of a pagoda, idols should not be consecrated, nor temples endowed to the ghosts of ancestors who have died violent (or accidental) deaths.

51. Śûdras should not touch the idol in a pagoda.

52. What has been offered to one deity cannot be again offered to another. (The same object should not constitute offerings to two separate deities.)

53. Marriage cannot be performed without a *homa*, or burnt-offering—the casting of clarified butter, &c. into the sacred fire as an offering to the gods accompanied with prayers, and invocations according to the object of the sacrifice.

54. A Brâhman should not worship another Brâhman lying prostrate on the belly.

55. Neither is it proper that they should worship (make *namaskâra*) to another, *i.e.* of a different caste.

56. Do not perform the sacrifice of the cow.

57. Such a state of things should not exist that some are Śaivas and some Vaishṇavas. The Keralaites are to hold both in equal veneration.

58. Wear only one holy thread—*punal-nul.*

59. The eldest son alone can marry.

60. The offering to the *pitṛis* should be of rice.

61. Kshatriyas, &c. in performing their śrâddhas should consider uncles in the place of fathers (Brâhmaṇ).

62. Among the Kshatriyas, &c. succession to property is in the line of nephews.

63. Widows should observe the rules of sanyâsa (strict celibacy).

64. There should be no *satî*.

N. Sankunni Wariyar.

Ernakolam

SANTÂLI FOLKLORE.

BY REV. F. T. COLE, TALJHARI, RÂJMAHÂL.

The Tale of Kanṛan and Guja.

KANṚAN and Guja were brothers; of these two Kanṛan was the elder. They used to go every day to the jungles for the purpose of digging up roots, on which they subsisted.

One day Kanṛan said to his brother, "Look at the sun and tell me how high up he is." Guja having mounted a tall tree looked over the tops of the other trees in the jungle, and perceived one of the heavenly bodies setting, and in the opposite direction another rising: from this he concluded that it was drawing towards evening.

They again set to work and dug up a quantity of roots. In thus doing they soon became very weary. Suddenly the thought struck them, "We have dug up the roots, but where is the fire by which to cook them?" Kanṛan then said to his brother, "We are in a fix; what shall we do?" The younger brother again mounted a high tree and took a good look round, to see if he could discover any signs of a fire in the distance. After some time he saw a slight glimmering of light.

Descending quickly from the tree, he said to his brother, "I see a light shining in the distance." Then, tying up their roots, they immediately set off in that direction. With great difficulty they reached the spot, and discovered that it was a fire burning before a cave. Going nearer, they saw that the cave was a tiger's lair, and saw a large tiger inside. Calling to the animal, Kanṛan said, "Uncle, is any one at home?" The tiger replied, "Yes, nephews, I am here; come in and sit down, I have killed a fat ox and am now eating him." They said, "We have been busy all day digging up roots, but are unable to cook them for want of a fire."

The tiger, after having finished his repast, came outside the cave, and the three seated themselves around the fire. The brothers then roasted their roots and asked the tiger whether he would not join them in their supper. Taking some pieces of charcoal from the fire, they handed them to the tiger, keeping the roasted roots for themselves. The tiger remarked, "I can't manage to eat these without a great deal of crunching, but you seem to eat them as if they were quite soft." The brothers answered, "We picked out those that were well baked for you, and are contenting ourselves with the half-cooked roots." Having finished supper, they proposed asking one another riddles. The tiger said, "Can you tell me the meaning of this—One I will eat for breakfast, and another like it for supper?" The brothers, hearing this, felt sure it was something connected with them, but, pretending not to understand, they replied, "O uncle, we cannot tell. As you have puzzled us, we will also try and do the same to you—One will twist the tail, the other will wring the ear." The tiger also perceived that this was said with regard to him, and in great terror was about to make his escape, when Kanṛan seized his tail, which in the ensuing struggle was twisted off. This the brothers roasted, and found it a delicious morsel. As the tiger was escaping, the brothers said to each other, "If he goes to the river, we shall not be able to follow him, but if to the hills we shall be able easily to secure him." The tiger, overhearing this conversation, fled towards the river. This was exactly what the brothers wished, for they knew that if the tiger escaped to the jungle they would be unable to overtake him.

On the following day they set out in the direction of the river. Following the footprints of the tiger, they found him in a small patch of jungle close to the water. They concerted a plan, namely, that Kanṛan should hide behind a tree, while Guja drove the animal in that direction. Being thus driven from his hiding-place, the tiger was caught by the lier-in-wait, and was beaten to death by the brothers, as they supposed. They tied his legs to a pole and were carrying him to their home, when they perceived that he occasionally opened his eyes. Putting him down they again beat him till they thought he was dead. After carrying him a little further they noticed that he still opened his eyes. Giving him another severe beating they concluded that he must be now dead. But finding they were again mistaken

they gave it up in despair, threw him down and left him. Being at some distance from home, they went to a waterfall to quench their thirst, and afterwards climbed up a *tál* tree which grew on the banks of the water, and there they remained for safety during the night.

The tiger, being left alone, released himself and set off to call together his tiger acquaintances, in order to be revenged on the brothers who had thus so grievously ill-treated him. They assembled in large numbers and searched for a long time for Kanṛan and Guja, but in vain. At length, becoming tired, they gave up the search and began to abuse the poor tailless tiger in no measured terms.

The tigers, impelled by thirst, went to the waterfall to drink. It so happened that the tailless tiger went close to the very *tál* tree in which the brothers were seated. Seeing their shadows reflected in the water, he exclaimed, "Come here, they are drowned in this deep water." The other tigers inquired, "Are you serious, or are you making fun of us? If you are joking you shall suffer for it." Finding it was true, they ordered the tailless tiger to dive into the water and fetch out the brothers. The tiger dived till he was tired. At last, being thoroughly exhausted, he got out of the water and saw the reflection of the men as plainly as before; again he dived, but with no better success. Being completely worn out with his exertions and very cold, he begun to sneeze. While in the act of doing so, he happened to look up, and there he discovered the brothers quietly seated in the *tál*-tree.

Having announced this fact to the rest of the tigers, they held a general consultation as to how they might reach the brothers. The tailless tiger at length suggested the following plan:—"Let us stand one on the other," said he, "till we get high enough to reach them." This plan being approved by all, they directed the tailless tiger to take his stand at the bottom; then they climbed one upon the other, till they could almost touch the brothers. At this crisis, Kanṛan called out to his brother, "Give me your axe, I will kill the tailless tiger." The latter, hearing this, struggled to make his escape, and in so doing upset the whole party, who were resting upon him, while they in their fall crushed the poor tailless tiger to death, and overcome by terror they fled. After this, the two brothers descended from the tree and began to cut up the dead tiger. Kanṛan selected some of the most delicate parts for his own share, but Guja seized the entrails. Kanṛan, seeing this, asked his brother why he was so foolish as to choose the entrails and to leave the rest. Guja quietly replied, "Brother, I am quite satisfied with what I have." Then they took their departure, and after travelling some distance found a suitable tree on which to rest. It so happened that a king's son was just passing on the way to his father-in-law's house, in order to fetch home his wife, and he lay down to rest under this same tree.

All this time Guja had been holding the entrails of the tiger in his hands. At last he said to his brother, "I can't keep this any longer." Kanṛan answered, "What shall we do then? If you let it fall, we shall be discovered and shall certainly be killed." At length, Guja, unable to hold it any longer, let it fall on the king's son who was lying fast asleep at the foot of the tree. Awakened by the blow, he arose, greatly dismayed at seeing blood, &c. upon his body, and imagined that some accident must have happened to himself; he therefore hastened from the spot. His servants, seeing him run at a mad pace, immediately followed. The two brothers quickly came down from the tree and began to plunder the baggage, which had been left behind in the fright. Kanṛan seized upon the finest garments, while Guja selected a large drum. Being upbraided by his brother for thus losing such a splendid opportunity of enriching himself, he replied, "Brother, this will suit my purpose."

They now proceeded on their journey. Guja was so much pleased with his drum that he kept on beating it all day long. Unfortunately the drum-head split and thus was rendered useless. But Guja, instead of throwing it away, continued to carry it about with him. Afterwards they found a bees'-nest. Guja refreshed himself with the honey and filled his drum with bees. Having done this, they continued their journey, till they arrived at a river-ghât. When the villagers came out at eventide to draw water, Guja let fly some of his bees amongst them. The people, being much stung, ran home and told how that two strangers had arrived and had greatly annoyed them by allowing bees to sting them. The villagers, headed

by their chief and armed with bows, advanced to the attack, determined to be avenged upon the strangers. They commenced shooting, but the brothers, hidden behind their drum, remained unharmed. After all their arrows had been shot, Guja opened the hole of his drum, and the bees streamed out like a cart-rope. The villagers now prayed to be released from this plague of bees, and their chief promised to give one of them his daughter in marriage, also a yoke of oxen and a piece of land. Guja then calling his bees forced them again into the drum. The chief performed his promise. Kanṛan was married to his daughter, and he cultivated the land which his father-in-law gave him.

One day, for some reason, Kanṛan was obliged to leave home for a short time, and upon his departure gave Guja this parting injunction:—"If," said he, "the plough become at any time entangled in the ground, and the ox be unable to get along, strike it with your axe." Guja imagined that his brother was speaking of the ox, so when the plough became entangled he struck the ox with his axe and killed him, instead of cutting away the obstruction, as his brother had intended. Kanṛan, returning home about this time, was informed by his wife of what had happened. Upon hearing it, he became greatly enraged, and ran to the spot, intending to kill his brother. Guja, however, becoming aware of his brother's intention, immediately snatched up the entrails of the ox and fled. Seeing a tree having a large hole in the trunk, he got inside, having first covered himself with the entrails. Kanṛan, arriving at the spot, thrust his spear into the hole repeatedly, and when he drew it out he perceived that it was smeared with blood. He exclaimed, "I have speared him to death, now he won't kill any more of my oxen," and returned home.

Guja was not at all hurt, the spear not having touched him,—the blood was not his, but that of the ox. Having satisfied himself that no one was near, he came out of the hole, and crept secretly into his brother's house. Climbing to the top of the house, he sat there perched upon one of the beams. A little while afterwards Kanṛan entered, bringing with him portions of the flesh of the slain ox, also some rice. Having closed the door, he commenced to offer a sacrifice to his brother Guja's memory. The usual ceremonies having been performed, he addressed the soul of his departed brother in the following manner:—"O Guja, receive these offerings. I killed you indeed, but don't be angry with me for doing so. Condescend to accept this meat and rice." Guja, from his hiding-place, replied, "Very well, lay them down." Kanṛan, hearing this voice, was greatly astonished, but was afraid to look in the direction from which the sound proceeded. Going out, he inquired of the villagers as to whether it was possible for a dead man to speak. They told him that such was sometimes the case.

Whilst Kanṛan was talking to the neighbours, Guja escaped secretly by a back door, taking with him the meat and rice. He had not gone far before he encountered some men who, he afterwards learned, were professional thieves. He divided his meat and rice with them, and they became great friends. Guja became their companion in their plundering expeditions. However, afterwards coming to words, they beat Guja severely, tied his hands and feet, and were carrying him off to the river with the intention of drowning him. But on the way they were compelled by hunger to go in search of food, and not wishing to be burdened with Guja they set him down bound under a tree. A shepherd passing that way, and attracted by his crying, inquired who he was and why he was crying. Guja answered, "I am a king's son, and am being taken against my will to be married to a king's daughter for whom I have not the slightest affection." The shepherd answered, "I am indeed sorry for you, but let me go instead of you, I will gladly marry her." So the shepherd quickly released Guja, and allowed himself to be bound in his place. The thieves, soon afterwards returning, took up the supposed Guja, and in spite of the shepherd's protestations that he was not Guja they threw him into the river. In the meantime Guja fled, driving before him the shepherd's cows. The thieves afterwards met him again, and seeing the cows inquired of Guja whence he had procured them. Guja answered, "Don't you remember you threw me into the river? there it was I got all these. Let me throw you in too, and you will get as many cows as you wish." This proposition meeting with general approbation, they suffered themselves to be bound and thrown into the river, where, as a natural consequence, all were drowned.

THE TWO BROTHERS: A MANIPURÎ STORY.

BY G. H. DAMANT, B.A., B.C.S.

In a certain country there lived a king named Hemanga Sen; his queen was called Anangâ Manjurî. He had a very large and beautiful palace. One day the queen took a stool into the courtyard and sat down. Now it happened that the mate of a sparrow was just dead, leaving two young ones only hatched nine days, and he, thinking he could not bring them up alone, determined to take another mate: so he searched and brought one, and built her a nest in the courtyard, and put her into it with the young ones of his first mate, and then went away to look for food. In the meantime the new mate, remembering that the young ones were not hers, pushed them out of the nest with her feet, and they fell in front of the queen, and their bodies split open and they died.

Anangâ Manjurî was very sorry to see this, and thought to herself, "When their wives die, men have very little consideration for their children and grandchildren. If I die, my husband will take another wife, who will treat my little sons Turi and Basanta just in this way, and will kill them." So she wept very much, and took the two young sparrows and showed them to the king, and told him how they had perished, and asked him not to treat her sons in the same way if she died. The king told her she was not likely to die, and promised he would never ill-treat her sons; and the young sparrows he threw away.

Five years after this the queen's time came, and she fell ill and died, and the king was much grieved, more especially as his sons were so young. His distress was so great that for many days he would not hear of marrying again, but his men and women slaves continually urged him to take another wife, saying there was no prosperity in a kingdom in which there was no queen, and all his subjects said the same thing. At last the king could no longer withstand their entreaties, and consented, and told them to look out for a suitable match for him. During this time his two sons had become old enough to play at hockey* and were continually amusing themselves at the game. The subjects found a suitable wife for the king, and they were married, and he brought her to the palace. After she had been there some days she began to think that there was no use in her remaining with the king, because Turi and Basanta, the children of his first wife, were still alive, and if she had any children they would not ascend the throne, and that she must hit upon some plan to kill them. So she thought over it all day, whether she was eating, drinking, sleeping, or walking, till at last she devised a scheme,—to pretend that she was ill and could only be cured by bathing in the blood of Turi and Basanta. So she called a wise man and said to him aside in a solitary place, "I have called you in because I am ill, and you must tell the king that I shall soon be well if I bathe in the blood of Turi and Basanta." Saying this she took gold and silver from the treasury and gave it him, and from that day she gave up eating and drinking, and pretended to be ill; and when she had not eaten for a month her body was very thin and emaciated, and she seemed to be really ill. The king ordered the wise man to be called, and sent a slave to fetch him, and when he came the king told him to examine the queen and see what was the matter with her, and to give her medicine to cure her. So the wise man examined the queen, and came back and told the king that she was very ill, and would certainly die unless she was properly treated. The king told him to apply proper medicines, but he said the remedy could not be obtained, so it was of no use thinking about it. The king pressed him very much to tell it, and promised that he would really have it done, whatever it was. So he said, "You must kill your two sons Turi and Basanta, and make the queen bathe in their blood, and she will be cured." When the queen heard the wise man say this, she pretended to be very ill, and rolled from side to side in her bed calling out "I am dying, I am dying." The king could not help believing her, and ordered his sons to be killed. Now the two boys, with their slaves, were gone out to play at hockey, and other slaves were sent to look for them; but they, being tired with play, had gone

* The national game of the Manipuris: it is sometimes played on horseback, and sometimes on foot.

into the house of the woman who nursed them while their mother was alive, to drink some water, and the slaves, armed with *daos* and bows and arrows, came and found them there, and told them how the king had ordered them to be killed that the queen might bathe in their blood. Turi, who was a little the bigger, wept very much at hearing this, and lamented his ill fate, but his younger brother Basanta did not understand that he was to be killed, and went on playing. So the king's slaves put Turi and Basanta in front of them and went away. On the road Turi said to them, "Sirs, do not kill my little brother, only kill me; he does not understand anything about it, and you see he is still laughing." He fell at their feet and entreated them much, till at last they felt pity for him, and one of them proposed to let the boys go, and kill a dog and put its blood in a *chunga* and take it to the king instead. The other slaves agreed to this; and all went together into a lonely forest, where they killed the dog and released Turi and Basanta, telling them they must never return to the kingdom, as the king their father would suppose them to be dead. So they returned to the king with the dog's blood, and told him it was the blood of his sons, and he made the queen bathe in it, and as there was nothing really the matter with her she was very soon well, and the king was much pleased at her recovery.

In the meantime Turi and Basanta travelled a long way, and became very hungry and thirsty, so that they plucked young leaves off the trees to eat. They journeyed on till sunset, when they stopped beneath a tree for the night, and the elder brother told the younger to lie down and he would keep watch. The younger brother spread his cloth on the ground and was soon asleep, while Turi sat at the foot of the tree and collected some wood, and struck a light by rubbing sticks together, and made a fire. Now a pair of parrots had perched in that tree, and about midnight the cock called to the hen: "Listen, wife! What will happen to the man who eats you?" And she answered: "The man who eats me will first experience great distress, and afterwards great happiness; but what will happen to the man who eats you?" The cock replied: "He will be very happy and will be made king." Turi heard all that the two parrots had said, and he took a knife from his cloth and made a bow and arrow, and killed both of them at one shot, and they fell to the ground.

He roasted them while his brother Basanta was still asleep, but, as he did not wish to eat them both himself, he put them aside till his brother should wake.

A little after midnight he became very sleepy, and, as there were many tigers, bears, and wild boars in the jungle, he woke his brother and told him to keep watch, but he was so sleepy himself that he quite forgot to eat the birds he had roasted. Basanta afterwards found them, and, thinking his brother had put them there for him, he put the cock aside and ate the hen, which was fated to bring sorrow upon him, and when he had finished eating, morning came. Turi rose up, and Basanta said he had eaten one bird himself, and put the other aside for him: so Turi ate the one by which happiness was promised. After they had eaten, the two brothers set out for another country, and travelled together for a long way till the sun became very hot, and Basanta feeling thirsty asked his brother for water, but Turi told him they could not find it there on the top of a mountain, and they must go on a little further. So they went on till Basanta grew so hungry and thirsty that he could not move another step, and he sat down on the mountain and asked his brother to search for water for him, and Turi went to look for it.

Now the king of that country was dead, and his principal elephant had gone into the jungles to search for a new king.* Turi, hearing the sound of water, had gone in the same direction, and as he was coming down the side of the mountain he met the elephant, who determined to make him king and stood before him in the path. Turi went to one side to pass, but the elephant followed him to the same side and then sat down in front of him, and continued to follow him and sit before him, so that the boy might climb on his back. At last Turi told him that he was going to search for water for his brother Basanta, and asked him to leave the road. The elephant told him to climb on his back and he would take him: but as soon as Turi mounted, the animal took him

* This was a common custom, or at all events is supposed to be so conf. *Ind. Ant.* vol. III. p. 11.

straight towards the country where there was no king. Turi wept very much at the thought of leaving his younger brother in that desert place to die for want of water, and he tore the cloth he was wearing into small pieces and threw them down to mark the road, and called on all the gods to protect his brother: and all the time the elephant continued to take him away.

In the meantime Basanta wondered why his brother did not return, and began to think a tiger must have killed him. And so he remained for about eight hours, but still his brother did not come: and he lamented his ill fate, not knowing what to do all alone in that jungle, nor in what direction to go, but he determined to try and find his brother at all hazards. So he started on his way crying, "Brother, brother!" all through the forest, but as the elephant was taking him away to be a king Turi could give no answer. In the course of his search Basanta came on the footsteps of his brother and the tracks of the elephant, and could not help thinking that the beast must have killed him. A little way further on he found the pieces of cloth; he did not understand that his brother had thrown them down to mark the way, but thought the elephant after killing him must have torn his clothes to pieces.

Now the elephant had arrived with Turi in the country where there was no king, and all the people turned out to see their new ruler,—women, youths, old men, all assembled to greet him, and prepared sweetmeats, *pân*, betelnut, rice, oil, incense, *ghî*, and lighted candles, and filled pots of earth and brass with water, and put them before him, and, wishing him happiness and prosperity, prostrated themselves before him. Turi was so pleased to find that the elephant had not taken him away to kill him, but to put him on the throne and give him men and women servants, that he quite forgot his brother was left in the jungle, and he began to sit in court every day, and was just and merciful, and in this way a month passed by, till Basanta, tracking his way by the pieces of cloth, came to his brother's capital. As he had not eaten for a long time, he was very thin, and dirty besides, and for clothes he wore the bark of a tree; and, standing at the door of the palace, he asked the porters whether they had heard or seen anything of his brother Turi. They were so much displeased at hearing their king spoken of in such a way that the jemadâr ordered the others to beat him with a cane. He seized their hands and feet and implored them not to beat him any more, so the jemadâr went and told the king that there was a madman standing at the gate, and asked what was to be done with him. The king ordered him to be put in jail. So Basanta was taken away and thrown into prison, where he remained a long time, and he thought he must be fated to endure all these hardships, and, as he expected to die soon, he was constantly praying to God. One day a merchant who lived in that place determined to go and trade, and he attempted to push his empty boat from the river-bank into the water, but could not move it; two or three hundred men then tried, but they could not get it in; ten elephants pushed it, but they could not manage it. At last the merchant, not knowing what to do, told the king all about it, and how he had been informed in a dream that if he offered a human sacrifice the boat would move, and he asked the king to give him a man for the purpose. The king, not knowing it was his younger brother, ordered the madman to be given him: so the servants gave Basanta to the merchant, who took him away to sacrifice him. Basanta was much distressed to hear it, and told the merchant that he would drag the boat into the water, and the merchant promised not to kill him if he could do it. So Basanta went to the boat and said, "If I am a true man, move," and he thought on God and put his hand on the boat, and, as soon as he touched it, it went into the water. When the merchant saw it, he thought Basanta could be no common man, so he invited him to go with him to trade, thinking that he would be useful if they came to any place where the current ran very strong. So he loaded the boat with merchandize, and, taking Basanta with him, went to another country to trade.

When he arrived at the place, he fastened his boat to the bank and went to shore. Now the king of that country had a very beautiful daughter whom he wished to marry: so he sent out invitations to kings in many different countries and built a house for the marriage, and there was a great commotion. The merchant went to the king to sell his goods, but the king told him that he had no time to look at them then, but would do so in two days' time after the marriage. So the merchant agreed to remain,

thinking that the princess might perhaps choose him for her husband. On the appointed day kings' sons came together from every side, and the merchant put on his gold and silver ornaments; and Basanta went with him, taking a mat to sit upon, and they each sat down in their appointed place. Then the princess, with a garland of flowers in her hand, came and stood in the midst of the assembly, and each of the kings' sons hoped that she might choose him. Basanta was sitting on a dirty cloth behind the merchant, and as the princess came near, the merchant hoped she might choose him; but she passed him by, and put the garland on Basanta's neck, saying she chose him for her husband. When the kings' sons saw it, they all laughed at the princess's father because she had rejected them and chosen a common slave; and he was so ashamed that he celebrated the marriage at once, and gave his daughter what she had to receive, and sent her off with her husband. The merchant told Basanta to bring the mat he was sitting on, and they all three went away to the boat. Now the merchant had privately determined to kill Basanta and marry the king's daughter, so he ordered his servants to push out into the middle of the river, where the stream was running very strong; and when they had reached a very wide river, where the current was most impetuous, the merchant gave Basanta a *lotá* and told him to draw some water, and as he was stooping over the side of the boat he pushed him into the water. But the princess saw it, and though she was weeping much she threw her husband a pillow, which he caught, and it supported him.

The merchant told Basanta's wife that he intended to keep her to wait on him, but she was much distressed and told him not to touch her for three years, and after that she would live with him. The merchant entreated her much, and attempted to seize her, but she prayed that he might be smitten with leprosy and die if he did so; and he desisted, thinking that at any rate every one would believe that she was his wife, and that her husband was dead and would never return: so he took her to his own house. Meanwhile Basanta, supported on the pillow and struggling with the waves, had swum to shore, and was drying himself in the sun. Near the place where he landed lived an old couple of *dhobis*, and the wife came down to the *ghát* and saw Basanta lying there. She called to him, but he gave no answer, so she went and told her husband that a man was dying at the *ghát*, and they both went and lifted him up, and took him to their own house, where they lighted a fire and set him near it.

Now they had been for a long time much distressed because they had no son, and they wished to adopt Basanta, so they persuaded him to remain in their house.

In the meantime Basanta's wife, from excess of grief, gave up eating and sleeping, and became much emaciated, and the merchant again asked her to be his wife, but she refused and told him not to touch her for three years or he would be reduced to ashes; he thought no one else could marry her, so when he reached home he made her live in a separate house, and put a guard over her, and kept her with great care. And all this time the washerman and his wife treated Basanta very kindly. Now Turi was king of the country where they lived, and the merchant requested him to order each village in turn to supply men to guard his wife; and when it came to the turn of the *dhobis'* village to supply a man from every two houses the headman ordered the washerman to go. But Basanta, when he heard of it, offered to go in his place, and he and the other watchman went and sat in the house where Basanta's wife was, and talked together, and the other man asked Basanta to tell him a tale. Now Basanta had recognized his wife, but he was doubtful whether she remembered him: so he began to tell all his adventures, and when his wife, who was lying on the bed, heard him tell how he had swum to shore supported by a pillow which his wife had thrown him, she knew he was her husband, and she said she had prayed much to God, and he had promised to restore him to her; and she told him to relate his story next day in the presence of the king. When the morning came she told the merchant that she wished to go before the king, to hear a story which the man who was on guard had to tell, and she promised to marry the merchant as soon as she had heard it. He was delighted with her promise, and went to the king to ask him to give notice that a story would be told; the king did so, and every one assembled to hear the story, sitting in his appointed

place, and Basanta's wife told her husband to begin. So he told the whole story which has been narrated here, and when he had finished, the princess seized his feet and began to weep; and the king recognized his younger brother and embraced him, and banished the merchant to another country, and severely punished the doorkeepers who had beaten Basanta; and he took him to the palace and appointed him commander-in-chief, and the two brothers continued to live together in great happiness, while the princess proved to be a most devoted wife.

METRICAL TRANSLATION OF BHARTṚIHARI'S NÎTI ŚATAKAM.

BY PROF. C. H. TAWNEY, M.A., CALCUTTA.

(Continued from p. 71.)

The praise of Destiny.

Under Vrihaspati's own eyes
 Entrenched on heaven's height,
Wielding th' artillery of the skies,
 Followed by gods in fight,
Indra, in spite of all his skill,
 Has seen his host give way;
Strength nought avails.—To whom she will
 Fortune assigns the day.

Our fates, our minds, depend on deeds
 Done in the soul's career,
But each can gain the wit he needs
 By careful conduct here.

A bald man felt the sun's fierce rays
 Scorch his defenceless head,
In haste to shun the noontide blaze
 Beneath a palm he fled:
Prone as he lay, a heavy fruit
 Crashed through his drowsy brain:
Whom fate has sworn to persecute
 Finds every refuge vain.

When sun and moon eclipsed I see,
 And elephants in bonds,
And wise men vexed with poverty:
 I own, my soul desponds.

No wonder sages figure Fortune blind;
She first creates a hero to her mind,
Whom all men own the glory of the age,
Then breaks her model in her childish rage.

If thorns and briars bear no leaves we do not blame the Spring,
Nor yet the Sun, if blinking owls fly not till evening,
That *châtaks* gape in vain for showers is not the cloud's disgrace;
Fate's sentence written on the brow no hand can e'er efface.

The praise of Works.

Why honour gods, who must submit to Fate,
 Or Fate, who gives but what our deeds have won?
Upon our deeds alone depends our state,
 By these exalted, as by these undone.

Mighty are works, which Brahmâ's self confined within the egg,*
Which forced e'en Śiva, skull in hand, from house to house to beg,
Made Vishṇu through ten tedious births his deity disguise,
Which daily bind th' unwilling sun to wander through the skies!

Our merits in a former life
 Preserve us in the midst of foes,
In woods, flood, fire, in peace and strife,
 On Ocean waves, and mountain snows.

Kindness can turn the bad man's heart, and fools convert to wise,
Make poison into nectar-juice, and friends of enemies,
Bring distant objects near: then strive that talisman to gain,
Nor set thy heart on glorious gifts acquired with endless pain.

Before he act, the man of sense
Looks forward to the consequence,
For heedless acts infix a dart,
That rankles in the tortured heart.

In emerald vessels tallow boil,
 And light the fire with spice,
With golden ploughs turn up the soil
 And then sow worthless rice,
Thus wiser far than if thou spend
 An easy life on earth;
Since all things must on works depend,
 Why throw away thy birth?

* The two halves of which subsequently became Heaven and Earth. (Conf. *Aristophanis Aves*, 695.)

What though we climb to Meru's peak, soar bird-like through the sky,
Grow rich by trade, or till the ground, or art and science ply,
Or vanquish all our earthly foes, we yield to Fate's decree,
Whate'er she nills can ne'er take place, whate'er she wills must be.

Whoe'er of merit hath a plenteous store,
Will savage woods a glorious city find,
With gold and gems abounding every shore,
All regions blissful and all people kind,

*Some verses of an opposite tendency.**

What is the use of living with the wise?
As well be friends with those that truth despise.
Who loses time suffers no loss at all,
Who justly deals shall find his profit small,
Count him no hero who his sense subdues,
A virtuous wife's no blessing one should choose,
Knowledge is not a jewel men retain,
And sovereign sway's a burden on the brain.

Once in a way the earth is blessed
With one who breaks no bitter jest,
But kindly speaks and all commends,
Faithful to kinsmen, wife, and friends.

Though scorned the man of constant soul
Preserves unchanged his self-control,
In vain men trample on the fire,
For upward still its flames aspire.

That hero whose obdurate breast is steeled
'Gainst sidelong shafts of love and anger's fire,
Nor devious drawn with cords of vain desire,
Might stand against three worlds in open field.

Whoe'er with gentle nature charms
The world, all hurtful things disarms,
Finds flames as mountain streamlets cool,
And Ocean calm as summer pool,
The lion as the roe-deer meek,
Mount Meru but a tiny peak,
A cobra but a wreath of flowers,
And poison-draughts like nectar-showers.

Great-hearted men would sooner part with life
Than honour, as their mother ever dear,
To which in evil days they still adhere,
Nor wage with self-respect unholy strife.

THE DVAIÂSHARAYA.

(*Continued from* p. 236.)

The Thirteenth Sarga.

After this B ă r b ă r† presented gold, jewels, &c.—many presents, to the Râja to secure his favour. He began to serve Jayasiñha, as all the Kshatriyas served him, and molested no one in the country; and without waiting Jayasiñha's commands he devoted himself to the protection of the sacrifices, so that Jayasiñha was greatly pleased with him.

One night the Râja went out privately to see the state of the city. He heard the wise praising the Râja, and the Thags abusing him. He went on to the house of a fisherman, and wandering thence he reached the banks of the Sarasvatî. He found himself next in a great jangal, where, at night, the owls were killing the crows. In this jangal Jayasiñha saw a pair—a man and woman. The Râja asked the man, "Who are you? Who is the woman with you? And why are you wandering about in this terrible jangal at this season?" He answered, "There is a city in Pâtal named B h o g â v a t î p u r i, where dwells the N â g a R â j a R a t n a c h u d a, whose son K a n a k a c h u d a I am. I came hither because of a quarrel with a Nâga Kuñvara, named D a m a n, with whom I was studying."

Then Jayasiñha gave assistance to this Kanakachuda. The Nâga then granted a boon to the Raja—"You shall conquer the whole world." He then returned with his wife to Pâtal, and the king went back to the city.

The Fourteenth Sarga.

King Jayasiñha went out in the morning to make salutation to the Deva and the Guru. He exercised his horse and went out on an elephant to take the air, but being wakeful he did not sleep, so no one knew that he wandered about at night. The Râja by this practice of wandering about at night subdued to himself the

* This is only applicable to the first stanza.

† Styled Varvark, the lord of Ujjain, in a copper-plate dated Samvat 1266, belonging to the Royal Asiatic Society—see *Râs Mâlâ*, vol. I. p. 66.

Bhutas, Śakinis, and others, learned many *mantras*, and from what he saw at night he would tell people in the daytime and say, "You have such an uneasiness," or "You have such a comfort," so that people thought that he knew the hearts of men, and must be an *avatár* of a Deva.

One day a Yogini came from Ujjain to the king at Pattan, and began to hold a discussion with the Râja, saying, "O Râja, if you desire great fame, come to Ujjain and humbly entreat Kalikà and the other Yoginis, and make friends with Yaśovarma, the Râja of Ujjain,* for without him you cannot go to Ujjain."

Jayasiñha said to the Yogini, "I will seize that Yaśovarma and make him a prisoner: therefore, if you like, go and give him all the assistance you can. If this Yaśovarma fly to save his life it is better, otherwise I will encage him like a parrot. If you do not assist him, all the service you have paid him will have been waste of labour. If I do not conquer Yaśovarma, I will be your servant. If you do not fly hence like a female crow, I will cut off your nose and ears with this sword." Thus saying he turned out the Yogini.

Then Jayasiñha quickly prepared to go to Ujjain,† and collected his army from village to village. He advanced towards Ujjain by daily stages of eight *kos*, and conquering the rajas that he passed on the road he took them with him. On the way he broke down the tops of many mountains to level the road. A Bhill Râja attended Jayasiñha at this time. Jayasiñha was pleased when he saw this Bhill Râja and his army, like the monkeys in the army of Râmachandraji. The Bhills were dwellers in the mountains; therefore when a mountain came in the way, though the place were a terrible one, they would quickly mount it. They climbed trees, too, to get at the fruit to eat. Whenever there was a terrible cave they would enter into it. They pursued wild animals to catch them. If as they went, on account of the throng, they could not get a road, they would go on without one. Jayasiñha's army on arriving at Ujjain encamped on the Siprâ river. His servants made known to Jayasiñha that the tents were pitched, with the horses fastened on one side, and the details of the encampment. Then the courtezans, putting on clothes of varied kinds, came and danced before Jayasiñha. Jayasiñha sent certain Bhutas, Pretas, &c. against Ujjain, to cause annoyance. Many warriors with slings began to cast stones against Ujjain. Some went and broke down the moat of Ujjain, and some that saw it said nothing. When Jayasiñha knew of this he did not forbid it, though it was done without his orders, because it pleased him, and he had thought of ordering it.

Yaśovarma prepared to fight to protect Ujjain, and came with his Pradhân: but the sun had gone down, and Jayasiñha was employed in the evening service. When it was dark, Jayasiñha went out alone to see the environs of Ujjain. He went to the Siprâ river, where there are Devasthâns and places of pilgrimage called after the Rishis. He saw there a company of women, and knew them to be Yoginis. Jayasiñha knew that they intended to prepare *mantras* to cause his death. The Yoginis attacked the king, who fought with them, though he was not pleased to contend with women. At last they pronounced that they were pleased with him, and that he should conquer Yaśovarma. The king returned to his army, and the next day seated in a *pálkí* he entered Ujjain, and, seizing Yaśovarma, imprisoned him, and brought all Avantideśa with Dhâr under subjection to himself. Afterwards Jayasiñha seized and imprisoned a râja of the country near to Ujjain named Sim, and several other râjas. Some of them he caged like birds, some he chained by the neck like cattle, or by the legs like horses.

The Fifteenth Sarga.

Then Jayasiñha with his Bhayad returned from Mâlwâ. On the road several râjas brought their daughters to be married to Jayasiñha, and treated him with great respect. The râjas and others who plundered pilgrims he slew or drove out from that place, and made the place without fear. Afterwards Jayasiñha lived for a time at Siddhapur, and built the Rudra Mâla on the banks of the Sarasvati, where the river flows eastwards.‡ Jayasiñha also caused to be built at Siddhapur a temple

* [illegible] chronology of the [illegible] Pramâra [illegible] R[illegible] 2 [illegible] N[illegible] Yaśovarma, Samvat 1191; Ajayavarma, Samvat 1200-1255, &c. Conf. *Jour. B[illegible] Soc. B[illegible]* vol. V. p. 380; vol. VII. p. 736; *Trans. B[illegible] Soc.* vol. I. p. 232; *Jour. B. Br. R. As. Soc.* vol. I. p. 2[illegible]3.

† *Rás Málá*, vol. I. p. 111.   ‡ *Ib.* p. 116.

of Mahâvira Svâmi, and he served the Saṅgha there. Jayasiñha went after this to ask the Râjas of Panchâldeśa (himself travelling on foot) to do pilgrimage at Somanâtha. Many Brâhmaṇs were with him. The king arrived at Deva Paṭṭan in a few days and beheld Somanâtha. He gave *dakshiṇâ* to Brâhmaṇs. The Râja of Deva Paṭṭan, when he heard of Jayasiñha's coming, went to meet him with his son, his brother, and family. He brought Jayasiñha to his court, and worshipped him with *madhuparka*, &c. Jayasiñha worshipped Somanâtha with jewels of many kinds. He gave *dân* to Brâhmaṇs and other Yâchaks, and dismissed them: then he sent his own servant away and sat alone to meditate. Mahâdeva then appeared to him visibly and promised him victory over all râjas. The king entreated that he might have a son. Mahâdeva then told him that his brother Tribhuvanapâla's son Kumârapâla should sit on his throne. The god then became invisible.

After this Jayasiñha with great splendour ascended Girnâr,* and went to the temple of Neminâtha and worshipped there.

He went thence to Siṅghapur,† the Brâhmaṇs' village, and finally returned to Paṭṭan. The king caused to be made the Sahasraliṅga tank,‡ and also many *vâvs*, wells, tanks, *Devamandirs*, gardens, &c., and at the tanks he established *sadâvratas*. He established also schools for learning the *Jotish-śâstras*, *Nyaya-śastras*, and *Purâṇas*, and he caused a hundred and eight temples of Chandikâ Deva and others to be built at that tank.

At last Siddharâja, recollecting what Mahâdeva had told him about Kumârapâla's succeeding him, took the vow of "*ashan*." The next day, reflecting on the god, he went to Swarga (A.D. 1143).

The Sixteenth Sarga.

Afterwards Kumârapâla mounted the throne of his uncle. Brâhmaṇs performed *abhisheka*. On Jayasiñha's death the Râja of the Sapâd Laksha Deśa,§ whose name was Âna, supposing the government to be new and Kumârapâla to be weak, quarrelled with him. The people also that lived on the banks of the Śaivahârâ quarrelled with him. Âna was called Râja of the North, and Kumârapâla of the West. Âna began to make friends of Vallâl the king of Avanti, and of the Râjas on the banks of the Pârâ river, and of the Râja of the country on the west of Gujarât. He held out threats, too, that when he had conquered Kumârapâla he would conquer them unless they joined him. The Gujarât sovereign, knowing the Sapâd Laksha Râja was advancing, prepared for him. In Âna's army there were several râjas and chiefs skilled in foreign languages. Âna Râja first made an attack upon the west of Gujarât. Kumârapâla's spies made this known to him, informing him also that the Râja of Kanthâgâm‖ had joined Âna, and that a leader of his own army, Châhad,¶ intended to do so. They said, too, that Âna was well informed of the state of Gujarât by traders who were in the habit of coming to this country, and that Vallâl, the Râja of Ujjain, was to attack Gujarât on his side when Âna made his attack. Kumârapâla was much enraged when he heard this.

At that time the Paṭṭan people called Âna "Râja of Kâśi": they said that he had been as it were the servant of Jayasiñha, and was only now beginning to be known. Vallâl had joined him, and the Râja of Pâtaliputra, who was "like a jackal." Âna's army was led by a Brâhmaṇ named Râka.

Kumârapâla was joined by several râjas and by Kolîs (*Kolaka*)—very celebrated horsemen—who assembled from all sides. Many wild tribes also joined his army. The people of Kachh, his tributaries, joined him (whose horses were splendid), with the Sindhis also. Kumârapâla advanced towards Abu, and was there joined by the mountain people dressed in the skins of deer. The Râja of Abu at this time was Vikrama Siṅgh. The men of Jalandhardeśa (Jâlor) followed him: he looked on Kumârapâla as his lord. He came to meet Kumârapâla and said:—"Vishvamitra Ṛishi produced our Parmâra race to rule in this place, nevertheless you have a tribute (*kar*) upon us: still we are prosperous. These Kumârîs (*Devîs*) that dwell on Abu are not subject to you, yet as your predecessors, kings of the Solaṅki race, have protected

* *Râs Mâlâ*, vol. I. p. 171.
† Or Sihor, *ib.* p. 174.
‡ *Ib.* pp. 111, 117.
§ Nagor. Merutunga styles him Ânâka, the grandson of Visala Deva Chauhan.—*Râs Mâlâ*, vol. I. pp. 184-186.
‖ Kanthkot?
¶ Mentioned in a copper-plate in the Jain Library at Nadol dated Saṁ. 1214; Mirutunga says it was Wâhad that joined Âna.—*Râs Mâlâ*, vol. I. pp. 187, 427.

them, they remembering this benefit sing your praises. Here is Vaśishṭha Ṛishi's hermitage, and the country is called one of eighteen hundred villages. In the midst of this Abu is the pure river Mandâkinî; here too is Achaleśvara Mahâdeva: here the means of attaining *moksha* have great success. Here is a great place of Ṛishabha Deva, which is much worshipped by pilgrims. On this Abu it is always cool, so the people dress themselves in lions' skins. Here there are mines of various kinds, so that people are wealthy; famines do not occur, disease is hardly known. On this Abu many Bhîls live who are skilful as guides, also cultivators, *salâts*, painters, gamblers too, many of them: there are mines of stones, mines of jewels. Here is a forest called Sadval, such as is not to be met with even in Swarga. Siṅdhukâ and other Devis dwell therein. Apsarasas also come here to sport. People come hither from foreign countries every year to celebrate Śrî Mâtâ's festival. Here grow good crops of barley and rice, and my income is lâkhs of rupees, out of which I too every year keep Śrî Devi's festivals. On the mountain is the excellent river Varṇâsâ: you should encamp on the banks of it. Scholars come hither from foreign lands to learn Sanskrit."

After this speech the Râja entertained Kumârapâla as a guest with flowers, sandal, &c.

The Seventeenth Sarga.

Description of night, &c.

The Eighteenth Sarga.

Afterwards Kumârapâla set out from thence: a white umbrella held over him denoted his royal rank. When Âna Râja heard of Kumarapâla's arrival he prepared to fight. His minister, however, counselled him against engaging, saying that he should not have left Marwâr to attack Gujarât; but Âna Râja did not approve of his advice, supposing he had been bribed by Kumârapâla. Meanwhile the noise of Kumârapâla's force was heard as it emerged from under the shelter of the mountains.

The soldiers of Âna Râja shot arrows at Kumârapâla's army. The king of Nagor took his bow and arrows. There were in the army leaders of twenties and thirties called Mahâbhats, and of thousands called Bhata Râjas. The battle raged. The army of Âna, though led by Chatrâpatis, was driven back by the Gujarât army. Âna then rushed on Kumârapâla, who said to him, "If you are a brave warrior, how is it that you bent the head before Jayasiṅha? It proved assuredly that you were knowing. If I conquer you not, it will be to tarnish the fame of Jayasiṅha." The two sovereigns fought; the armies, too, closed, the Gujarâtis led by Âhad the minister, and their enemy by the Mantri Govindarâja. At last an iron shaft struck Âna and he fell to the earth. Then his chiefs submitted to Kumârapala.

The Nineteenth Sarga.

Kumârapâla, having struck Âna, remained some days on the field of battle. He was now advised that he should win fame by subduing Vallâl, as Jayasiṅha had by conquering Yaśovarma. Âna offered a daughter in marriage to Kumârapâla with horses and elephants. The king complained that Âna had committed an offence not to be pardoned, in having slain wounded men. However, he accepted his proposals and returned to Pattan.

Afterwards the Gor of Âna Râja was sent to Anahiḷḷapur with Jalhaṇâ, who was duly married to Kumârapâla.

News was brought to Kumârapâla that Vijaya and Kṛishṇa, the two Sâmants whom he had sent to oppose Vallâl when he himself advanced against Âna, had gone over to the king of Ujjain, and that that monarch was already in his territory advancing on Âṇahiḷḷapur. Kumârapâla, assembling his troops, went against Vallâl, who was defeated and struck from his elephant.

The Twentieth Sarga.

Then Kumârapâla forbade the sacrifice of life, and thus with his brother Mahipâla Deva, and that brother's son Jayadeva, lived happily. The Brâhmaṇs, too, that sacrificed life in their *Yagnas* were forbidden to do so, and began to offer sacrifices of grain. This order was obeyed also in Pallideśa, so that the Sanyâśi's, who used deer-skins for a covering, found it difficult to procure any. The people of Panchâladeśa, too, who had been great destroyers of life, being subjects of Kumârapâla, were restrained from destroying it. The trade of those who sold flesh was put a stop to, and three years' income allowed to them in compensation. The people of the countries about Kâśi, however, continued to take life.*

* *Rás Mâlâ*, vol. I. p. 185.

Kumârapâla also ordered his ministers that they should bring none of the property of those who died without heirs into his treasury. People when they heard this proclaimed that no râja had ever done so great a deed as this.

Afterwards it was reported one day to Kumârapâla that the temple of Kedâreśvara Mahâdeva* was old and falling down. Kumârapâla said that it was a disgrace to the Khas Râja of Kedâr that he plundered the pilgrims and yet did not even repair the temple. He ordered his own minister to have the temple repaired. So also he caused the temple of Somanâtha to be repaired.†

He erected also temples of Pârśvanâtha at Ânahillapura, and placed in them *sphâṭika* images. He also caused a temple of Pârśvanâtha to be built at Deva Paṭṭan. He called the temple he had built at Ânahillapur the Kumâra Vîhâra. Both that and the temple of Deva Paṭṭan were so splendid that many people came to see them.

Afterwards one night in a dream Mahâdeva said to the Râja that he was pleased with his service and wish to reside at Ânahillapura. Thereupon the Râja built there the temple of Kumârapâleśvara to Mahâdeva.‡

All people praised Kumârapâla and hoped that he would live for ever, and caused his era to be established.

Thus of Jineśvara Suri's disciple Leśâjaya Tilak Gaṇi's *Dvaiâsharâya* (so named) composed by Śrî Siddha Hemachandra§, the twentieth sarga has been completed.

1. In the Śri Chandravaṅśa arose Jineśvara Suri, pupil of Śrî Varddhamâna Âchârya, who travelled about Gujarât in the reign of Durlabha Râja.
2. Jinachandra Suri.
3. Abhaya Deva Suri, who lived at Khambhâta and composed many works.
4. Jina Vallabha Suri.
5. Jina Datta Suri.
6. Jinachandra Suri.
7. Jinapati Suri.
8. Jineśvara Suri, at the order of whom
9. His disciple Leśâbhai Tilak Gaṇi composed this book. Lakshmi Tilak Kavi composed a *tika* on the work and amended it. This book was completed in the year Vikrama 1312 (A.D. 1256), on the day of the Divâli, at Śrî Pralhâdan Paṭṭan. May it be for many years celebrated in the three Lokas!

RELIGIOUS AND MORAL SENTIMENTS FREELY RENDERED FROM SANSKRIT WRITERS.

BY JOHN MUIR, D.C.L., LL.D., PH.D., EDINBURGH.

(*Continued from page* 202.)

29. Atharva Veda, x. 8. 44‖:—*Consequence of the knowledge of the self-existent Soul.*

The happy man who once has learned to know
The self-existent Soul, from passion pure,
Serene, undying, ever young, secure
From all the change that other natures show,
Whose full perfection no defect abates,
Whom¶ pure essential good for ever sates,—
That man alone, no longer dreading death,
With tranquil joy resigns his vital breath.

30. Raghuvaṅśa, x. 15-32:—*Hymn addressed to Vishnu by the Deities.*

To Thee, creator first, to Thee,
Preserver next, destroyer last,
Be glory; though but one, Thou hast
Thyself in act revealed as three.

As water pure from heaven descends,
But soon with other objects blends,
And various hues and flavours gains;
So moved by Goodness, Passion, Gloom,*
Dost Thou three several states assume,
While yet Thine essence pure remains.

Though one, Thou different forms hast sought:
Thy changes are compared to those
Which lucid crystal undergoes,
With colours into contact brought.

Unmeasured, Thou the worlds dost mete,
Thyself though no ambition fires,
'Tis Thou who grantest all desires.
Unvanquished, Victor, Thee we greet.

* *Râs Mâlâ*, vol. I. pp. 195, 337.
† *Ib.* p. 191.
‡ *Ib.* p. 195.
§ *Vide ante*, p. 71, and *Râs Mâlâ*, vol. I. p. 115.
‖ See *Orig. Sansk. Texts*, vol. IV. p. 20.

¶ As the soul (*âtman*) is masculine in Sanskṛit, I have ventured to put the relative pronoun following the word in that gender.

* See Wilson's *Vishnu Purâna*, vol. I. p. 41 (Dr. Hall's ed.), where *Rajas* is translated 'activity,' and not 'passion.'

A veil, which sense may never rend,
Thyself,—of all which sense reveals
The subtile germ and cause—conceals:
Thee saints alone may comprehend.

Thou dwellest every heart within,
Yet fillest all the points of space;
Without affection, full of grace,
Primeval, changeless, pure from sin;

Though knowing all, Thyself unknown,
Self-sprung, and yet of all the source,
Unmastered, lord of boundless force,
Though one, in each thing diverse shown.

With minds by long restraint subdued,
Saints, fixing all their thoughts on Thee,
Thy lustrous form within them see,
And ransomed, gain the highest good.

Who, Lord, Thy real nature knows?
Unborn art Thou, and yet on earth
Hast shown Thyself in many a birth,
And, free from passion, slain Thy foes.

Thy glory in creation shown,
Though seen, our reason's grasp transcends:
Who, then, Thine essence comprehends,
Which thought and scripture teach alone?

Ungained, by Thee was nought to gain,
No object more to seek: Thy birth,
And all Thy wondrous deeds on earth,
Have only sprung from love to men.*

With this poor hymn though ill-content,
We cease:—what stays our faltering tongue?
We have not half Thy praises sung,
But all our power to sing is spent.†

31. Śatapatha Brâhmaṇa, ii. 2. 2. 19:—*Results of Truth and Falsehood.*

Those noble men who falsehood dread,
In wealth and glory ever grow,
As flames with greater brightness glow,
With oil in ceaseless flow when fed.

But like to flames with water drenched,
Which, faintly flickering, die away,
So liars day by day decay,
Till all their lustre soon is quenched.

32. Taittirîya Âraṇyaka. x. 9:—*Sweet savour of Good Deeds: Falsehood to be shunned.*

As far and wide the vernal breeze
Sweet odours wafts from blooming trees,
So, too, the grateful savour speeds
To distant lands of virtuous deeds.

As one expert in daring feats
Athwart a pit a sword who lays,
And walking on its edge essays
The chasm to cross, but soon retreats,
With cries, afraid to fall below,
And trembling stands upon the brink,—
So let a man from falsehood shrink,
And guard himself from future woe.

* Compare the *Bhagavad Gîtâ*, iii. 22 f.: "There is nothing which I am bound to do, nor anything unobtained which I have yet to obtain; and yet I continue to act. 25. As the ignorant, who are devoted to action, do, so let the wise man also do, seeking to promote the benefit of the world."

† The literal prose translation of this passage is as follows:—15. "Glory to Thee, who art first the creator of the universe, next its upholder, and finally its destroyer; glory to Thee in this threefold character. 16. As water falling from the sky, though having but one flavour, assumes different flavours in different bodies, so Thou, associated with the three qualities (*Sattva*, *Rajas*, and *Tamas*, or Goodness, Passion, and Darkness), assumest three states (those of creator, preserver, and destroyer), according to the circumstances, though Thyself unchanging. 17. Immeasurable, Thou measurest the worlds; desiring nothing, Thou art the fulfiller of desires; unconquered, Thou art a conqueror; utterly indiscernible, Thou art the cause of all that is discerned. 18. Though one, Thou from one or another cause assumest this or that condition. Thy variations are compared to those which crystal undergoes from the contact of different colours. 19. Thou art known as abiding in (our) hearts, and yet as remote; as free from affection, ascetic, merciful, untouched by sin, primeval, and imperishable. 20. Thou knowest all things, Thyself unknown; sprung from Thyself, Thou art the source of all things; Thou art the lord of all, Thyself without a master; though but one, Thou assumest all forms. 21. Thou art declared to be He who is celebrated in the seven Sâma-hymns, to be He who sleeps on the waters of the seven oceans, whose face is lighted up by the god of seven rays (Fire), and who is the one resort of the seven worlds. 22. Knowledge which yields the four classes of fruit (virtue, pleasure, wealth, and final liberation), the division of time into four *yugas* (ages), the fourfold division of the people into castes,—all these things come from Thee, the four-faced. 23. Yogins (devoutly contemplative men), with minds subdued by exercise, recognize Thee, the luminous, abiding in their hearts, (and so attain) to liberation from earthly existence. 24. Who comprehends the truth regarding Thee, who art unborn, and yet becomest born; who art passionless, yet slayest thine enemies; who sleepest and yet art awake? 25. Thou art capable of enjoying sounds and other objects of sense, of practising severe austerity, of protecting thy creatures, and of living in indifference to all external things. 26. The roads leading to perfection, which vary according to the different revealed systems, all end in Thee, as the waves of the Ganges flow to the ocean. 27. For those passionless men whose hearts are fixed on Thee, who have committed to Thee their works, Thou art a refuge, so that they escape further mundane births. 28. Thy glory, as manifested to the senses in the earth and other objects, is yet incomprehensible: what shall be said of Thyself, who canst be proved only by the authority of scripture and by inference? 29. Seeing that the remembrance of Thee alone purifies a man, the rewards of other mental acts also, when directed towards thee, are thereby indicated. 30. As the waters exceed the ocean, and as the beams of light exceed the sun, so Thy acts transcend our praises. 31. There is nothing for Thee to attain which Thou hast not already attained: kindness to the world is the only motive for Thy birth and for Thy actions. 32. If thus our hymn now comes to a close after celebrating Thy greatness, the reason of this is our exhaustion or our inability to say more,—not that there is any limit (*iyattâ*, so-much-ness, *quantitas*) to thy attributes." These verses have not all been rendered literally.

33. Manu, viii. 17, and iv. 239-242 :—*The only inseparable friend.*

Their virtue is the only friend
  That never men deserts in death:
  As flits away their vital breath
All other ties and friendships end.

Nor father, mother, wife, nor son
  Beside us then can longer stay,
Nor kinsfolk; virtue is the one
  Companion of our darksome way.

Alone each creature sees the light,
  Alone this world at length he leaves,
  Alone the recompense receives,
Of all his actions, wrong or right.

His log-like, clod-like body placed
  Within the sad funereal ground,
  His kinsmen one by one turn round,
Forsake the spot, and homeward haste.
  His virtue never quits his side,
  A faithful guardian, comrade, guide.

Be then a store of virtue gained,
  To help when comes our day of doom:
  We cross the dread and trackless gloom,
By virtue's friendly arm sustained.*

34. Mahâbhârata, xii. 12121 :—*Death is not the extinction of the good.*

Let no one deem the wise are dead
  Who've "shuffled off this mortal coil,"
  The wise whose lives were pure from soil,
Whose souls with holy lore were fed.

35. Mahâbhârata, xii. 10576, 10581 :—*Self-exaltation and censure of others condemned.*

Himself in men's esteem to raise
  On others' faults let no one dwell;
  But rather let a man excel
  All other men in doing well,
And thus command the meed of praise.

Oft worthless men, in blind conceit,
  Their own superior merits vaunt,
  And better men with failings taunt:
Reproof themselves with scorn they meet.

By blameless acts alone the wise,—
  Although they ne'er themselves exalt,
  Nor yet with other men find fault,—
To high esteem and honour rise.

The odour sweet of virtuous deeds,
  Though voiceless, far and wide will fly :†
  To tell his presence in the sky
The noonday sun no herald needs.

By self-applause a fool in vain
From others seeks renown to gain.
A wise man's merits, long concealed,
At last are surely all revealed.

36. Mahâbhârata, iii. 2326; Brahma-dharma, ii. 2, 1 :—*The best cure for misfortune.*

Thou sayest right;—for all the ills of life
No cure exists, my fair one, like a wife.

37. Mahâbhârata, xii. 12050-52 :—*Men should seek permanent blessedness*‡.

The body—is it not like foam
  The tossing wave an instant cresting;
  In it thy spirit, bird-like, resting,
Soon flies to seek another home.
  In this thy frail abode, so dear,
  How canst thou slumber free from fear?

Why dost thou not wake up, when all
  Thy watchful enemies ever seek
  To strike thee there where thou art weak,
  To bring about thy long'd-for fall?

Thy days are numbered,—all apace
  Thy years roll on,—thy powers decay;
Why dost thou vainly then delay,
  And not arise and haste away
To some unchanging dwelling-place?

38. Mahâbhârata, i. 3095 § :—*Truth better than sacrifice.*

By weighing, truth and sacrifice appraise:
A thousand sacrifices truth outweighs.

39. Mahâbhârata, xiii. 1544 :—*The same.*

In one scale truth, in the other lay
  A thousand Asvamêdhas; try;
  I doubt if all that pile so high
Ev'n half as much as truth would weigh.

40. Panchatantra, i. 21 :—*Men should visit foreign countries.*

The incurious men at home who dwell,
  And foreign realms with all their store
  Of various wonders ne'er explore,—
Are simply frogs within a well.

* See *Orig. Sansk. Texts*, vol. I. p. 380. The same idea is repeated in the *Mahâbhârata*, xiii. vv 5405 ff, and is briefly alluded to in the *Mârkandeya Purâna*, I. 7. 28. Conf Sophocles, *Philoctetes*, 1143-4; and Euripides (Dindorf's ed.), *Temenides*, frag. 1.

† Compare *Proverbs*, xx 6; Euripides (Dindorf's ed.), *frag.* 20; Xenophon's *Memorabilia*, I. vii. 1; and Æschylus's *Thebæ*, vv. 591 f.; and with v. 10581 comp. *Psalm* xix. 3 f.

‡ Conf. *James*, iv. 14; 1 *Peter*, v. 8; and the quotation in Cicero *pro Planc*. 24, 59:—'Vigilandum est semper; multæ insidiæ sunt bonis.'

§ Repeated in xii. 6002, and xiii. 36516.—"Let a thousand Aśvamèdhas and truth be weighed in the balance:—truth exceeds the thousand Aśvamèdhas."

ARCHÆOLOGICAL NOTES.

BY M. J. WALHOUSE, LATE M.C.S.

(*Continued from page* 163).

VI.—*Buddhist Vestiges in Trichinapalli, Madras.*

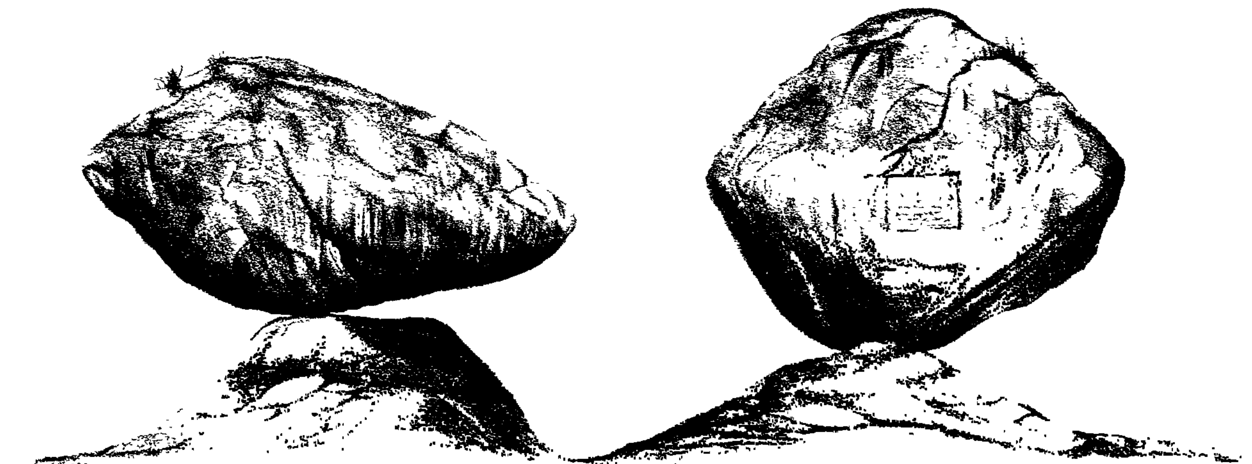
Kulitale is the *kasbâ*, or chief town, of a tâlûka of the same name in the district of Trichinapalli. It lies on the south bank of the Kâveri river, 20 miles from the famous old town of Clive and Lawrence, and is now, I believe, a station of the South Indian Railway that skirts the Kâveri, joining the Great Indian Peninsula line with Tanjore and Negapatam. About two miles south of the station, on a wide open plain, a remarkable rocky ridge crops up, such as is frequently seen on the extensive rolling *maidâns* of the South. It may be 200 or 300 yards long, of no great height, and strewn with enormous boulders, one of which, situated at the western end of the ridge, is the most remarkable and striking example of the kind I have ever seen, being a colossal rounded mass nearly thirty feet high, poised on its smaller end, so as to resemble a pear or top upright when viewed from the east, but presenting a different aspect and shape on each quarter, as exemplified in the plate. Its enormous mass and the very small stand it rests on make it an astonishing object viewed from any side.* The eastern end of the ridge terminates in a precipitous pile crowned with another vast boulder, square and broad, also very striking, but of less interest than the other. Between the two the ridge is covered with an agglomeration of immense masses, some of colossal size, under one of which runs a long deep cave. The accompanying plate gives a general view of the ridge and boulders, but the point of antiquarian interest consists in the square entablature cut on the eastern face of the first-mentioned boulder. It is well cut, in perfect preservation, and represents Buddha seated, with attendants on each side: an enlarged sketch is given on the plate. This lonely memorial of a vanished faith is entirely ignored and unnoticed by the present population. No legend even attaches to it; the herdsmen grazing their cattle on the plain have no name for it—that I could discover at least: and it remains a mute witness of Buddhist or Jaina ascendancy. Though calling it a representation of Buddha,† it may also be one of the Jaina Manus or Tîrthaṅkaras, which does not seem improbable, considering how long the Jaina faith prevailed in the neighbouring Pâṇḍyan kingdom of Madura. The only other relic I could hear of in the Trichinapalli district is a large Buddhist or Jaina image, exceeding life-size, that lies prostrate under a hedge near the Vellâr river, not far from the point where it is crossed by the high road from Trichinapalli to South Ârkat; the Vellâr is the boundary between the two districts, and the image is covered with the blown sand from the river-bed, having only the head and shoulders exposed. At Volkondâpuram, ten miles south of the Vellâr, often mentioned by Orme, once a tâlukâ *kasbâ*, now a wretched little place, there is a small nasty-looking square tank in a temple-court that has a Jaina or Buddhist appearance, being surrounded with a curious low sunken cloister, the roof level with the ground. Memorials of many creeds and epochs are strangely mingled on this old historic battle-ground. At Volkondâpuram there is a small fort, now almost obliterated; an abandoned travellers'-bungalow stands, or stood, upon it; and within the circuit of the wall are two temples, one containing the cloistered tank, the other a Śiva temple, with a beautiful *chattram* close by, exhibiting very admirable carving, with six monolithic pillars in front, two representing a warrior on a rearing horse trampling on a fallen enemy, the other a griffin rampant standing on a kneeling elephant, the latter with head thrown up and trunk turning round a sort of *thyrsus* which the griffin clasps at the middle with its fore claws, holding the end in its jaws. There is much other good sculpture, groups of figures in entablature, &c., many with faces disfigured or heads knocked off by Haidar's men; one Gâddi Mudeliar is traditionally said

* The rock is granitoid. In *Memoirs of the Geological Survey of India* by Dr Oldham, vol iv pt. 2. pp. 80, 81, there will be found delineations of other grotesque and striking rocky piles and tors in the Trichinapalli District.

† It appears to represent Buddha in what Col. Yule designates the Western attitude, as a mendicant, both hands resting in the lap with the palms upwards, the begging pot, as is often the case, omitted.

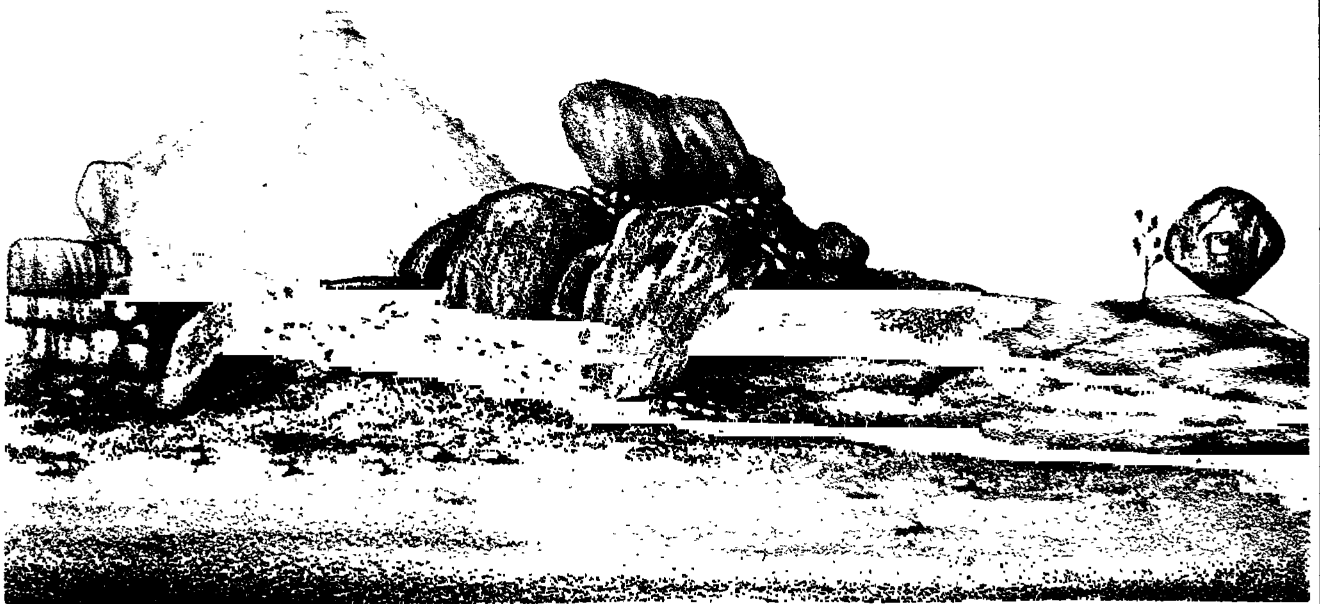


ENLARGED DRAWING OF THE SCULPTURE



WEST FACE

EAST FACE



BOULDER BEARING A BUDDHIST ENTABLATURE,

NEAR TRICHINOPOLY, MADRAS.

to have been the builder. Just opposite the fort there is a masjid, and near it a handsome black marble tomb, none know whose; the masjid looks very like a Hindu temple, and appears to have been adapted from one, containing Hindu pillars with faces smoothed, and graven with Arabic inscriptions, and along the wall at the end there is a row of Norman-looking blind arches and a reading pulpit, with pillars once manifestly Hindu. Not far from this in the plain there is a beautiful Hindu *mantapam* consisting of a domed canopy supported by slender elegant *fluted* pillars: this too the Musalmâns have appropriated, and placed in it a Pîr's tomb of very solid granite, supported at the four corners by legs, and with the top worked couch-fashion. Twice or thrice by the long dreary road a mouldering brick tomb marks the resting-place of one of the stout fellows who marched with Calliaud.

The high pyramidal hill seen in the plate rising beyond the boulder-ridge, from which it is about a mile distant, is named Śivaya Male, *i.e.* Śiva's Hill, and is crowned with a Śiva temple enclosed by a remarkably high blank wall to which a fine broad steep flight of 1099 steps leads up from the bottom. I ascended these one hot morning, and found the pull-up very exhausting. On reaching the top, the people with me did not like the temple even to be approached, so I made no attempt to enter, but would not be stayed from sitting down in the shadow of the high wall, which was pierced by a lofty entrance that appeared to make a sharp turn at a short distance within, like the entrance to a fort. All these southern provinces are dotted over with isolated hills and rocks of varying sizes, almost invariably surmounted by temples approached by long flights of steps. The temple on Mount Gerizim was so approached, and very similar indeed must have been the 'high places' so often mentioned in the historical books of the Old Testament, always with anger and reprobation, as connected with the idolatries and abominations into which Israel was continually lapsing.* It was on these 'high places' that the 'images' and 'groves,' 'the accursed thing' that defiled Israel (*Joshua* vii.), and the 'image provoking to jealousy' which Ezekiel saw at the very gate of the altar, were set up: these were the deadliest offences, which the Law and the Prophets were never weary of denouncing; and were the objects and expressions referred to properly understood and translated, it is certain that could an Indian follower of Śiva have seen them, he would at once have recognized objects familiar in his own temples, but, there is reason to believe, far more grossly represented, and worshipped with rites now only heard of in sects like the Mahârâjas, or at orgies held on particular occasions in certain temples of Southern India.

Before quitting this locality, I venture to refer to a passage in Dr. Burnell's lately published admirable work, the *Elements of South-Indian Palæography*. At page 78, referring to the paucity of historical inscriptions, he observes: "The great irrigation works of the Chôḷa Kâvêri delta were chiefly constructed by Chôḷa princes in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, but I have never been able to hear of any inscriptions referring to them; and Major Mead, R.E., who has visited every part of them, tells me he has never seen anything of the kind."

At Museri, however, immediately opposite Kulitale, on the north bank of the river, there is an extraordinarily massive granite bridge, built in the days of the râjas, over the fine irrigation channel that skirts the river, and on one side of it an inscription is cut, which, in conjunction with the local paṇḍits, I rendered thus, though not expert enough to vouch for its absolute correctness:—"The channel-head was cut by Lozhakkônân during his reign, as a monument to the memory of Karikal Chozhân—the flowing treasure of Manmudichozhân-peṭṭai—the key of the prosperous country belonging to the three kings of the South." Some archæologist near the spot may perhaps correct and explain this, or send a copy to Dr. Burnell; mine has been lost. Though in an *agrahâram*, there is a temple close to the bridge to an indigenous god of the soil, whom the Brâhmaṇs disown and would fain dislodge,—which looks as if the place dated from pre-Brâhmaṇical times. The people assigned an antiquity of 1300 years to the bridge and inscription! The Pâṇḍya Choḷa and Chera kingdoms are probably referred to in the latter.

* 2 *Chron.* xxxiii. 3; 1 *Kings*, xiv. 23. See, too, the curious account of the calling of Saul, 1 *Sam.* x. 5.

Note.

As archæological interest and archæological eyes are more frequent now, and indications of localities may be of use, it may not be out of place to append an extract from Pharaoh's *Gazetteer of Southern India*, Madras, 1855, pp. 338-9, respecting a spot in Udiarpâlayam, the most easterly tâlukâ of Trichinapalli, which I was never able to visit myself. The tank referred to must be remarkable as rivalling in extent the great lake-like reservoirs once existing in Ceylon; and, with reference to the comment at the end, it is satisfactory to reflect that such high-handed Vandalism would probably not be countenanced by officials or Government to-day. "It may also be mentioned that in the Udiarpâlayam tâlukâ there is an embankment 16 miles long, running north and south, provided with several substantial sluices and of great strength, which in former times must have formed one of the largest reservoirs in India. This large tank or lake was filled partly by a channel from the Kolerun river, upwards of 60 miles in length, which enters it at its southern end, and partly by a smaller channel from the Vellâr, which entered it on the north. Traces of both these channels still remain. The tank has been ruined and useless for very many years, and its bed is now almost wholly overgrown with high and thick jungle. It is said traditionally that its ruin was wilful, and the act of an invading army. Near the southern extremity of the *bând* there is a village, now surrounded by jungle, called Gaṅgâkuṇḍapuram. Immediately in its vicinity is a pagoda of very large size and costly workmanship; and close by, surrounded by jungle, are some remains of ancient buildings, now much resembling the mounds or heaps which indicate the site of ancient Babylon, but in which the village elders point out the various parts of an extensive and magnificent palace. When this palace was in existence Gaṅgâkuṇḍapuram was the wealthy and flourishing capital of a monarchy, and the great tank spread fertility over miles and miles of what is now trackless forest. It has often been projected to restore that magnificent work, but the scheme has remained in abeyance for want of engineer officers. At some future time it may be successfully prosecuted, but till then this most fertile tract must remain a jungle, and the few inhabitants will still point with pride to the ancient *bând* as a monument of the grand and gigantic enterprise of their ancient sovereigns, and compare it contemptuously with the undertakings of their present rulers. Speaking of the noble temple of Gaṅgâkuṇḍapuram, it must not be omitted that when the lower Kolerun *ánikaṭ* was built, the structure was dismantled of a large part of the splendid granite sculptures which adorned it, and the enclosing wall was almost wholly destroyed in order to obtain materials for the work. The poor people did their utmost to prevent this destruction and spoliation of a venerated edifice, by the servants of a government that could show no title to it; but of course without success; they were only punished for contempt. A promise was made indeed, that a wall of brick should be built in place of the stone wall that was pulled down; but unhappily it must be recorded that this promise has never been redeemed."

The lower Kolerun *ánikaṭ* was built, in 1836, according to the scheme and advice of Colonel (now Sir A.) Cotton. I know nothing of the present condition of the temple and remains, but should imagine a great deal of historical and antiquarian value and interest would be discovered by a competent explorer.

SANSKRIT AND OLD CANARESE INSCRIPTIONS.

BY J. F. FLEET, Bo. C.S.

(Continued from page 211.)

No. III.

This is from a copper-plate belonging to Gaṅgavva Kôm Kallappa Gugari of Bêhatti in the Hubballi Tâlukâ of the Dhârwâḍ District. The original consists of three plates, each $7\frac{3}{4}''$ broad by $11\frac{1}{2}''$ long, strung together by a massive ring, the seal of which bears a figure of the bull Basava or Nandî with the sun and moon above it. The inscription, in the Kayastha characters and the Sanskrit language, and written across the breadth of the plates, covers the inner side of the first plate, both sides of the second plate, and the inner and part of the outer side of the third plate.

This inscription mentions the following princes of the Kalachuri family:—

Kṛishṇa
|
Jôgama
|
Paramardi
|
Vijjaṇa
|
Sôma — Saṅkama — Âhavamalla — Siṅghaṇadêva.

This agrees with the corresponding portion of the genealogy of the Kalachuris of Kalyâṇa as given by Sir W. Elliot, with the exception that he gives Kârṇa instead of Krishṇa as the name of the father of Jôgama, and does not mention Siṅghaṇadêva, the younger brother of Âhavamalla.

The object of the inscription is to record the grant by Siṅghaṇadêva in the Śaka year 1105* (A.D. 1184-5), being the Sôbhakṛit *saṁvatsara*, to one thousand Brâhmaṇs, of the village of Kukkanûru, situated in the Beluvala, *i.e.* Belvola, Three-hundred. It also mentions a minor grant of land and a house by Divâkara-Daṇḍanâyaka† of Kôthâra. The Kukkanûru in question is probably the village or town of the same name which is to be found on the map about nine miles to the south of Yelburga in the Haidarâbâd territory. From another copper-plate at Bêhatti,—a Dêvagiri-Yâdava inscription of Krishṇa or Kanharadêva,—we learn that Kukkanûru was the chief town of a circle of thirty villages, and in Śaka 1175 (A. D. 1253-4), being the Pramâdi *saṁvatsara*, was bestowed or re-bestowed upon one thousand and two Brâhmaṇs by Kanharadêva's minister Chauṇḍarâja.

It should be noted that the letter ब् does not occur in this inscription; in each case, where it should be used, it is represented by व्.

Transcription.

[1] स्वस्ति ॥ दीर्घं पुरुन्ननरप्रनापः पृथिवीमिमां ।
[2] रक्षनादक्षनाचारः प्रजानाथः प्रजाहि-
[3] नः ॥ निरित्रं पानु विश्वस्य गोना स धरणी-
[4] धरः । धर्म्मदुर्ग्गं दमयिना देवस्यागत्तनुभु(र्भु)-
[5] जः ।(॥) अस्ति क्षत्रियरत्नानामाकरः सागरायनि ।
[6] कुलं कलचुरीत्याख्यं विख्यानं भुवनत्रये ।(॥) न-
[7] दन्वाये राजाभूत्कृष्णः कृष्ण इवापरः । अपि
[8] वा(बा)लस्य चारित्रमद्भुतं यस्य गीयते ।(॥) स जोगम-
[9] महीपालं कालं वैरिमहीभुजां । वैरिकवंश-
[10] महसां पात्रं पुत्रमजीजनत् ।(॥) दाक्षिण्यजलधे-
[11] स्तस्मात्क्षीरोदादिव चंद्रमाः । अजायत जगत्का(त्कां)-
[12] नः परमार्दिमहीपतिः ।(॥) तस्मात्मेरोरिवाशेष-
[13] ज्यानिनां नेजसां निधिः । उदितः सुभटाग्र्यो
[14] विज्जणः पृथिवीपतिः ॥ स च ॥ आचक्राम न कां दि-
[15] शं न वु(बु)भुजे कं देशमुन्मूलयांचक्रे कत्र रिपुं व(ब)-
[16] भार न रिपूनप्याश्रितान्कानिह । संचिक्ये न ध-
[17] नानि कानि न ददौ किं दानमीजे मखैः कैर्न्ना-
[18] यं गुणरत्नरोहणगिरिः श्रीविज्जणक्ष्मापतिः ॥
[19] चांद्यं पांड्यस्यजाति भजने चोलभूपश्चलत्वं भंगं
[20] वंगः सरति भरने मालवः कालशंकां । भूपश्चा-
[21] न्ये‡ जयति जगतीं विज्जणक्षोणिपाले
[22] किन्नो दुर्ग्गं जहाति जिहने कां दि-
[23] शं का(कां)दिशीकाः ॥ सर्वाशानिमिरं
[24] नुदन्मुकुलयन् सर्वद्विषद्भूभुजां हस्ता-
[25] म्भोजननीङ्ज्ञगद्धवलयन् सर्वं स्वकीर्त्या-
[26] जसा । सर्वोर्व्वीव(भ)रमूर्द्धपीठनिहितश्री-
[27] पादरम्योदयो राजा सोम उदैत्कला-
[28] निधिरितः पूर्णस्फुरन्म(न्मं)डलः ।(॥) वार्त्ता
[29] कैव रणोत्सवेषु निनदद्भेरीरवे भै-
[30] रवे दूरेषु द्रुघणाहनेरपि कृतैस्तैः
[31] कीलकोलाहलैः [।] यद्यात्रासु विदु(द्रु)द्रुदु-
[32] र्व्वै रिपवः के देशकोशान्यजः केषां(षां) वा न
[33] निशीथिने स्म हृदयं मूर्च्छा(र्च्छा)निमीलद्द(द्दृ)शां ।(॥)
[34] यत्र पिनरीव पानरि यम इव यंनरि जनो
[35] हि दंडधरे । लोकद्वयेऽपि नानां सौख्या-
[36] नां पारदृश्वाभूत् ।(॥) ननस्तस्यानुजः श्रीमान्
[37] जानः संकमभूपतिः । प्रसन्नपुण्यलक्ष्मा(क्ष्मां)कः
[38] प्रकृत्यैव दयापरः ।(॥) नन आहवमल्लो भू-
[39] द्राजा नत्सोदरः सुधीः । अशेषैरप्यशेषं
[40] च§ जगदाल्हादयनु(न्) गुणैः ॥ नस्य श्रीकन्यसो-
[41] भ्राता गुणे रत्नाकरोपमः । अभूत्सिंघ-
[42] णदेवाख्यो जगदाल्हादकारकः ।(॥) यस्य
[43] नामाक्षरैरेव शरैरिव भयंकरैः । प्रणम्य प्रा-
[44] णरक्षार्थि यतंते केवलं द्विषः ।(॥) किन्नाम चित्रच-
[45] रितः स्तूयते राजकुंजरः । नित्यप्रवृत्तदानो पि
[46] नीति यो मत्तवाच्यतां ।(॥) स खलु निखिलप्रजानु-
[47] रागकप्रयोजनगुप्तगीकृताजानिकागंतुको भ(न)¶-
[48] यगुणग्रामसमवायमाहायकसमुपचीयमान-
[49] संततसमाराध्यमानदेवद्विजप्रसादानिरंतरनि-

* In the original "one thousand one hundred and *five* years *having expired*."

† 'Daṇḍanâyaka', as used in the inscriptions, appears to denote a military officer with administrative charge of a circle of villages.

‡ The first side of the second plate commences with this letter.—न्ये.

§ The second side of the second plate commences with this letter.—च.

¶ The word भय, *fear*, would give no sense in this passage; but the form of न in this inscription is such that an engraver might easily write it instead of न्, and नय, which gives a suitable meaning, is probably the correct reading.

[50] रेनरायपरिवर्द्धमानमाम्राज्यलक्ष्मीविलास-
[51] सुखासिकाममासन्नप्रसन्नगंभीरानिरातंकनिष्क-
[52] लंकनिजवृत्तिर्म्महाराजाधिराजः श्रीमत्सिंघण-
[53] देवः वे(बे)लुवलात्रशतान्तर्गत(तं) श्रीमद्भगवत्या जग-
[54] दम्बि(म्बि)कायाः प्रत्यक्षदेवाभ्याः(भ्यो) निवासं महा-
[55] दिव्यक्षेत्रं श्रीमकु(क्कु)क्कनूरुनामधेयं ग्रामं प्रसिद्ध-
[56] सीमासमन्वितं निधिनिक्षेपजलपाषाणारामा-
[57] दिसहितं त्रिभोगाभ्यंतरसष्टभोगतेजःस्वाम्ययुक्त(क्तं)
[58] शुल्कदंडसादिकादकककरमौलिकार्णादिसकल-
[59] द्रव्यादाद्र्जनेतेरं म(श)कनृपकालातीते च पंचोत्तर-
[60] शताधिकसहस्त्र(स्र)ते(तेः)शके शोभकृत्संवत्सरे आस्व(श्व)यु-
[61] जामावास्यां सोमवारे व्यतीपातयोगे श्रुत-
[62] शीलविद्याविनयसंपन्नेभ्यः सदाचारप-
[63] वित्रपुण्यवाङ्सभ्यो सहस्त्रसंख्यादि-
[64] मितेभ्यो नानागोत्रेभ्यो महत्रा(ब्रा)ह्मणेभ्यः(भ्यो) गा-
[65] जा राजकीयस्यनगुलियज्ञीयं सर्वनम-
[66] स्य कृत्वा धारापूर्वकं परमया भक्त्या दत्तवान् ।(॥)
[67] अत्र न धर्म्मस्य रक्षणे फलं । व(ब)हुभिर्वसुधा भु-
[68] क्ता राजभिः सगरादिभिः । यस्य यस्य यदा
[69] भूमिस्तस्य तस्य तदा फलं ।(॥) गण्यंते पांसवो
[70] भूमेर्गण्यंते वृष्टिबिंदवः [।] न गण्यते विधा-
[71] त्रापि धर्म्मसंरक्षणे फलं ।(॥) अपहरतः समर्थ-
[72] स्य चाप्युदासीनस्य(स्या)त एव विपरीतं फलं । स्व-
[73] दत्तां परदत्तां वा यो हरेत वसुंधरां । षष्टिं वर्ष-
[74] सहस्त्राणि विष्टायां जायते क्रिमिः ।(॥) कर्मणा
[75] मनसा वाचा यः समर्थो प्युपेक्षतो(ते।) स स्यान्नैव
[76] तदाकः सर्वधर्म्मबहिःकृ(ष्कृ)तः ।(॥) अत एवाह राम-
[77] भद्रः ॥ सामान्यो यं धर्म्मसेतुर्नृपाणां काले
[78] काले पालनीयो भवद्भिः । सर्वानेतान्भावि-
[79] नः पार्थिवेंद्रान् भूयो भूयो याचते रामभ-
[80] द्रः ॥ शांकव्युत्पन्नसंपन्नविद्वच्छ्री(च्छ्रो)त्रप्रमोदवि-
[81] ना । रचितानिप्यदेवेन सेयं शासनपद्धतिः ।(॥) कृ-
[82] तिरियं त्रिभुवनविद्याचक्रवर्त्तिनः श्रीमदा-
[83] दित्यदेवस्य । लिखितमिदं पंडितलक्ष्मीधरे-
[84] ण । उत्कीर्ण्णं राजविज्ञानिना पंदयेन । मंगलमहा-
[85] श्रीः ॥ §केशवद दिवाकरदंडनायक-
[86] रु तम्म कैय्य होन्न कोट्टु अवरेतिप्पेयलि केयि
[87] मनर ऐदनुम रु(वों?)डु मनेयुम मारे¶ कां(कों)डु(डु)ब्रा-
(ब्रा)ह्मणभो-
[88] जनक्के वि(बि)ट्टरु [।।]ई धर्म्मम सासिर्व्वरु तप्पदे प्रतिपालि-
[89] सुवरु ॥

Translation.

May the lord of mankind * preserve this world,—he who is long-lived, who is possessed of the greatest might, whose observances are unbroken, and who is the friend of mankind! May that god preserve us from obstacles, who is the protector of the universe, the sustainer of the earth, the subduer of the enemies of religion, a very four-armed † in respect of his liberality!

The family which bears the appellation of Kalachuri, renowned in the three worlds, is like the ocean, in that it is the source of jewels in the form of warriors.

In that race Krishṇa became king,—as if he were a second Krishṇa‡,—whose deeds are said to have been marvellous even while he was yet a child.

He begat a son, king Jôgama, the destroyer of hostile kings, the receptacle of the glory of those who are worthy to be praised as the bravest of men.

As the moon was produced from the ocean of milk, so from him, the ocean of sincerity, was born king Paramardi, who was beloved by mankind.

And as the receptacle § of that lustre that pervades everything rises from (the mountain) Mêru, so from him there sprang king Vijjaṇa, a very sun of an excellent warrior. And as to him:—What region did he not invade?; what country did he not rule?; what foe did he not uproot?; what people, if they but fled to him for refuge, did he not support, even though they might be his enemies?; what riches did he not accumulate?; what gift was there that he did not bestow?; what rites are there with which he did not sacrifice?;—he, king Vijjaṇa, the mountain for the

* The first side of the third plate commences with this letter,—क्का.

† Probably the reading should be द्व्यधिकसहस्त्र, &c., 'one thousand and two,' as this is the number referred to at the end of this inscription and mentioned again in the other Behatti copper-plate.

‡ The second side of the third plate commences with this letter,—णी.

§ This and the following sentence are in the Canarese language, though written in the Sanskrit characters.

¶ This letter,—ळ,—is intended to represent the ಆ of the Old Canarese ಮಾಱು, *to sell, barter.*

* Brahma. † Vishṇu.

‡ Vishṇu in his incarnation as the son of Vasudêva and Dêvakî.

§ The sun.

production of the jewels of meritorious qualities. Pâṇḍya laid aside his fierceness; the king of Chôla trembled; Vaṅga was broken; and Mâlava experienced the fear of death: and as to other kings,—when king Vijjaṇa was conquering the world, what stronghold did they not abandon, and to what region could they betake themselves when put to flight?

From him sprang king Sôma, the receptacle of all accomplishments*, possessed of a full and brilliant court, dispelling the darkness of all regions, causing the white lotuses which were the hands of all hostile kings to close their flowers, making the whole earth white with the lustre of his fame, charmingly placing his feet upon footstools which were the foreheads of all rulers of the earth. What shall be said of him?:— In his expeditions, which of his foes did not betake themselves to flight, abandoning their countries and their treasure, at the confused sounds of the blows of the hammer in his tents (which were to be heard) even amidst his terrible drums sounding in the festival of battle?; and who were they whose hearts were not torn asunder, they themselves closing their eyes in a swoon? While he protected like a father, and yet, wielding the sceptre, governed with restraint like Yama, mankind experienced the full enjoyment of those pleasures that properly belong to the two worlds.†

After him was born his younger brother, the fortunate king Saṅkama, who was possessed of all the marks of one who has gracious and virtuous characteristics, and who was by nature compassionate.

After him his uterine brother, Âhavamalla,—who was possessed of an excellent intellect, and who gladdened the earth with his perfect good qualities,—became king.

His younger brother was Siṅghaṇadêva, like to a jewel-mine in respect of his virtues, the giver of joy to the world. Bowed down by (the very mention of) the letters of his name as if by fear-inspiring arrows, his enemies strove only to preserve their lives. Truly he is praised as a very elephant of a king; though he has a perpetual flow of charity, as an elephant has a perpetual flow of rut, yet he does not incur the reproof of being arrogant, as an elephant does of being infuriated with his passion.

One thousand one hundred and five years of the era of the Śaka king having expired, in the Śôbhakṛit *saṁvatsara*, on Monday the day of the new moon of the month Âśvina, under the Vyatîpâta conjunction, he, the fortunate Siṅghaṇadeva, the supreme king of great kings,—who made much of guests of high birth‡ by reason of his sole aim being the affection of all his subjects, and whose thoughts were ready and calm and profound and free from uneasiness and spotless by reason of his enjoying the happiness that results from dallying with the goddess of imperial dignity who is always and without obstacle nourished by the favour of gods and Brâhmaṇs who are made to thrive and are conciliated by those who have for their assistance all the merits of polity § and abundance of villages (to be bestowed in charity),—with the greatest devotion gave, with libations of water, and as a grant to be respected by all and not to be pointed at with the finger (as an object of confiscation) by even the king or the king's people, to one thousand ‖ illustrious Brâhmaṇs, of many families,—who were endowed with sacred lore and good character and learning and humility, and who were glorious by reason of their holy deeds which were purified by their excellent observances,—the rich village of Kukkanûru, included in the Beluvala Three-hundred,—a most sacred place as being the abode of the holy Bhagavatî, the mother of the universe, in the visible form of Jyêshṭhâdêvî,—together with its established boundaries, carrying with it the right to treasure-trove and water and stones and groves, &c., including the right of Tribhôga¶, invested

* This is evidently the meaning intended to be given to '*kalânidhi*' as applied to Sôma; the whole verse is a play upon words, and this and the remaining epithets are also to be translated in such a way as to apply to the moon ('*sôma*'), to which Sôma is likened.

† *Sc.* the terrestrial globe, and the lower regions, the king of which is Yama, the god and judge of the dead.

‡ In the analysis of the compound probably we have to take '*ajînaka*,' equivalent to '*ajînêya*,' *of noble origin, of high birth*; but we might also take '*ajânika*,' *having no wife*.

§ See note ¶ to line 47 in the second side of the second plate in the text.

‖ Probably it should properly be 'one thousand *and two*'; see note † to line 63 in the first side of the third plate in the text.

¶ The meaning of this term is not known; perhaps it is of the same purport as the Marâṭhi expression '*tripâdidâna*', *a grant to be enjoyed by three generations*. At the end of No. 2 of the Halsi copper-plates (see page 235 of No. XXVII, Vol. IX, of the *Jour. Bomb. Br. R. As. Soc.*) we meet with the verse,

अद्भिर्दत्तं त्रिभिर्भुक्तं सद्भिश्च परिपालितम् ।
एतानि न निवर्त्तन्ते पूर्वराजकृतानि च ॥

with the proprietorship of the eight sources of enjoyment*, and accompanied by the relinquishment of all property in tolls, fines, imposts, taxes on artisans, perquisites of hereditary officers (?), &c.

And as to the reward of preserving this act of religion:—The earth has been enjoyed by many kings, commencing with Sagara: he, who for the time being possesses land, reaps the benefit of it. The dust of the earth may be counted, and the drops of rain: but the reward of continuance [illegible] cannot be estimated even by the creator. But a different reward [illegible] him who confiscates (land that has been given as a [illegible]), or who though capable (of preserving it), may [illegible] indifference:—He who confiscates land that has been given, whether by himself or by another, is born for sixty thousand years as a worm in ordure. He, who, though able (to confiscate a [illegible]), manifests indifference in act or thought or speech, verily then becomes an outcaste beyond the pale of all religion. Therefore has Râmabhadra said:—"This [illegible] bridge of piety of kings should at all times be preserved by you: thus does Râmabhadra make his earnest request to all future princes."

The [illegible] of this charter has been composed by Âditya Deva, who worships the [illegible] of [illegible] people who are endowed with power and knowledge. This is the composition of the [illegible] Âditya Deva, who is verily the [illegible] of the three worlds in virtue of his learning. It has been engraved by the learned [illegible]. And it has been published [illegible] by [illegible], who is in the service of the king. May the greatest prosperity attend it!

[illegible]-Daṇḍanâyaka of [illegible] the [illegible] of his own cultivated land [illegible] of cultivated land and a [illegible] village of) Avaredi [illegible] them apart [illegible] food for Brâhmans. The [illegible] shall unfailingly preserve this act of piety.

No. IV.

This is [illegible] No. 105 of Major Dixon's work. The original, in the Old Canarese characters and language, is on a stone-tablet at 'Taldagoondee,' which is perhaps the same place as the 'Tan'agoonda' of the maps, close to Balagâmve; Tegagundae or Tâgegundi† would seem to be the old form of the same name. The dimensions of the tablet are given as 5′ high by 4′ 11″ broad, but the inscription is only eight or nine inches in breadth: perhaps this is a mistake for 5′ 4″ high by 11″ broad. The emblems at the top of the stone are a standing figure of a man, probably a priest, with a cow and calf on his left hand.

The inscription is a Chalukya inscription of the time of Jayasiṁha II or Jagadêkamalla, whose date is given by Sir W. Elliot as from about Śaka [illegible] to about Śaka [illegible]; the date in the present instance is Śaka [illegible] (A.D. [illegible])

Transcription.

[1] [illegible]
[2] [illegible]
[3] [illegible]
[4] [illegible]
[5] [illegible]
[6] [illegible]
[7] [illegible]
[8] [illegible]
[9] [illegible]
[10] [illegible]
[11] [illegible]
[12] [illegible]
[13] [illegible]
[14] [illegible]
[15] [illegible]
[16] [illegible]
[17] [illegible]
[18] [illegible]

* [illegible]

[illegible] for Brâhmans [illegible] *Trans.* [illegible]

[illegible] a habitation [illegible] women, flowers, [illegible]

† [illegible] 17 of No. I of [illegible] in line 30 of No. 106 of Major D[illegible]

[19] ನಡೆವಂ(ವ)ನ್ನಾಗಿ ಮ(ಮಾ)ಡಿದ ಧಂ(ಧ)ರ್ಮ್ಮ ಈ
[20] ಧರ್ಮ್ಮವಂ ಪ್ರತಿಪಾಳಿಸುವರ(ರ್ಗ್ಗೆ)
[21] ವಾರಣಾಸಿ ಕುರುಕ್ಷೇತ್ರದಲ್ಲಿ
[22] ಸಾಯಿರ ಕವಿಲೆಯುಮಂ ಸಾ-
[23] ಯಿರ ಬ್ರಾಹ್ಮಣರಿಗೆ ಕೊಟ್ಟ
[24] ಫಲಮಕ್ಕು(ಕ್ಕು) [॥]

Translation.

Śrî! Hail! While the reign of Jagadèkamalla, the glorious Jayasiṁhadèva,—the asylum of the universe, the favourite of the world, the supreme king of great kings, the supreme lord, the most venerable, the glory of the family of Satyâśraya, the ornament of the Châḷukyas,—was continuing with perpetual increase:—

A religious grant, to continue as long as the moon and sun and stars may last, consisting of twelve *mârus** (of land) by the (measure of the) staff called Agradimbada-gale† of the god Srî-Praṇamêśvaradèva‡, was made by the Thirty-two-thousand §, collectively, of Kundavige which was the locality of the *Agrahâra* ‖ of the holy Anâdi ¶ on Monday the fifth day of the bright fortnight of the month Pushya of the Vibhava *saṁvatsara*, which was the year of the Śaka ~~950~~.

Those who preserve this act of piety shall obtain the reward of having given a thousand tawny-coloured cows to a thousand Brâhmaṇs at Vâraṇâsi or Kurukshêtra!

No. V.

No. 27 of Mr. Hope's collection is an Old Canarese inscription of ninety-three lines,* each line containing about seventy-two letters, on a stone-tablet which formerly stood in one of the principal streets of Saundatti, the chief town of the Parasgaḍ Tâlukâ of the Belgaum District, but has been placed by me, for better security, against the outer wall of the Mâmlatdâr's Kachêri. I have published it, with a translation, in No. XXIX, Vol. X, of the *Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, pp. 260 to 286. It is an inscription, dated Saka 1151 (A.D. 1229-30), the Sarvadhâri *saṁvatsara*, of the time of Lakshmidêva II of the family of the Raṭṭa or Raṭṭa Great Chieftains of Sugandhavarti (Saundatti) and Vêṇugrâma or Vêḷugrâma (Belgaum), and records the building of a *liṅga* temple of the god Mallikârjunadêva or Mallinâthadêva, near the tank called Nâgarakere outside the city of Sugandhavarti, by Kêsirâja or Kêsavarâja of Kôlârat, and the allotment of tithes and grants of land. It contains also an account of the families of the chiefs of Kôlâra and of Banihaṭṭi.

It will probably be useful to reproduce here the genealogy of the Raṭṭa Great Chieftains of Saundatti and Belgaum deduced by me from this inscription, together with three others at Saundatti,—one at Mulgund in the Gadak (Dambal) Tâlukâ of the Dhârwâḍ District,—one at Nêsurgi in the Sampgaum Tâlukâ of the Belgaum District,—and one at Kalhoḷi and one at Konnûr in the Gôkâk (Gôkâve) Tâlukâ of the same District,—in connexion with some other inscriptions which I have not published in detail. Prithvîrama was the first of the family to be invested with the position of a Great Chieftain,—by Krishṇarâja, the Râshṭrakûṭa‡ monarch to whom he was subordinate. His descendants, down to Sêna II, were feudatories of the Châlukya kings; but Sêna II and his successors became independent, though they continued to bear the title of Mahâmaṇḍalêśvara. Lakshmidêva II is the last of the family of whom I have as yet obtained any notice. The only break in the line of descent is between Sântivarmâ and Nanna; not more than one generation can well have intervened, and probably Nanna succeeded Sântivarmâ, though he may not have been his son.

* 'Māru' in modern Canarese means *two yards, a fathom.*

† '*Dimba*' has various meanings: that intended here is probably *a globe or ball*; '*agradimba*,' *the fore-part, top, or surface of a* '*danda*.'

‡ From the passage commencing in line 41 of No. 103 of Major Dixon's work, another 'Taldagoondee' inscription, this appears to be a name of Brahma.

§ Some religious body or some guild is intended. The Thirty-two-thousand are mentioned again in lines 19, 25, and 26 of No. 104 and line 20 of No. 105 of Major Dixon's work, both of these also being 'Taldagoondee' inscriptions. In the latter passage they are called the Thirty-two-thousand of 'Śrimanmahâ-Agrahâra-Tâlagundûr.'

‖ '*Agrahâra*',—a grant of land to Brâhmans for religious purposes.

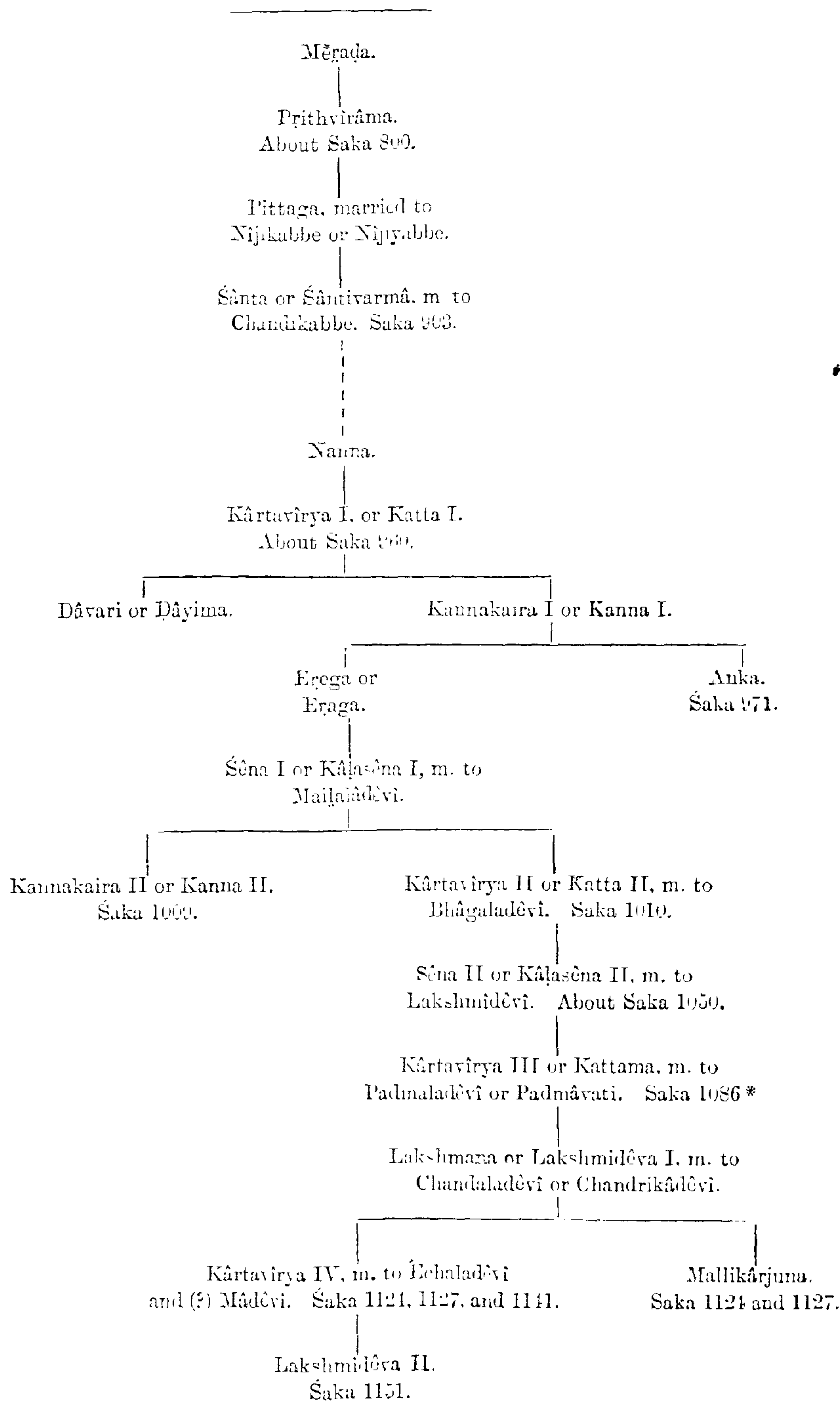
¶ 'He who has no beginning, who exists from all eternity.'

* Photographed also by Mr Burgess for the Bombay Archæological Survey: see his *Report*, 1874, p. 44, No. 18.

† Either Korti-Kolhâr on the banks of the Krishṇâ not far from Kalâdgi, as I at first supposed, or, perhaps, the well-known Kôlâr, which also is pronounced Kolhâr, about forty miles to the E. by N. of Beṅgalûr in Maisûr. There should be inscriptions at one or other of these two places which will settle the question.

‡ 'Raṭṭa' is an abbreviation or corruption of 'Râshṭrakûṭa'.

Genealogical Table of the Raṭṭa Great Chieftains of Saundatti and Belgaum (see page 279).



* Inscription at Bail-Hongal; *Ind. Ant.*, vol. IV, p 116.

MISCELLANEA.

PÂṆÎNÎ.

"Sanskṛit Grammar is based on the grammatical aphorisms of Pâṇinî, a writer now generally supposed to have lived in the fourth century B.C. At that time Sanskṛit had ceased to be a living language, and was only kept up artificially by being made the vehicle for the education of the upper classes. It would be interesting to know what style of language Pâṇinî chose as the standard of his observations. It was certainly not the idiom of the Vedas, as he seldom treats this with his usual accuracy, and only mentions it in order to show its discrepancies from the classical style, or, as he terms it, the language of the world. We believe that long before his own time a scientific and poetical literature had already sprung up, and that a certain number of writers were chosen by him and his predecessors as the representatives and patterns of the classical language. Pâṇinî was himself a poet, and the great commentary on his grammatical rules contains many fragments of early poetry. Treatises on law, long anterior to the law-book of Manu, are still in existence, and names of ancient writers on other than sacred subjects are frequently cited. However this may be, it is quite certain that the so-called classical Sanskṛit, as taught by Pâṇinî and his numerous commentators and imitators, is not a language which had its foundation in the colloquial usage of an entire nation or the educated portion of it, but rather in the confined sphere of grammatical schools which fed themselves on the rich patrimony of previous illustrious ages. This development of the Sanskṛit finds a striking analogy in the Rabbinic language, which also is to be traced back to the endeavours of religious scholars to endue with new life an idiom rapidly dying out."—*From Prof. Aufrecht's Report to the Philological Society on Sanskṛit Grammars.*

BOOK NOTICES.

Map of Ancient India, by Col. H. Yule, C.B., in Dr. Wm. Smith's Historical Atlas of Ancient Geography, Biblical and Classical. (London: J. Murray. 1874).

It is about twenty-two years since Dr. H. Kiepert of Berlin constructed his "Map of Ancient India with the Indian, Classical, and principal Modern names," to illustrate Prof. Lassen's *Indische Alterthumskunde*. It was compiled, of course, directly under the learned Lassen's personal supervision, on a scale of 1 to 50,000,000, and measuring 23 by 28 inches, with additional maps, in the corners, of the boundaries of the modern Indian languages, and of the Indo-Chinese Peninsula and adjacent islands. Being the first serious attempt to identify on the map of modern India the names mentioned by Ptolemy, Strabo, Arrian, and other Greek writers, and to combine with them the geographical notices of Sanskṛit writers, it was only to be expected that errors would occur. The map was, however, a creditable performance, and though identifications of important localities were made with some degree of rashness and had to be received with caution, and while the Sanskṛit names were disfigured by Lassen's peculiarities of transliteration—using *k* for च, *g* for ज, and *j* for य,—it was indispensable to the student of Indian Antiquity. Colonel Yule's map is not so ambitious as Kiepert's: it gives indeed both Arabic and Sanskṛit names in **gothic letters**, but only a few of them, and these apparently with the object of attesting the correctness of the identification of the Greek names. The map is only on half the scale of Kiepert's, and the corners are filled up with (1) an enlarged map of Pentepotamica or the Panjâb, (2) a small map of the Eastern Peninsula, and (3) of Lassen's India of Ptolemy. It is needless to say that Col. Yule's map differs widely from, and is superior to Kiepert's in the location of the names mentioned in Greek writers. The Oriental student will only regret that it is not on a larger scale, and made to embrace the Sanskṛit geography also:—indeed the time has now come when we ought to have maps to illustrate not only the ancient Western classics, but also the India of Buddhist and Brâhmaṇical writers down to the eighth century, and of the Arabs and others from the eighth to the end of the fourteenth century. With the modern improvements in the printing of maps, it would be an easy matter to print these, together with a really good modern map, all from the same physical outlines, on a scale of between 125 and 150 miles, or about 2°, to an inch. Four such maps would be invaluable to Orientalists everywhere, and would help to settle many doubtful points in the ancient geography of India, whether Greek, Chinese, Arab, or Sanskṛit.

In the introduction to the Atlas, Colonel Yule has judiciously gone into considerable detail, filling nearly three closely printed pages, each the size of his map,—on the grounds of his many new identifications. This introduction is full of important

matter: it begins with the nature of Ptolemy's data, and the manner of dealing with them. The data he thinks must have consisted of (1) coasting itineraries of seamen or merchants; (2) routes of foreign traders or travellers; (3) lists of rivers, with the mountains in which they rise; and (4) partial lists of the nations of India. Much of this material "was before Ptolemy only in the form of maps already compiled. His process seems to have been from these, and from the other data in his possession, to compile his own map, modified by his judgment and his theories: then to cover this with a graticule of meridians and parallels; and finally to draw up his tables, and the miscellaneous particulars embodied with his tables, directly from the map as it now lay before him. An illustration of this process is seen in his anonymous tributaries of the Ganges and Indus, of which he assigns the exact sources and confluences, in latitude and longitude, whilst he cannot give their names. Plainly, he took these numerical indications from the map before him, and the streams themselves in the first instance from maps already compiled or sketched by others." Material apparently so derived must then be dealt with cautiously, and not made arbitrarily to cover the whole surface of India, which could not all be equally well known to him. Moreover, his divisions, as Col. Yule remarks, "are heterogeneous. Some are political; such as *Pandion's Kingdom*, and probably *Larike* and *Ariake*. *Maesolia* may be a foreigner's handy generalization, like 'the Carnatic'; *Indo-Skythia* may be either of these; a great part are ethnic, and seemingly derived from what we may call Pauranic lists, *e. g. Phyllitae*, *Ambastae*; some from the same lists are no divisions at all, ethnic or otherwise, but mere indications of peculiar communities, such as *Tabassi*, T â p a s a s or ascetics in the woods of Khândesh, and *Gymnosophistae*, probably similar gatherings of eremites about Hardwâr." Then Ptolemy had no means of properly co-ordinating the various materials he had, so that, in various instances, cities said to belong to certain nations really did not; and to overlook this, as Lassen has apparently done, is sure to lead to mistakes.

Colonel Yule would be the last to suppose that even all the identifications he himself has not marked as doubtful will be accepted as final; but many of them are such as will be generally received as satisfactory. We can only notice a few of them. When we attempt to identify Ptolemy's mouths of the *Goaris* and *Binda*, "we shall find", he says, "that they are the mouths of the strait that isolates Salsette and Bombay", and he agrees with Mannert that "the names *Goaris* and *Binda* really stand for G o d â v a r î and B h î m â, of which Ptolemy had got an inkling from some Dekhan itinerary, naming the rivers but not their direction." So far as the *Goaris* is concerned this is satisfactory, for N a s i k a and *Baithana* or P a i t h â n a are both placed on it, or rather on the river from which it takes off. The *Binda*, which Lassen identifies with the V a i t h a r n a river in the North Konkan, we might be inclined to regard as the K â m w â ḍ î, or B h i v a n ḍ î creek, which falls into the Ṭhâṇa creek, were it not that it is so small a stream. The estuary of the U l â s, however, seems to suit as well, as far as locality is concerned, and it is a noble river from the point of junction with the K â l u, eight miles above Kalyân, to its entrance into the Ṭhânâ creek; but if Ptolemy's *Binda* cannot be identified with either of these, there is no serious objection to, and even a probability in favour of, Col. Yule's suggestion that it must stand for the B h i m a. *Tynna* and *Mesolus* he would identify with the P i n â k â or Pennar and the K ṛ i s h n â. The *Orudia* mountains, hitherto identified with the Eastern Ghâṭs, Yule makes the V a i d u r y a or northern section of the S a h y â d r i range, and with apparently good reason.

The west coast line was, of course, the best known of any part of India to Alexandrian merchants, and much attention had been given by Dr. Vincent and others to the geography of the *Periplus*, &c. and the identification of the ports on it, but with less success than might have been expected. *Nusaripa*, *Suppara*, *Tyndis*, *Muziris*, &c., were either not identified at all, or incorrectly. That the first two are represented by N a u s â r i and S u p â r â (a little north of Bassein) was first pointed out in an ephemeral tract* a few years ago; and *Muziris* is now shown to be not Mangalur, but M u y î r i - K o ḍ u, opposite to K o ḍ a n g a l û r; *Tyndis* may be K a ḍ a l u n ḍ i, *i.e.* K a ḍ a l T u n ḍ i, a few miles north of T a n u r, near Bêpur; and *Nelkynda* the same as K a l l a d a; while the district of *Limyrike* (Λιμυρικη), or rather Διμυρικη—*Damir*-ike, is the Tamiḷ-speaking country; and *Ariake* the Âryan-speaking country.

Simylla emporium, also called *Timula*, and by the Arabs Ç a i m u r or J a i m u r, which Kiepert has at Bassein, is removed to Chaul†—a much more satisfactory identification. Other positions, however, must still be considered very doubtful. *Sazantion* is placed at Sujintra near K h â m b a y; Dr. J. Wilson had previously suggested Ajanṭâ: but might it not have been the same as S â n c h i in Bhopâl? *Bardaxima* and *Syrastra* are made to

* *Notes of a Visit to Gujarât* (1863), pp. 15,17, and conf. *Ind. Ant.* vol. I. p. 321.

† Conf. *Ind. Ant.* vol. III. pp. 100, 214, 322, Yule's *Marco Polo*, vol. II. p. 353.

correspond to the modern Purbandar and Navibandar respectively,—neither of them known to be old places: Gumli or Bhumli in the Bardâ hills, or perhaps Bhadravati, now Bhadreśvar, on the coast of Kachh, might be suggested for *Bardaxima*, and Chorwâḍ or Virâval for *Horata* or *Syrastra*—*s* and *ch* in the local pronunciation of Soratha and other parts of Gujarât being often changed into *h*. *Theophila*, which Col. Yule marks with doubt about Wadhwân, could scarcely have been there, though the place is old: but possibly it might be meant for Śatruñjaya or Suraśaila (the rock of the gods)—though that never was a city, but is visible from the mouth of the river as a large flat-topped hill covered with sacred edifices.

We cannot here enter further into details of the new identifications: several of those in the south of India are due to Dr. A. C. Burnell and the Rev. Dr. Caldwell. With this map before them and Colonel Yule's notes on it, we incline to think that some of our readers might be able, from local knowledge, to help to the settlement of several of the doubtful and disputed sites. For the use of Indian students it is very desirable that the map, with the letterpress and index belonging to it, should be published separately, as few can afford to purchase the magnificent six-guinea Atlas in which it appears.

Note.—Rivers in the Koṅkan have generally two names—the one that of the uppermost port on their estuary, used by the maritime population: the other that of the stream itself, used by dwellers inland: *e.g.* the Kâmvâlî mentioned above, is always spoken of, *quoad* navigation, as the Bhivandichî khâlî, or estuary (lit. brackish part) of Bhivandî; and the beautiful Kondulika, whose mouth forms the harbour of Chaul (Marâthî Cheüval) is called the Rohe-Ashtamichî khâlî. Sometimes there is a third name, used chiefly by Brâhmans and for purposes of worship; as Târamatî, the esoteric name of the Kâlû or Malsej Ghât river. The indications supplied by the modern geography of Western India on the points touched on are vague, but worth recording. Upon the Vaitharna, within two days' march of the highest salt-water, is the town of Gore, which is not now a large place, but still keeps up some trade in rice and timber with the ports at the mouth of the river, and probably had more in ancient days, especially if the neighbouring hill-fort of Koj was then in existence, which is possible, but not proveable.

The Godâvarî is not well known by that name at Nâsik, Paithan, or any place on the western part of its course, but generally called the Gaṅgâ.

The so-called Ṭhâna Creek is not properly a creek at all, but a depression, or backwater, reaching from the head of Bombay Harbour to Bassein (Marâthî Vasai). Its shallowest point is where a ridge of rocks just south of Ṭhâna affords a foundation for the G. I. P. Railway bridge. About two miles north of this it receives the "Kalyân creek," or estuary of the Ulâs, and its tributaries, but does not change its own name; and, still further on, the Bhivandi and Lakhivli creeks. The land-floods of all these pass out northwards by Bassein; the ridge of rock mentioned above keeps their water out of Bombay Harbour. It is certain that the accommodation in all of them for large vessels has been decreasing for centuries, owing to silt, and to the advance of embanked rice-fields. Opposite Bassein is a village called *Ghorbandar*; but the name is probably rather modern. The northernmost part, however, of Bombay Harbour is at *Bhanḍûp*; and the most northern of the ancient exits is at *Bandora* (probably a Portuguesification of an old native name).

It is also to be remarked that of the four great traffic routes into the North Koṅkan, the Bhor, Nâna, and Malsej Ghâṭs pass over watersheds dividing large tributaries of the Bhima from those of the Ulâs in such a manner that the careless commercial traveller would hardly notice where one ends and the other begins; and the head-waters of the Vaitharna are equally close to an affluent of the Gaṅgâ at the Thal Ghâṭ.

The tendency to connect rivers running different ways is characteristic of ancient, and especially Eastern geography. It is constantly to be remarked in the Hindu legends about sacred streams, and may be noticed in the interesting map published by Mr. Rehatsek in vol. I. of the *Antiquary* (p. 370), which, from internal evidence, I suppose to have been drawn by a native of Oudh or Hindustân who had made the pilgrimage to Mecca viâ Surat. Information given by Arab merchants (the successors in "right line" of some of Ptolemy's authorities) to African geographers is marked by the same characteristic. My conjecture is that the Goaris is the conjunct Godâvarî and Vaitharna, and the Binda made up of the Bhimâ and Ulâs and their tributaries, including the Bhivandi (Musalmânicè Bhimḍî) creek.—W. F. S.

THE ROMANTIC LEGEND OF SAKYA BUDDHA: from the Chinese-Sanskrit. By Samuel Beal. Sm. 8vo, 395 pp. (London: Trübner and Co. 1875.)

In the dedication of this volume the author states that 'when he first discovered in the India Office Library a Chinese copy of the work, he purposed to publish an entire translation of it; but being unable to carry out this purpose he still desired to publish it in as complete a form as possible. But even here fresh difficulties arose, nor should he have been able to produce this abbreviated translation but for the generous support of Mr. J. Fergusson, F.R.S., D.C.L.'

It is a translation of the Chinese version of the *Abhinishkramaṇa Sûtra**, done into that language by Dnyanakuta, a Buddhist from Northern India, about the end of the sixth century A.D. The colophon at the end runs thus:—"It may be asked, 'By what title is this book to be called?' to which we reply, the Mahâsânghikâs call it *Ta-sse* ('great thing': *Mahâvastu*); the Sarvâstâvâdás call it *Ta-chong-yen* ('great magnificence': *Lalita Vastara*);† the Kasyâpiyas call it *Fo-wong-yin-vn* ('former history of Buddha'); the Dharmaguptas

* Vassilief's *Bouddhisme*, § 114; Burnouf's *Lotus de la Bonne Loi*, p. 333; and *Ind. Ant.* vol. IV. pp 91, 92.

† Vassilief's *Bouddhisme*, § 176.

call it *Shi-kia-mu-ni-Fo-pen-hing* ('the different births of Sâkya-Muni-Buddha'—translated into Chinese about A.D. 70); the Mahîśâsakâs call it *Pi-ni-tsong-kan* ('Foundation of the Vinaya Piṭaka')." The original Sanskṛit seems to have been lost, but as it is attributed to Aśvagosha, a contemporary of Kanishka, it may belong to the first century A.D.*

Mr. Beal of course notices the point of agreement both in the teachings and events of the life of Christ and of Śakya Muni, "it would," he says, "be a natural inference that many of the events in the legend of Buddha were borrowed from the Apocryphal Gospels,† if we were certain that these Apocryphal Gospels had not borrowed from it." But, recognizing the difficulties in the way of any satisfactory explanation, he enters into no discussion, thinking it better at once to allow "that in our present state of knowledge there is no complete explanation to offer. We must wait until dates are finally and certainly fixed. We cannot doubt, however," he concludes, "that there was a large mixture of Eastern tradition, and perhaps Eastern teaching, running through Jewish literature at the time of Christ's birth, and it is not unlikely that a certain amount of Hebrew folk-lore had found its way to the East. It will be enough for the present to denote this intercommunication of thought, without entering further into minute comparisons."

The volume is closely printed and contains a mass of curious legends, but, most unfortunately, many passages of the original seem to be omitted without the slightest indication of their contents; this is a system of translating Oriental works that we must deplore, is coming too much into vogue. There are in such works much that may be quite unworthy of translation, but few men if any, however learned they may be, are able to decide what may and what may not be of great importance in helping to unravel the many points of chronology, authorship, derivation, &c, that are constantly turning up for discussion; and where a passage has to be omitted, its position, extent, and contents ought always to be noted, however briefly.

Then, though we have sixty chapters, many of them divided into distinct sections, we have no table of Contents, while the Index fills very little over two pages in 395, supplying about one proper name to two pages of the text, and less than 300 references in all – an utterly inadequate guide to the varied contents, speakers, and references in a book that is so interesting, as far as it goes, that its defects and omissions are the more to be regretted.

THE HISTORY OF INDIA, as told by its own Historians. —The Muhammadan Period. The Posthumous Papers of the late Sir H. M. Elliot, K.C.B., edited and continued by Prof John Dowson, M.R.A.S. Vol. VI. (London: Trübner and Co., 1875.)

In this sixth volume we have extracts from nineteen different native works, some of them very brief indeed. The first 250 pages are mostly occupied with the reign of Akbar, continued from the previous volume, and to some extent relating to the same events as there detailed by other writers. Nearly half of this is occupied with extracts from the great *Akbar-Nâma* of Abû-l Fazl, and its supplement, the *Takmila-l Akbar Nâma* of Inâyatulla;—from the earlier pages of the former of which works we had already copious abstracts in Price's *Retrospect of Mahommedan History*; and the 83 separate extracts here given from it are translated for the first time by Prof. Dowson, while those from the latter work, of which no copy of the original is known in England, were translated by Lieut. Chalmers of the Madras Army and used by Elphinstone. Then follow extracts from the *Akbar-Nâma* of Shaikh Illahdâd, Faizî Sirhindî, by Ensign F. Mackenzie and the editor, extending over 31 pages; one out of the whole series of letters forming the *Wâkiât* of Shaikh Faizî, and translated for Sir H. M. Elliot by Lieut. Pritchard, and a few extracts from *Wikâya'i Asad Beg*, also entirely translated for Sir H. M. Elliot by Mr. B. W. Chapman, B.C.S., Next we have extracts from the *Târîkh-i Hakki*, *Zubdatu-t Tawârîkh*, *Rauzatu-t Tâhirîn*, *Muntakhabu-t Tawârîkh*, *Târîkh-Firishta*, *Ma-âsir-i Rahîmî*, and *Anfa'u-l Akhbar* occupying 76 pages, reprinted from Sir H. Elliot's original published volume. These conclude the information relating to Akbar; and the editor prefaces the extracts bearing on the reign of Jahângîr with a valuable and important preliminary note on the different editions of the original Memoirs of this Emperor. This is followed by 136 pages of extracts from the *Târîkh-i Salîm Shâhî* or *Tûzaki-Jahângîrî* and *Wâkiât-i Jahângîrî*, translated by Major Price, Sir H. M. Elliot, the editor and others; but this is apparently only a portion of what Sir H. M. Elliot left in MS. The extracts from the *Tatimma-i Wâkiât-i Jahângîrî* of Muhammad Hâdî, and the *Ikbâl-nâma-i Jahângîrî* of Mu'tamad Khân, are almost wholly by the editor, while those from the *Ma-âsir-i Jahângîrî*, *Intikhâb-i Jahângîrî Shâhî*, and note on the *Subh-i Sâdik*, are largely by Sir H. M. Elliot himself. The Appendix contains six articles, the first on the early

* Vide *ante*, pp. 91, 141: Mme Mary Summers, *Histoire du Bouddha-Sakya-Mouni*, pp. 188, 189.

† Compare, for example, the *Gospel of the Infancy*, cap. xx, "Our Lord learning his Alphabet," with the account given at pp. 67-71 of Mr. Beal's volume. Conf. also Beal's *Travels of Fah Hian and Sung Yun*, pp. lxxii, lxxiii, and Farrar's *Life of Christ*, vol. I. pp. 214, 215.

use of Gunpowder in India, is a reprint, with some alterations and additions by Sir H. Elliot himself. The comments on the Institutes of Jahângîr, and the Bibliographical notices, are also his work. The extracts from the *Shash Fat'h-i Kângrá* were prepared under his superintendence; those from a biographical work of 'Abdu-l Hakk Dehlawî were made by Major A. R. Fuller, and the editor has supplied an oft-expressed want by giving a complete translation of the Introduction to Firishta's great history.

The volume will be found very valuable for the study of the particular period to which it relates, but we cannot but express disappointment that the materials supplied are given in so very fragmentary a form: many of the works from which extracts are translated would be quite unworthy of translation in full, and perhaps none of them are very deserving of this, but one of the best might have been selected for nearly entire translation, with summaries of all the omissions, and the extracts from other works made to do duty in the more subordinate form of notes to this text. The objections in the way of this would have been most trivial in comparison with the advantages to the general reader. Then much of the materials left ready to hand by Sir H. M. Elliot is being passed over because, in the editor's opinion, it is not sufficiently important to be published: a certain amount of judgment in this matter he ought doubtless to exercise, but no one, however well read in history, can say infallibly what scrap of information may or may not come to be of importance, and it would be much better that he gave us rather too much than too little of the MS. that lies ready to his hand—summarizing what he does not think at all worth printing *in extenso*, that his readers may know the real character and contents of the omissions.

But the greatest defect volumes such as these could have is the entire absence of indexes, and even of analytical tables of contents. This omission is but little creditable either to editor or publishers,—as a good index is really indispensable for reference to volumes such as these, filled with extracts of the most varied contents, and treating again and again, under different authors, of the same personages and events.

INDIAN WISDOM, or Examples of the Religious, Philosophical, and Ethical Doctrines of the Hindus: with a brief History of the chief Departments of Sanskrit Literature, and some account of the Past and Present Condition of India Moral and Intellectual. By Monier Williams, M.A., Boden Professor of Sanskrit in the University of Oxford (London: W. H. Allen, 1875.)

The object of this book is briefly stated in the preface, and is a reply to the question, Is it possible to obtain from any one book a good general idea of the character and contents of Sanskṛit literature? Is it possible to get an insight into the mind, habits of thought, and customs of the great Hindu people, and a correct knowledge of a system of belief and practice which has prevailed for three thousand years?

No one volume assuredly did contain a *précis* of such knowledge, and we are satisfied that any one who would have the patience to dip into these five hundred and odd pages, either systematically as a student, or cursorily as an amateur, would not fail to rise up with a feeling of pleasureful wonder at the intellectual phenomenon of an isolated literature of such expansion and such variety, yet free from contact with the outer world. The Hindu sage borrowed nothing, imitated nothing, was even aware of the existence of nothing beyond the limits of his literary consciousness and the peculiar bent of his own genius. In the dawn of his intellectual life he composed Vedic hymns and elaborated a system of nature-worship: to preserve the correct understanding of these treasures, he composed a system of commentaries and spun a web of grammar the like of which the world has never seen. As he advanced in self-consciousness, different orders of Hindu minds worked out different systems of philosophy, some religious, some opposed to all religions. As each generation overlaid the work of its predecessor, new dogmas arose, new modes of treatment of old doctrines, new definitions, new hair-splitting, which few can understand without contracting a headache, and the majority of mankind could not understand at all.

A later age began to make laws and codify laws, to construct a cast-iron system for the control of all future generations, the strangling of all new ideas, the arrest of all possible progress. Vain effort at Benares as at Rome! At the same time the fount of poetry, which lies at the bottom of the hearts of all nations, burst forth into magnificent epics in glorification of the heroes and demigods of the past: to them, in due course, succeeded the drama, and a class of poems which may be called elegiac, or lyric, and prose-writings of a didactic character. Last of all were the legendary tales and traditions, written in a later age to prop up the uncompromising pantheism to which centuries of intellectual isolation and philosophical conceit had reduced the Hindu, in spite of his fine intellect, unwearied industry, and magnificent literature. Of genuine history there is not one reliable fragment.

And the whole of this literature is clothed in Sanskṛit, a language of unrivalled force, variety, and flexibility, wonderfully preserved, considering that for many centuries the Vedic hymns were

handed down orally from mouth to mouth, until, according to the best opinions, about four hundred years before the Christian era, the necessity of a written medium made itself felt, as the retention of the accumulating mass of commentary exceeded even the power of an Eastern memory. That any indigenous alphabet was elaborated in India is neither asserted nor can be believed; we must fall back on the theory that a form of the Phœnician alphabet was adopted and adapted, and we know as a fact that such an alphabet exists in the inscriptions of king A ś o k a two and a half centuries before Christ.

Professor Williams has done good service in enabling the extent and nature of this great treasure to be understood within reasonable limits and in a popular form. It is a surprising fact that this great literature in its long solitary course, like the Nile, should have received no affluents, and yet, by some universal law of intellectual life, should have developed into the known forms of dogma, legend, philosophy, epos, and drama. Had the soldiers of Alexander the Great not mutinied in the Panjâb the result might have been different. Dr. Legge is doing the same great work with the Chinese classics, which have maintained from the earliest period a similar isolation; and thus the materials have been slowly collecting which will enable the on-coming generation to grapple on the comparative method with the great problem of the growth of thought and wisdom in the older world, as evidenced in the literary remains of the great Âryan, Semitic, Hamitic, and so-called Turanian families, which have survived the wreck of ages.

It is admitted by the author that much has been done by scholars to prepare translations in European languages of isolated works, such as the Vedic hymns, the law-books, the dramatic works, the Purâṇas, and the epics: they are too numerous to require more than a passing allusion, and they vary in merit and wideness of scope, but there has never hitherto "existed any one work of moderate dimensions, like the present, accessible to general readers—composed by any one Sanskrit scholar with the direct aim of giving Englishmen, who are not necessarily Sanskritists, a continuous sketch of the chief departments of Sanskrit literature, Vedic and post-Vedic, with accompanying translations of select passages, to serve as examples for comparison with the literary productions of other countries."* Such was the author's avowed object, and we consider that he has eminently succeeded. Not only is such a conspectus of the knowledge and literature of the Hindus valuable as throwing light upon the feelings and customs of this great people, but it has the additional advantage of enabling the general scholar to compare the out-turn of the Hindu mind and taste with the similar productions of other natives at the respective epochs. The author mentions that he has enough for a second volume, but he has wisely restricted himself within reasonable limits, as he wishes to popularize the subject. He has given us specimens of each of the great branches of literature, and those who seek for more know where to find it.

Throughout these pages we find a healthy catholic spirit on the religious aspect of the question: no sickly or faint-hearted depreciation of the truth and excellence of the faith adopted by civilized Europe for many centuries, but an ample acknowledgment of the strong points of other religions of other countries at an earlier epoch, and a calm refutation of the dishonest and ignorant notion that all that is good in ethics and dogmas sprang into existence at one moment—at the time of the Christian era. It is one of the special advantages of having a long series of productions of many centuries, to be able to note how the innate longing after goodness in the human race strove to make itself known in spite of surrounding disadvantageous circumstances.

It is impossible that we can do more than notice the heads of a book which is in itself an epitome of the treasures of the most learned nation of the East, where, like everything else, literature is on a gigantic scale. It speaks volumes for the liberality of the Muhammadan rulers of India that such a mass of literature should have escaped the ravages of time and bigotry: the Brâhmans have been fortunate to have saved so much, while the Alexandrian Library perished, and so much of the treasures of Greece and Rome is found wanting.

Beginning with the *Vedas*, our author gives specimens in blank verse of hymns to the great Gods of Nature,† which occupied the thoughts of our Âryan forefathers. Not as yet had the idea of Śiva or Vishṇu been worked out,—those debauched conceptions were the fruit of a later age. The elements and the dead were the natural objects of primeval worship. Hymns of praise and thanks, rituals to appease and conciliate, were the halting machinery of unassisted men, the first groping of men after God, who spoke to them not by his

* "Great praise is however, due," says the author, "to Mrs. Manning's valuable compilation *Ancient and Mediæval India*, 2 vols.—ED.

† Hymn to Varuṇa (p. 16); to Indra, to Agni, to Sûrya (*Rig-Veda*, I. 50); to Ushas (pp. 17-20); to Yama from various hymns in Maṇḍala X. of the *Rig-Veda* (pp. 21, 22); two hymns, one on the creation (*R. V.* X. 150), and the other on the unity of God (*R. V.* I. 121); a modified version of the Purusha-sûkta (*R. V.* X. 90), the hymn to Time (*Atharva-Veda*, XIX. 53); and the hymn to Night (*R. V.* X. 127).

word, but his works, the uncertain light of natural phænomena. As the world grew older, the everlasting problem of life and death; the riddle of riches and poverty, youth and old age; the toss-up of sickness or health, good or evil luck; the nice questions of so-called virtue and so-reputed vice, forced themselves on the notice of thinking minds, and. as they worked on in unceasing, relentless round, induced that system of introspection which men call philosophy; and about 600 B. C. the great Philosophic Age began to dawn, ushered in by such master-minds as Zoroaster, Confucius, the wise men of Greece, and the wise men of India. In that birth came into existence the six schools of Indian Philosophy (p. 49).

Nothing is more striking, as Professor Williams shows, than the existence of such divergence of opinion in one apparently rigid framework (pp. 53, 61-70). Brahmanism and Rationalism, under the semblance of orthodoxy, advanced hand in hand: new ideas were conceived, expanded, blossomed, and in the case of Buddhism were extinguished forcibly by the secular power: and here the author incidentally notes (p. 5) the singular phænomenon that the Turanian nations have adopted Buddhism, a faith of Âryan parentage, while the Âryan have surrendered themselves to Semitic dogmas.

To the casual reader the chapter on the *Vedas* is full of interest. To it follows an account of the *Bráhmaṇas* and *Upanishads*, and of the systems of philosophy: the account of the Jains (p. 127) and of the *Bhágavad-gítá* (p. 136) have a strange fascination, and help to keep up the interest after four lectures on the *Smṛiti*, *Smárta-sútra*, and law-books, until we reach the epics, and proceed onward to the grand classical age of Sanskṛit literature.

Professor Williams enters into the details of the great epics, the *Rámáyaṇa* (p. 337) and *Mahábhárata* (p. 371), and devotes one chapter to a comparison of them with the Homeric poems (p. 415): he adds a choice selection of their religious and moral sentiments (p. 440), as the best test of the degree of moral perception at which their compilers, and those who hang rapturously on their recitation in the vernacular, had arrived: some of these we may quote in later pages.

We have now reached those portions of the literature which may be called comparatively modern; they consist of—I. the artificial poems (p. 449), II. the dramas (p. 462), III. the *Puráṇas* and *Tantras* (p. 489), IV. the moral poems and fables (p. 505). The former class comprise some noble poems which illustrate both the beauty and the defects of the Sanskṛit language and the Hindu authors,—the meaningless play of words, the fanciful conceits, the 'linked sweetness long drawn out,' the idea spun out to the finest thread, the intricate grammatical forms, the exceptionable chain of words. In these particulars no poem in any language can compete as regards singularity, charm of originality, and highly wrought finish with the *Raghuvaṅśa* (p. 455), *Meghaduta*, and others. Many a Sanskṛitist who can read the epics, or the laws of Manu, with facility, will find a deeper study necessary to open the locks of a poem whose every *śloka* presents a separate puzzle: and yet the grand sonorous lines echo through the gallery of time with a rythmical vibration which can never be forgotten. Even the great Homeric hexameters read tamely by the side of the *Indravajra* lines of Kâlidâsa, whose exuberant genius runs riot in the unlimited use of melodious homophones.

The dramas are too well known to require further notice: we pass on to the *Puráṇas*, which are practically the proper *Vedas* of popular Hinduism. They are modern in date, very numerous, and of varying popularity. They are designed to convey the exoteric doctrine of the *Veda* to the lower castes and to women. The compilers of them fell into the pitfall of pretending to teach "nearly every subject of knowledge," "to give the history of the whole universe from the remotest ages, and claim to be the inspired revealers of scientific as well as theological truth;" but in fact they are a cross betwixt the Papal Syllabus and the *Penny Cyclopædia*, and are justly charged with "very questionable omniscience" (p. 490).

We rise from a study of this book with a sense of the great service rendered to the student and the general scholar by the bringing together for the first time in a readily accessible form the *corpus* of "Indian Wisdom." Those only who commenced the study of Sanskṛit thirty or forty years ago can fully appreciate the value and assistance of such a volume. At that period no one could say with certainty what were the boundaries of Sanskṛit literature The last thirty years have indeed been of wondrous expansion—a gathering in of a rich Indian harvest into European granaries. French, German, English, Italians, natives of India, Danes, and citizens of the United States have all contributed to the great work; and now in this his latest work Professor Monier Williams gives us a conspectus of the whole subject—a mine of reference, and a *vade-mecum* for future scholars. It is a real subject of gratification that the English school of Sanskṛitists still maintains the ancient fame acquired in the heroic age by the grand Hindu triad, Jones, Colebrooke, and H. H. Wilson, to whom the proud title of "*Primi in Indis*" is cheerfully conceded by all European scholars.

London, June 1875. J. G.

THE BOOK OF SER MARCO POLO, the Venetian, Concerning the Kingdoms and Marvels of the East. Newly translated and edited, with Notes, Maps, and other Illustrations, by COLONEL HENRY YULE, C.B., late Royal Engineers (Bengal). In 2 vols. 2nd edition, revised; with the addition of new matter and many new illustrations. (London: John Murray, 1875.)

Both to editor and publisher this is one of the most creditable books that have of late been issued by the English press. As a specimen of masterly workmanship, it may well be looked to as *the* example of its class by those who may engage on similar tasks with this of Colonel Yule's. The first edition appeared little more than four years ago, and was received with so much favour that we are glad to see the editor has been encouraged again to open his stores, and whilst lopping his former work in some few places, it has been only to make partial room for the many interesting additions from a hundred sources that he now lays before his readers,—additions that "have come in up to the last moment",—so that the 17 pages of "Supplementary notes" he has added to the second volume, he tells us, "has had to undergo repeated interpolation after being put in type." The result is an encyclopædia of information and reference respecting Central Asia and China, especially in the Middle Ages, such as is to be found nowhere else.

Marsden's version of Marco Polo, published in 1818, and hitherto the standard English one, was translated from the Italian of Ramusio, printed in 1559; but Ramusio's was itself a translation from Latin copies, which again were derived, probably through Italian versions, from a French original. The old French text, published by the Société de Géographie in 1824, seems to be by far the nearest approach to the original as written down from the dictation of Marco by his fellow-prisoner Rusticiano of Pisa, in Genoa, in the year 1298. Probably derived from this, through a revised copy by the author, are five other French MSS., on three of which, in the Great Paris Library, M. Pauthier based his valuable text of 1865. "Having translated this," says Col. Yule,—"not always from the text adopted by Pauthier himself, but with the exercise of my own judgment on the various readings which that editor lays before us,—I then compared the translation with the Geographic Text, and transferred from the latter not only all items of real substance that had been omitted, but also all expressions of special interest and character, and occasionally a greater fulness of phraseology where the condensation in Pauthier's text seemed to have been carried too far. And finally I introduced *between brackets* everything peculiar to Ramusio's version that seemed to me to have a just claim to be reckoned authentic, and that could be so introduced without harshness or mutilation. Many passages from the same source which were of interest in themselves, but failed to meet one or other of these conditions, have been given in the notes." This plan must commend itself as a most judicious one. The Book itself consists of two parts, the first containing the brief but interesting narrative of "the circumstances which led the two older Polos to the Kaan's Court, and those of their second journey with Mark, and of their return to Persia through the Indian Seas," and the second consisting of a long series of chapters—232 in the Geographic text, 209 in Pauthier's, and 183 in the Crusca Italian—"descriptive of notable sights and products, of curious manners and remarkable events, relating to the different nations and states of Asia, but above all to the Emperor Kublai, his court, wars, and administration."—A series of chapters, near the close, either omitted or much abridged in nearly all the copies, "treats in a verbose and monotonous manner of sundry wars" between different branches of the family of Chenghiz. These chapters, the translator, "though sharing the dislike that every man who *uses* books must bear to abridgments," has felt "it would be sheer waste and dead-weight to print."

The Commentary is very full and complete, no pains having been spared to clear up every point of interest or difficulty, by extracts from every known source—many of them but little known—and by personal inquiry from people of all countries, and all over the East. Nothing is omitted: the account of the Old Man of the Mountain, for example, is illustrated by an outline of the Ismaili sect, with references to the authorities, down to the trial in the High Court at Bombay in 1866, and a portrait of H. H. Aghâ Khân Mehelâti. The references to Buddha lead to a brief account of his life, and of the old religious romance based upon it—the *History of Barlaam and Josaphat*—illustrated by a woodcut from an old German version of the story printed in 1477, representing 'Sakya Muni as a Saint of the Roman Martyrology.' The illustrations indeed—of which there are about 180—are a most interesting feature of this handsomely got up work: the maps are numerous and specially instructive, and the woodcuts, &c.—many of them new, others very old and quaint, drawn from mediæval sources European, Chinese, Persian, &c.—are all interesting. The notes on the chapters respecting India, Socotra, &c., in the second volume, will be studied by many of our readers with much interest. The Index is full, and a most valuable guide to the very varied stores of information which fill these two weighty volumes.

EIGHT ARABIC AND PERSIAN INSCRIPTIONS FROM AHMADÂBAD.

BY H. BLOCHMANN, M.A., CALCUTTA MADRASAH.

A SHORT time ago, Mr. Burgess sent me eight very excellent photozincographs from rubbings of Ahmadâbâd inscriptions, of which I now give readings and translations, together with a few notes.

These inscriptions add somewhat to our knowledge of Gujarâtî history; but it would be desirable to have more, and also to obtain a complete set of Gujarâtî coins of the Muhammadan period.

Inscriptions I and II belong to mosques built by Ahmad Shâh (I.) of Gujarât, who is described as the son of Muhammad Shâh and grandson of Muzaffar. Muzaffar appears to have been a converted Hindû; for Muhammadan historians generally call him Muzaffar Tânk, *i.e.* Muzaffar of the Tânk tribe.* It is noticeable that his grandson does not style him 'Shâh'; in fact, only in Inscription V does he appear with this title. Like the founder of the Jaunpûr dynasty, he does not seem to have struck coins. On the other hand, Muhammad Shâh, Ahmad Shâh's father, though styled Shâh, has no place in history; but he is mentioned in inscriptions and on coins.

Ahmad Shâh, or, according to his full name, Nâśiruddîn Abul Fath Ahmad Shâh, built Ahmadâbâd near the old village or town of Aśâwal. The foundation took place on 7th Zî Qa'dah 813, or 4th March 1411, when the presence of 'the four pious Gujarâtî Ahmads' rendered the undertaking auspicious. According to the legend†, the saint Ahmad Khattû (so called from the town of Khattû, near Nâgor) had settled in Gujarât during the reign of Sultân Muzaffar, who held him in great respect. Ahmad Shâh, too, often visited the Shaikh, and on one occasion expressed a desire to see the prophet Khizr (Elias). The Shaikh's prayers and certain ascetic penances performed by Ahmad Shâh brought about the desired meeting, and when the king asked Khizr to tell him something wonderful, the prophet said that in former times a large town had stood on the banks of the Sâbarmatî, where now only jungle grew. The name of the town had been Bâdânbâd. This town had suddenly disappeared. Ahmad Shâh asked whether he might not build a new town on the spot. Khizr said that he might do so; but the foundations would not be safe unless four persons of the name of Ahmad came together who had never in their life omitted the afternoon prayer (*'asr*). Ahmad Shâh searched throughout the whole of Gujarât, but found only two Ahmads that fulfilled the condition, *viz.* one Qâzî Ahmad and one Malik Ahmad. These two the king took to Shaikh Ahmad Khattû, who then said, 'I am the third.' The king said, 'Then I am the fourth Ahmad.' The town was thus founded. When the walls of the fort had been raised to about a man's height, the foundations unexpectedly gave way at one place. The king and the Shaikh inspected the locality, when a man whose name was Mânik Jogî came forward, and said that the presence of the four Ahmads at the laying of the foundation was not sufficient to secure the permanence of the undertaking: the place where the fort had been commenced was his property, and the fort would not stand without his consent. The difficulty was, however, settled when the king agreed to call a part of Ahmadâbâd after the name of Mânik Jogî.‡ No other misfortune befell the rising town.

Shaikh Ahmad Khattû died in 849 A.H., three years after Ahmad Shâh. He lies buried at Sarkhaj, south-west of Ahmadâbâd, near the right bank of the river.

Inscription III§ belongs to the reign of Qutbuddîn Abul Muzaffar Ahmad Shâh II., often called in histories Qutb Shâh. His full name is now known.

Inscription IV is from Dastûr Khân's Mosque—the same as figured in Fergusson's *Architecture of Ahmadâbâd*, plates 86, 87. Malik Ghanî Dastûr ul-Mulk (*i. e.* 'Vazîr of the

* Regarding the Tânk tribe *vide* Beames's edition of Elliot's *Races of the N. W. P.*, vol. I. pp. 109, 114; Cunningham, *Arch. Reports*, vol. II. p. 8; Tod's *Rájasthán*, vol. I. pp. 103ff. (Mad. ed., p. 94ff.).

† Vide *Âîn* translation, I. p. 507, where a biographical note will also be found on Mîr Abû Turâb, whose mausoleum in Ahmadâbâd is described by Fergusson, *Architecture of Ahmadâbâd*, p. 62.

‡ Hence the Mânik Burj, or Mânik Bastion, west of Shâh Ahmad's Mosque, where the Bhadr touches the Sâbarmatî; *vide* the plan of Ahmadâbâd in Fergusson's *Architecture of Ahmadâbâd*.

§ From 'Hazârî Shâh's' Mosque, near the Kâranj. It is a small building on the plan of the Mandap of a Jaina temple with double pillars in front. It has every appearance of having been an appropriation of a Śrâvak fane.—Ed.

kingdom') was a noble of the court of Nâsir-uddin Abul Fath Mahmûd Shâh, who is better known under his nickname of Begarh (بیکرہ). I do not know the correct pronunciation of this nickname. Some people pronounce it *Begdâ*, 'having conquered two forts,' in allusion to the conquest, on the same day, by Mahmûd's armies of Chanpânir and Jûnâgadh. But [illegible] in his *Mirât* says that the word is a [illegible] term meaning 'having the moustaches turned upward.' There is no doubt that this explanation is correct, [illegible] the following passage from Varthema's travels:—

"The Guzerates are a generation who eat nothing that has blood, and kill nothing that has life. They are neither Moors nor Gentiles, but if they were baptized they would certainly all be saved on account of the good works which they perform. This country of Guzerat has [illegible] the present king, who is of a very distinguished position. The beard of this prince is so large that his moustaches are tied over his head like a lady's hair, while the beard reaches down to his girdle. He is continually chewing a [illegible] like [illegible] in leaves, and when he spits the juice upon any one, it is said that this person should be put to death, which sentence is executed in half an hour."

The year of the inscription is not clear, but it may be [illegible]2 or [illegible]5 (A.D. 14[illegible]7 or 14[illegible]).

Inscription V is from Rânî Asnî's (commonly known as *[illegible]*) Mosque, which was built in 1514, during the fourth year of the reign of Shamsuddin Abul-Nasr Muzaffar Shâh, whose full name now becomes known. The inscription also mentions another son of Mahmûd Shâh Begarah, of the name of Abû Bakr Khân. The name shows that the royal family were Sunnis. I do not know whether the name of the Rânî is Asnî, Isnî, or Usnî.

Inscriptions VI and VII.—The former refers to repairs made by Nâa Khân Farhat-ul Mulk ('Joy of the kingdom'), son of Chiman, on Ahmad Shâh's Mausoleum§; and the latter to a Jâmi' Mosque built by the same grandee.

Inscription VIII mentions the full name of Nâsir-uddin Abul-Fath Mahmûd Shâh, son of Latîf Khân. Mr. Thomas, in his *Chronicles of the Pathan Kings of Dehli* (p. 352), gives [illegible] as the name of the king; but the coin figured by him does not give that name. We may therefore assume that this inscription gives the correct name.||

In point of penmanship, the first three inscriptions are better than the other five,¶—the first especially is beautifully carved. Like the Bengal and Jaunpûr inscriptions of the same time, they are superior in this respect to Dihlî inscriptions.

The grammatical and orthographical mistakes so common on all Indian inscriptions are also found here, viz. occasionally wrong articles and the non-inflection of the words abû, akhû, errors in the construction of the Arabic numerals; the interchange of ت and ة, &c.

I.—*Ahmad Shâh's Mosque.*

بنى هذا البناء الرفيع المسجد الوسيع العبد الراجى
الداني الملتجى الى رحمة الله المعبود فى المساجد
بالركوع والسجود غير مدعو احد معه ابدا لقوله تعالى
وان المساجد لله فلا تدعوا مع الله احدا الواثق بالله
المستعان احمد شاه بن محمد شاه بن مظفر السلطان
وكان تاريخ بنائه من الهجرة الرابع من شوال سنة سبع
عشر وثمانماية

Translation.

This lofty edifice, the extensive Mosque, was built by the slave who trusts and returns and has recourse to the mercy of God, who is worshipped in Mosques with bows and prostrations,

---

* [illegible] Varthema [illegible] (pp. [illegible]3, 878).

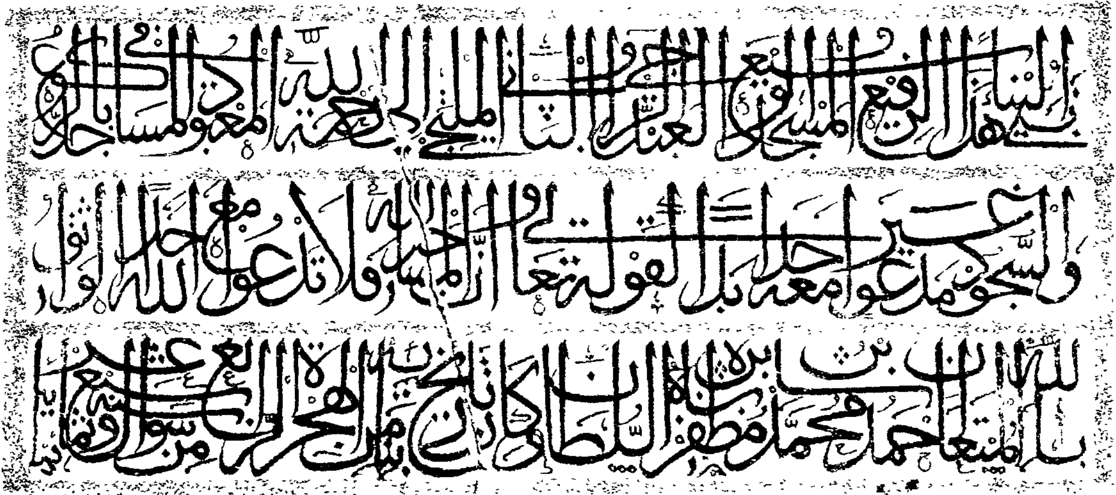
† Vide Murray, *[illegible]*, vol. II. p. 37.

‡ [illegible] the date usually assigned to the erection of [illegible] Ahmadâbâd buildings, which probably, on the sole authority of H. G. Briggs (*Cities of Gujarashtra*, p. 245), is usually said to have been built in A.H. 835, or A.D. 1431-32. Conf. Fergusson's *Architecture of Ahmadabad*, pp. 45, 84.—Ed.

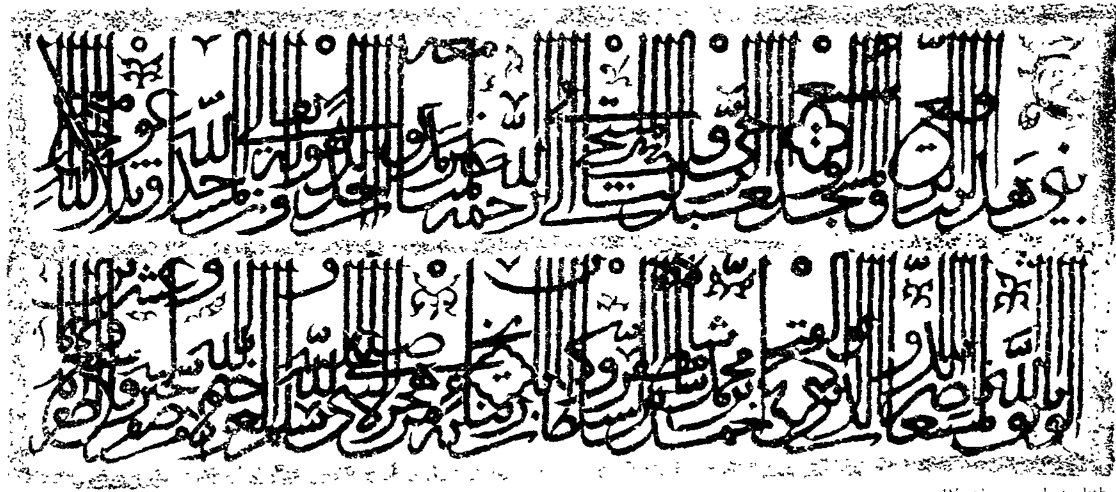
§ *Architecture of Ahmadabad*, p. 47.

|| Of the names of the other Gujarâtî kings given by Mr. Thomas (p. 353), [illegible] Bahâdur Shâh (No. 11) is given [illegible], which is unusual. The name of Muzaffar Shâh bin Mahmûd (No. 15) cannot be correct.

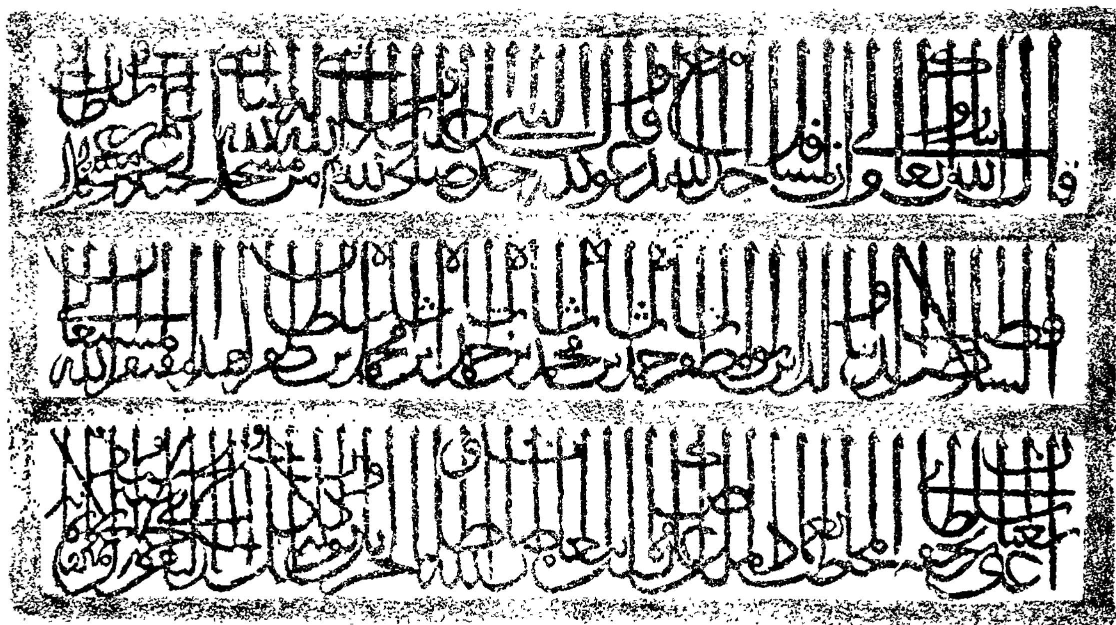
¶ Some of the inscriptions are chipped in places, and, though carved on marble slabs, all have been again and again whitewashed, and it is very difficult to clean them so as to get perfect rubbings: this is the main cause of the want of sharpness in several of them. No. I. is cracked across.—Ed.



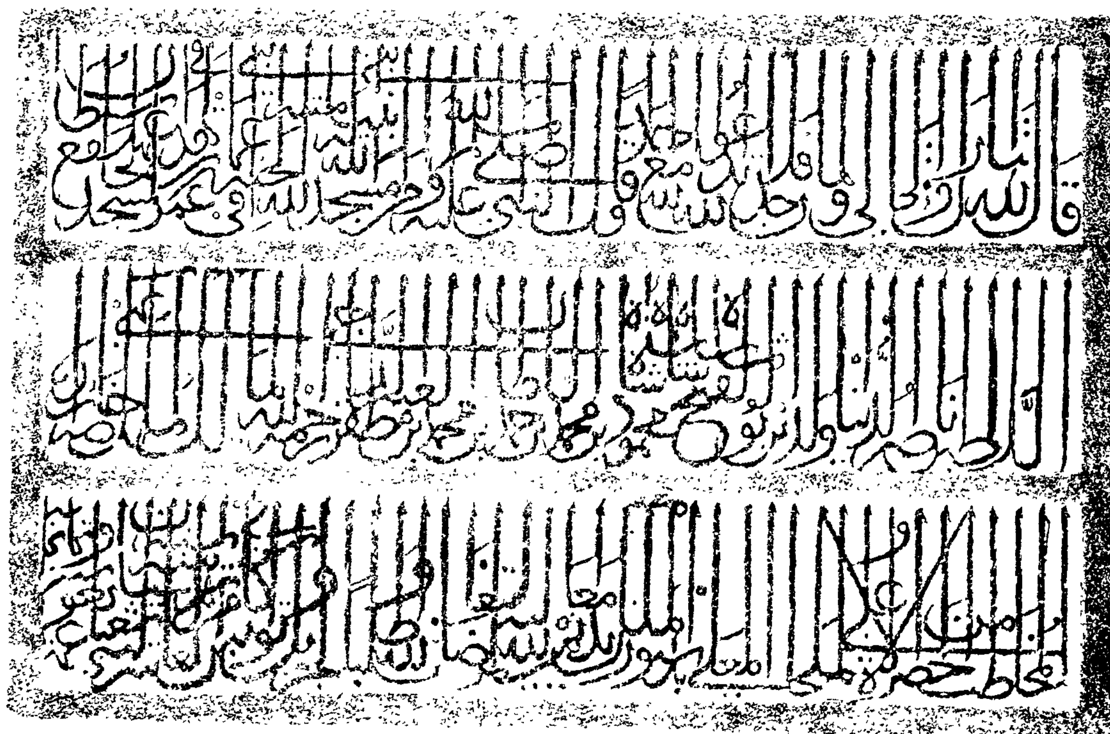
No. 1. FROM AHMAD SHAH'S MASJID IN THE BHADR. (A.D. 1414).



No. 2 FROM AHMAD SHAH'S JAMI' MASJID. (A.D. 1424).



No. 3. SHA'BAN'S MOSQUE. (A.D. 1452).



J. Burgess fecit. W. Griggs photo-lith.

No. 4. QASIUR KHAN'S MOSQUE (A.D. CIR. 1486).

who alone is to be worshipped according to the *Qorân* verse* [*Sûr.* lxxii., 18], "Verily, the Mosques belong to God; worship no one else with Him,"—by the slave who trusts in the helping God, Ahmad Shâh, son of Muhammad Shâh, son of Muzaffar, the king. And the date of its erection is the 4th Shawâl 817 A.H. [17th December, 1414.]

II.—*Ahmad Shâh's Jâmi' Mosque.*

بنى هذا البناء الرفيع والمسجد الوسيع العبد الراجي
والثاني الملتجى الى رحمة الله المنان غير مدعو احد
معه ابداً لقول الله تعالى وان المساجد لله ولا تدعوا
مع الله احدا الواثق بالله المستعان ناصر الدنيا
والدين ابو الفتح احمد شاه بن محمد شاه بن مظفر
السلطان و كان تاريخ بنائه من هجرة النبى
صلى الله عليه و سلم الغرة من صفر ختمه الله
بالخير والظفر سنه سبع و عشرين و ثمانماية ||

Translation.

This lofty edifice and extensive Mosque was built by the slave who trusts and returns and has recourse to the mercy of God who is kind, who alone is to be worshipped according to the Qorân verse, "Verily, the Mosques belong to God; worship no one else with Him"—(by the slave) who trusts in the helping God, Nâsir uddunyâ waddîn Abul Fath Ahmad Shâh, son of Muhammad Shâh, son of Muzaffar, the king. The date of its erection from the flight of the Prophet (God's blessings on him!) is the first day of Safar (may the month end successfully and victoriously!) of the year 827. [4th January, 1424.]

III.—*Hazâri Shâh's Mosque.*

قال الله تعالى وان المساجد لله فلا تدعوا مع الله احدا
وقال النبى صلى الله عليه وسلم من بنى مسجدالله
بنى الله له بيتا فى الجنة بنى عمارة هذا المسجد فى عهد
سلطان السلاطين قطب الدنيا والدين ابو المظفر احمد شاه
بن محمد شاه بن احمد شاه بن محمد شاه بن مظفر السلطان
العبد المفتقر الى الله المستعان اعنى شعبان ابن تحفه
السلطانى المخاطب بعماد الملک عارض ممالک ابتغاء
لمرضات الله وطلبا لجزيل ثوابه وكان ذلک فى تاريخ
الثانى من جمادى الاول سنه ست وخمسين وثمانماية ||

Translation.

God Almighty says,—"Verily, the Mosques belong to God; worship no one else with him." And the Prophet (God's blessings on him!) says—"He who builds a Mosque for God, will have a house built for him by God in Paradise." The edifice of this Mosque was built during the reign of the king of kings, Qutbuddunyâ waddîn Abul Muzaffar Ahmad Shâh, son of Muhammad Shâh, son of Ahmad Shâh, son of Muhammad Shâh, son of Muzaffar, the king, by the slave who has need of God the helper—I mean Sha'bân, son of Tuhfah, the royal, who has the title of 'Imâd ul-Mulk, the Lord Chamberlain, from a desire to obtain the favour of God and to get his great reward. This took place on the 2nd Jumâda I. 856. [21st May, 1452.]

IV.—*Dastûr Khân's Mosque.*

قال الله تبارک و تعالى و ان المساجد لله فلا تدعوا
مع الله احدا و قال النبى صلى الله عليه و سلم من
بنى مسجدا لله بنى الله له بيتا مثله فى الجنة بنى
عمارة هذا المسجد الجامع فى عهد سلطان السلاطين
ناصر الدنيا والدين ابو الفتح محمود شاه بن محمد
شاه بن احمد شاه بن محمد شاه بن مظفر السلطان
العبد الراجى برحمت الله المالک الملک غنى خاصه
زاد المخاطب من حضرت الاعلى والملجاء المعلى
بدستور الملک يديم الله معاليه ابتغاء لمرضات الله
و طلبا لجزيل ثوابه و كان في العاشر من شهر
شعبان سنه (illegible) ثمانماية ||

Translation.

God who is blessed and great, has said, "Verily the Mosques belong to God; worship no one with him." And the Prophet (God's blessings on him!) has said, "He who builds a mosque for God, will have a house like it built by God for him in Paradise." The edifice of this Jâmi' Mosque was built during the reign of the king of kings Nâçir uddunyâ waddîn Abul Fath Mahmûd Shâh, son of Muhammad Shâh, son of Ahmad Shâh, son of Muhammad Shâh, son of Muzaffar, the king, by the slave who hopes to obtain the mercy of God, the Mâlik Malik Ghanî Khâsah-zâd, who has received from his

* Quotations from the Qorân are introduced by *qâla allâhu ta'âla*, 'God says'; quotations from the Hadis by *qâla al-nabi*, 'the Prophet says.'

august Majesty and the exalted refuge (of the people) the title of Dastûrul-mulk (may God continue him in his exalted position!), in order to obtain the mercy of God and to secure his great reward. This was on the 10th Sha'bân of the year* 8‥.

V.—*Rânî Asnî's Mosque.*

قال الله تبارک وتعالی وان المساجد لله فلا تدعوا
مع الله احدا وقال النبی صلی الله علیه وسلم من بنی
مسجدا لله تعالی بنی الله له قصرا فی الجنة بنی المسجد
فی عصر السلطان الاعظم الموید بتائید الرحمن شمس
الدنیا والدین ابوالنصر مظفر شاه بن محمود شاه بن
محمد شاه بن احمد شاه بن محمد شاه بن مظفر
شاه السلطان خلد الله ملکه بانیة المسجد المذکور والدة
ابی بکر خان بن محمود شاه سلطان المسمات برانی
اثنی من شهور سنة شمسیة اربع سنة العشرین و
تسعمایة ||

Translation.

God who is blessed and high, has said, "Verily the Mosques," &c. [as above]. And the Prophet has said, "He who builds a Mosque for God Almighty, will have a castle built for him by God in Paradise." This Mosque was built during the reign of the great king, who is assisted by the aid of the All-Merciful, Shams uddunyâ waddîn Abul-nasr Muzaffar Shâh, son of Mahmûd Shâh, son of Muhammad Shâh, son of Ahmad Shâh, son of Muhammad Shâh, son of Muzaffar Shâh, the king,—may God perpetuate his kingdom! The builder of this Mosque is the mother of Abû Bakr Khân, son of Mahmûd Sultân, who is called Rânî Asnî. During the fourth solar [regnal] year, in 920. [A.D. 1514.]

VI.—*Tomb of Ahmad Shâh.*

روضهٔ عالیٔ احمد شاه سلطان کز علو
جفت گشتم کنبذ او با سر طاق سما
عهده داران گرچه بودندش بسی و برده اند
سعیها اندر مرمت کردن او دائما
لیک هرگز هیچ کس اورا بدین رونق نساخت
همچو ذات اکمل آن صاحب عز و علا
محسن اهل زمانه فرحت الملک آنک او
هست دیندار و خدا ترس و سخی و با وفا
در زمان تاریخ سال عهده اش از عون حق
گفت یحیی فرحت ملک آمد از وی سالها

سنم اربع واربعین وتسعمایة * یادگار احمد چهجو

Translation.

1. [This is] the lofty Mausoleum of Ahmad Shâh, the king, the dome of which, on account of its loftiness, matches the vault of the heaven.

2. Though he† had many officers, and though they always exerted themselves to repair it,

3. No one has hitherto done so in so splendid a manner as the perfect mind of that respected and exalted man,

4. The benefactor of the present generation, Farhat ul-Mulk, who is pious, God-fearing, liberal, and faithful.

5. The chronogram of his office tenure has been expressed, with God's help, by (the poet) Yahyâ in the words—"Farhat i Mulk, these letters give the year." A.H. 944 [A.D. 1537-38].

The memorial is executed by Ahmad Chhajjû."

VII.—*Shâhub Sayyid's Masjid.*

یا الله قطعه درتاریخ بناء مسجد جامع یا الله
ملک الشرق ملک نوخان چیمن المخاطب
بفرحت الملک

مسجدے با صفا و پر انوار
آنکه نورش بآسمان برود
بیت معمور و سقف مرفوعش
گر بخواند لسان غیب سزد
هست در عز همچو بیت عتیق
خالی از عابدان بدان نبود
چاه او عین زمزم چو منا
جذب او سوق با رواج بود
شد بنایش بعهد آنکه شهیش
تا بکرسیٔ هشتمین برسد
شاه محمود ابن شاه لطیف
که سلاطین را پناه دهد
بانیش نوخان ابن چیمن کو
فرحت الملک شد ز لطف احد

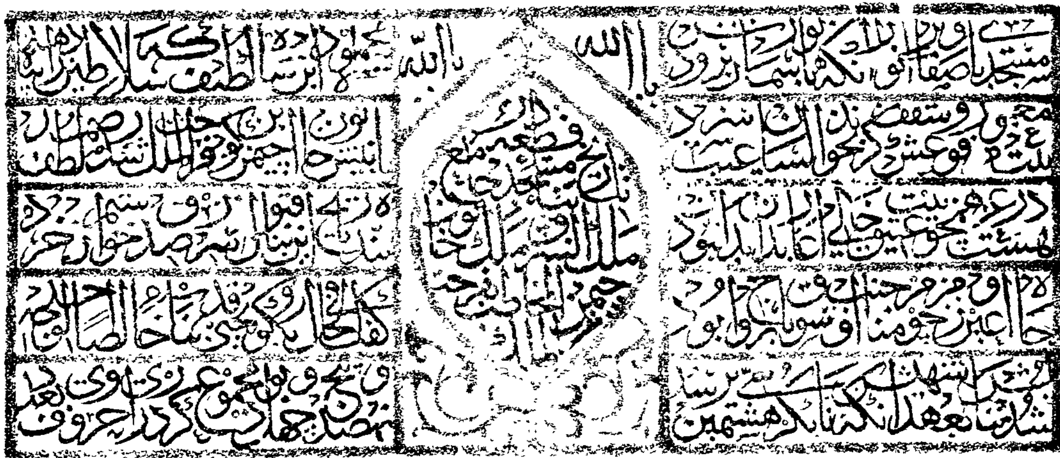
* The year may be 890 or 892 A.H., which would be A.D. 1485 or 1487.

† *Or* it (*sc.* the Mausoleum). The metre is *long ramal.*

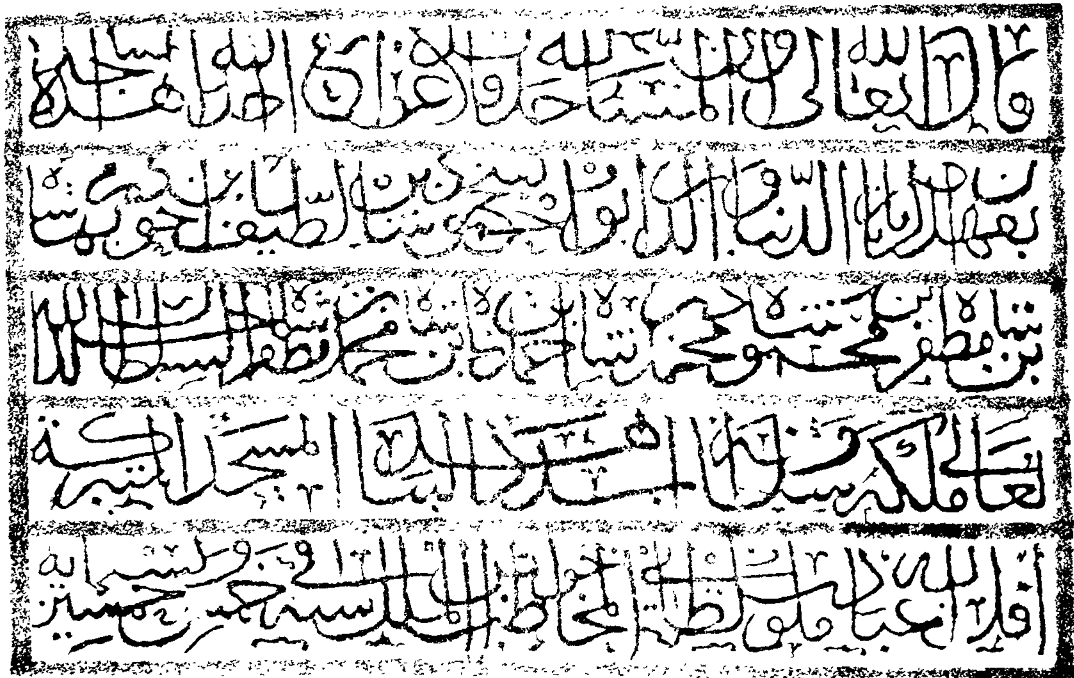
NO. 5. FROM RANI ASNI'S MOSQUE. (A.D. 1514).

W Griggs photo-lith.

NO. 6. FROM AHMAD SHAH'S TOMB (A.D. 1537).



No. 7. SHAHUB SAYYID'S MASJID. (A.D. 1538).



J. Burgess fecit

W. Griggs photo-lith.

No. 8. HAMSA SAHAI'S DHALGAWARI MASJID. (A.D. 1548).

بنده تاریخ این بناء قبول
از سر صدق خواستم ز خرد
گفت في الحال رو بگو يحيى
قد بنا خالصا لوجه احد
نه صد و چهل و پنج مجموع بود
گر در آری حروف وي بعدد

Translation.

O God! A chronogram on the erection of the Jâmi' Mosque by the Malik ushsharq ['Chief of the East'] Nau Khân, son of Chîman, who has the title of Farhat ul Mulk. O God!

1. (This is) a Mosque shining and beaming forth, whose rays go up to heaven.

2. If the tongue of the angel calls it 'the raised house' and 'the elevated dome,' it is but proper;*

3. For in honour it is like 'the old house;' may it never be inside empty of worshippers!

4. Its well is like the Zamzam Well; and, like in Minâ,† at the side of it, is a well-attended bâzâr.

5. The building was erected during the reign of him whose kingdom reaches the eighth throne,

6. Shâh Mahmûd, son of Shâh Laṭîf, who gives an asylum to other kings.

7. Its builder is Nau Khân, son of Chîman, who through the grace of God became Farhat ul-Mulk.

8. I sincerely asked Genius for the chronogram of this building,

9. And he replied at once, "Go, Yahyâ, and say, 'He built‡ it from pure motives, for the sake of God.'"

10. This gives together 945, if you count up the value of the letters (A.D. 1538).

VIII.—*Hamzah Salât's Dhalgawâri Mosque.*§

قال الله تعالى وان المساجد لله فلا تدعوا مع
الله احدا [بني] هذه المسجد بعهد الزمان ناصر
الدنيا والدين ابوالفتح محمود شاه بن لطيف خان
اخو بهادر شاه بن مظفر شاه بن محمود شاه بن محمد
شاه بن احمد شاه بن محمد شاه بن مظفر السلطان
خلد الله تعالى ملكه وسلطانه سدّد هذا البنا المسجد
المتبركه اقل عباد الله ملّو سلطاني المخاطب
بخواص الملك في سنه خمس خمسين وتسعمايه ||

Translation.

God Almighty says, "Verily the Mosques," &c., [as above]. This Mosque was built during the time of the reign of Naṣir uddunyâ waddîn Abul Fath Mahmûd Shâh, son of Laṭif Khân, the brother of Bahâdur Shâh, son of Muzaffar Shâh, son of Mahmûd Shâh, son of Muhammad Shâh, son of Ahmad Shâh, son of Muhammad Shâh, son of Muzaffar, the king,—may God Almighty continue his kingdom and his rule! The edifice of this blessed Mosque was strengthened by the meanest of God's slaves, Mallû the royal, who has the title of Khawâṣ ul-Mulk, in 955. [A.D. 1548.]

* *Lisân ul ghaib*, pr. 'the tongue of the unseen world.' This is also the epithet of the poet Hafiz. 'The raised house' is the Ka'bah in Makkah; and 'the elevated dome' is the heavenly vault. 'The old house,' the same as the Ka'bah. The metre of the passage is *khafîf*.

† The construction is forced: *chu mani* is either an adjective to Zamzam (the well near the Ka'bah), or the engraver has left out a *wâw*, after Zamzam. Minâ is a quarter in Makkah where a bâzâr is held.

‡ The engraver has wrongly spelt بنا instead of بنى. The latter form is required to make up 945. The whole poem is inferior, and in the last line we have to scan *chih-li-panj*; and in the sixth distich a foot *mustaf'alun* occurs for *maf'ilun*.

§ This is merely a wall with mihrâbs, and having in front a tiled roof supported on wooden pillars.—Ed.

BIOGRAPHY OF JELLÂL-AL-DIN RÛMI.

BY E. REHATSEK, M.C.E., Hon. Mem. B. Br. R. As. Soc.

The prince of Çufi poets, Mullânâ Jellâl-al-din Muhammad ul-Balkhi ur-Rûmi, was born at Balkh on the 6th of the month Rabi' I. A.H. 604 (1st October A.D. 1207). His principal work is the *Mesnavi*, which consists of six *daftars* or volumes, and treats on an extraordinary variety of subjects, stories, fables, parables, legends, and Korân-texts, all permeated by the spirit of the Çufi doctrines; and second to it is his *Dîwân*, a collection of lyrical poems,—both known from the banks of the Ganges to the shores of the Bosporus. This poet, the founder of the order of whirling dervishes, who have numerous convents and endowed establish-

ments in Turkey, spent the greater portion of his life in that country, and is therefore called *Rûmi*, the Turk; but, according to the *Nafhât-al-uns* of Jâmi, his visions began at a very early age in his own country. When he was five years old he had manifestations from the invisible world, such as sights of angels, of genii, and of men within the domes of glory. It is stated in a record in the handwriting of Mullânâ Behâ-al-din Vulud, that when Jellâl-al-din Muhammad, on a certain Friday when six years of age, was playing with some other little boys on the flat house-tops of Balkh, one of the little fellows suggested that they should jump over from one house-top to another; Jellâl-al-din replied that as such movements are peculiar to dogs, cats, and other animals, it would be a pity that human beings should imitate them, but that, if they felt any power in their souls, they ought to fly *heavenwards* together with him. That moment he disappeared from the sight of his playmates, who became sorry and raised a shout of lamentation, whereupon he returned after a short while, but with the hue of his countenance changed and his eyes altered, and said, "Whilst conversing with you, I saw a company of persons dressed in green raiment, who took me up and showed me the miracles of the upper world; but when your cries and wailings ascended they again deposited me here." It is said that at that age he partook of food only once in three or four days.

It is said that when Jellâl-al-din emigrated from Balkh he met Sheikh Farid-al-din A'ttâr at Nishapûr, who was at that time well stricken in years, and who presented him with his *Esrâr-nâmah*, or "book of mysteries," which he ever afterwards carried about his person; he also imitated his doctrines, as it is said—

گرد عطار گشت مولانا
شربت از دست شمس بود نوش

"Mullânâ on A'ttâr attended,
From Shams' hands the drink was all nectar."

By Shams his spiritual teacher, Shams Tabrizi, is meant. Elsewhere we read—

عطار روح بود و سنائی دوچشم او
ما از پئي سنائی و عطار آمدیم

"A'ttâr was soul, Sanâi his two eyes;
We came after Sanâi and A'ttâr."

On being told that a certain man had said he was at his service "with heart and life," he replied, "Hush! Among men this lie finds credit," and asked, "Whence have you obtained your heart and life, that you can place them at the service of men?" He was nevertheless in the habit of saying, "I am not that body which appears to the *A'âsheks* (lovers of God), but the pleasure and gladness produced in the hearts of *Murids* (disciples) by my words. Allah! Allah! when you obtain that gladness, and taste that joy, consider it happiness, and give thanks; that is me!" Hisâm-al-din was merely his amanuensis, but from several flattering references to him in the *Mesnavi* he might be wrongly considered to have occupied a far higher position. To him he said, "It is necessary to sit knee to knee with the Avliâ (pl. of *Veli*, saint) of God, because such proximity bears momentous consequences":—

یکی لحظه ازو دوری نشاید
که از دوری خرابیها فزاید
بهر حالی که باشی پیش او باش
که از نزدیک بودن مهر زاید

Hisâm-al-din was no doubt a faithful amanuensis and disciple, but on some occasions a little admonition might have been judicious; on the death of his wife he could not be induced for a long time to attend to his duty, and the poet remonstrated:—

"One moment to be absent from him is not good,
For separation will increase mishaps.
No matter what your state; attend on him,
Because proximity will love augment."

He said that although a bird flying up from the earth cannot reach heaven, it nevertheless gains the advantage of being further from the net; thus a man who becomes a dervish, though he cannot attain perfection, is distinguished above the common crowd of men, and is delivered from the troubles of the world.

A worldly fellow once excused himself to him for his remissness in visiting him, but Jellâl-al-din replied, "There is no need of any excuses, because I am as thankful for your not coming as others are for your coming."

Seeing one of his companions in a state of melancholy, he said, "All sadness arises from too great attachment to this world; as soon as you are freed from it and consider yourself a stranger therein, you will perceive, from every-

thing you behold or taste, that it cannot abide with you, and that you must go to another place: therefore you will no longer feel any anxiety."

He was also in the habit of saying that he is a superior man who does not grieve on being affronted, and he a generous man who gives no pain to one deserving to be affronted. Mullànà Sirâj-al-din Kunavi was a great man of the period, but not on good terms with Jellàl-al-din, and when it was reported to him that the latter had on a certain occasion said, "I agree with all the seventy-three sects of the Muhammadan religion," he determined to get the Mullà insulted. Accordingly he sent one of his followers, who was a learned man, to ask the Mullà in a large company whether he had really uttered the above sentiment, and in case of receiving an affirmative reply, to affront him with bad language; but to all his taunts the Mullà only smiled and replied, "I agree also with all you have said," whereupon the man returned ashamed. Sheikh Rakn-al-din a'llà al-doulah stated that he had been much pleased with this meek answer.

He daily asked his servant, "Is there anything in the house to-day?" and on receiving a negative reply he became exhilarated and thankful, saying, "Praise be to God, this day our house is like that of the prophet!" If the servant said, "Whatever we require is at hand in the kitchen," he was displeased and said, "The smell of Pharaoh is rising from this house." He seldom or never used wax-lights in his house, and was contented with oil-lamps, saying, "Those are for kings, and these for devotees (*çalik*)."

On a certain occasion a company, in which also Sheikh Çadr-al-din Kunavi was present, requested the Mullà to officiate as Emâm (leader of the prayers), but he replied, "We are Abdàls, we sit down or get up wherever we happen to be; those endowed with Çufism and dignity are worthy to be Emàms," and pointing to Sheikh Çadr-al-din as one of these, he continued, "Whoever prays after a pious Emâm is just as if he prayed after the prophet."

One day the Mullà being present at a devotional exercise, it occurred to a dervish to ask him what *Fakr** is, whereupon the Mulla recited the following quatrain :—

"Fakr is essence, all else accident;
Fakr is health, all else disease.
This world is all deceit and fraud,
Fakr is of the next a mystery."

It has been mentioned above that the Mullâ was a disciple of Farid-al-din A'ttâr; him he recollected even during his last illness, when he said to his companions, "Be not afflicted at my going, because the victorious light will fifty years hence radiate from the spirit of Sheikh Farid-al-din A'ttâr. Remember me in whatever state you are, that I may aid you, in whatever garment I am." He also said, "Do not associate with any persons except such as are of your own kind, because on this subject my lord Shams-al-din Tabrizi (may God sanctify his secret!) has said to me that the sign of a disciple (*murid*) who has found acceptance is that he never associates with strangers, and that when he suddenly falls into their company he feels ill at ease, like a hypocrite in a mosque, or a little child in a school. On his death-bed he also said to his companions, "In this world I have but two connections—the one with my body, and the other with you; this latter connection will not be severed even after I shall, by the favour of God, become separated and isolated from this world." On the same occasion Sheikh Çadr-al-din also paid him a visit and said, "May God restore you to health quickly!" But the Mullà replied, "Let my restoration to health consist in the removal of the only remaining garment which yet separates the lover from his beloved. Are you not willing that light should be joined to light?

من شدم عریان زتن او از خیال
میخرامم در نهایات الوصال

"Denuded of body am I, and *He* of unreality.
I roam and verge to bounds of union."

The last injunction of the Mullâ to his companions was, "I recommend you to fear God secretly and openly, to be frugal in your eating, to sleep little, and to speak little. To abandon everything sinful, to fast and to pray much. To renounce every kind of lust for ever, and to bear insults from everybody. Do not keep up any intercourse with fools and vulgar persons, but cultivate the society of men who are pious and noble. The best men are those who are useful

* Poverty in a religious sense, and he who makes a profession of it is a Fakir.

to the human race, and the best words are those which are the fewest and the most instructive."

On being asked to appoint a worthy successor, he uttered the name of Chelebi Hisâm-al-din; the question being thrice repeated, he gave the fourth time the same reply. Being questioned concerning his son Sultân Vulud, he replied, "He is a hero, there is no necessity for any injunction about him." Then Chelebi Hisâm-al-din asked the Mullâ whom he wished to pray over his corpse at the burial, and he said, "Sheikh Çadr-al-din." He expired at sunset on the 5th of the month Jomâdi II. A.H. 672 (18th December A.D. 1273), at the age of 68 years according to the Muhammadan, or 66 according to the Christian reckoning, at Koniah, i.e. Iconium, in Asia Minor, where he had spent the greater portion of his life, and from its being in the Turkish dominions he obtained the surname of Rûmi.

The above Sultân Vulud was also a poet, and died at Koniah, A.H. 712 (1312). He is called Behâ-al-din, of the same name with Jellal-al-din's father, who, when our poet was yet a boy, being displeased with the government of Khowarizmshâh, determined to emigrate for ever from the district of Balkh, under the pretence of going on a pilgrimage to Mekkah. Accordingly, he departed with this son and went first to Nishapûr, where they made the acquaintance of Sheikh Farid-al-din A'ṭṭâr, who had gathered around him many disciples, and who discovered the precocious talents of the boy, presenting him with the *Esrâr-nâmah* and uttering the prediction :—

گفت زود ا کاین پسر غوغا کند
آتش اندر سوخته جانان کند

"How quick, he said, will this unruly lad
Throw burning fire on anxious souls!"

Both father and son continued their travels in the company of a valuable guide and spiritual teacher, Sayyid Tarmad, whose sobriquet was Burhân; with him they visited the holy shrines of Mekkah and Jerusalem. They had not completed one half of their intended tour, however, when he took leave and advised them to settle in Turkey. Accordingly Behâ-al-din took his son Jellal-al-din to Koniah, where they established themselves and ceased their wanderings. At that time 'Allâ-al-din, the Seljukide, governed the country; he was so pleased with the company of Behâ-al-din that he became his disciple; when his father died Jellal-al-din took his place, but he soon got tired of worldly honours, and, abandoning his position, dedicated himself wholly to spiritual life :—

ليك نامد فضل و تدريسش پسند
مرغ طبعش داشت پروازی بلند
عزّ و جاهش در نظر بیهوده بود
جذبهٔ غیبی دلش ربوده بود

"But schools and honours pleased him not;
His nature's aspirations were more high,
His pomp and glory seemed but folly to himself,—
Attraction of the spirit-world held his heart."

He sought consolation in the society of kindred spirits, the chief of whom were Shams-al-din Tabrîzi—whose name appears at the end of almost every ode of his *Dîwân* in token of affection, because Jallâl-al-din himself acknowledged him as his spiritual guide—and Hisâm-al-din.

Shams-al-din Tabrîzi, whose full name is Mullanâ Shams-al-din 'Ali Ben Mâlak Dâd Tabrîzi, appears to have been a restless character and an innovator. He travelled about much and made many enemies. When Shams-al-din arrived at Koniah for the first time, he paid a visit to Jallal-al-din, who happened to be sitting near a tank with several books near him; he asked what they were, and on being told that they were called *Kul wa Kul*, he said, "What have you to do with them?" and threw them all into the water. The Mullâ exclaimed with a sigh, "O Dervish, what have you done? Some of these were my father's compositions, which cannot be replaced!" Hereupon Shams-al-din put his hand into the water and pulled out all the books, one after the other: and lo, not one of them was wet. Jellâl-al-din was much astonished, but Shams-al-din rejoined, "This is joy and ecstasy: what do you know of these spiritual matters?" And their intimacy began from that day.

Shams-al-din was constantly roaming about. He wore a robe of coarse black cloth, and took lodgings in the caravanserai at whatever place he happened to arrive. He came to Koniah A.H. 642 (A.D. 1244), but could not remain there on that occasion longer than one year, as an attempt was made on his life. At that time Jellal-al-din Rumi saw his friend for the

last time, and was so grieved at the separation that he withdrew himself entirely from the world, became a dervish, and founded the order of dervishes called after his name, and at present still well known in the Turkish empire.

When Shams-al-din arrived in his travels at Koniah, in A.H. 642, he took lodgings in the quarter of the confectioners. One day Jellâl-al-din, who was engaged in teaching various sciences, happened to pass, with a company of learned men from the college, through the quarter of the confectioners. On that occasion Mullâna Shams-al-din sallied out from his lodgings, and taking hold of the bridle of Jellâl-al-din's mule asked him whether Bâizid (a celebrated saint) or Muhammad was the greater? Jellâl-al-din said, "It seemed that on account of that terrible question the seven heavens had fallen asunder and had been precipitated upon the earth; a large fire appeared to issue from my bowels and to envelop my brains, the smoke whereof ascended to the throne of God, and I replied, 'As Muhammad is the greatest of men, what can Bâizid be?' He rejoined, 'What do Muhammad's words, "*We have not known thee as we ought,*" imply? whilst Bâizid says, "*O God, how high is my position! I am the king of kings!*"' I replied:—'Bâizid's thirst was quenched by one drop, and he boasted of satisfaction, because the vessel of his intellect was filled thereby. That light was as much as the little window of his house could admit, whilst Muhammad was subject to a great dropsy and thirst,—he was daily praying for closer intimacy.'" At these words Mullâuâ Shams-al-din gave a shout and fell down senseless. Jellâl-al-din alighted from his mule, and ordered his disciples to carry him to the college. He placed the head of Shams-al-din on his own knees, took him by the hand, and they departed together. During three months they lived in retirement, engaged in fasting and prayer: they did not come out once, and no one ventured to disturb their privacy.

According to the *Nafhât-ul-uns*, in which the flight of Shams-al-din from Koniah is represented in a somewhat supernatural way, the year in which it took place is given as A.H. 645, and not A.H. 643 as stated above. In the *Nafhât-ul-uns* it is related that one night when Jellâl-al-din and Shams-al-din were sitting together in retirement, a man from without arrived and beckoned to the latter. The Sheikh got up immediately and said to Jellâl-al-din, "They are calling me in order to kill me." Jellâl-al-din waited long in vain for his return; seven men had lain in ambush expecting him with drawn swords, with which they attacked him, but he uttered such a shout that all of them fainted away and fell to the ground. One of these men was Behâ-al-din, or as in the lithographed copy 'Allâ-al-din Muhammad, the son of Jellâl-al-din. When these seven men recovered their senses, they perceived nothing but one drop of blood, and from that day to this nothing more transpired concerning that prince of the invisible world.

The real cause of the attempt to assassinate Shams-al-din, and of his flight in consequence thereof, must probably be sought in his open disbelief in Islâm, which Jellâl-al-din was always cunning enough to disguise tolerably well in his own utterances and writings. He, moreover, so monopolized the society of Jellâl-al-din that the disciples of the latter, together with his son, were determined to murder Shams-al-din. It is plain enough, from the last page of the *Mesnavi*, that the above conjecture is true, as will appear from the following:—

مدتي با يار در خلوت نشست
بر رخ اغيار كلّي در بہ بست
از شراب وصل برخوردار شد
محرم خلوتسراى يار شد
نو مريدان در فغان و در خروش
كہ كجا بود اين كدائى ژنده پوش
و ز كجا آورد اين مكر و دغل
كہ بزد ره بر چنين صدري اجل
ايخدا اسلام شد خوار و تباه
قبّة الإسلام شد كمره زراه
نيست اين رهزن جزاز اهل ضلال
خون او باللّه حلالست و حلال

"Some time he with his friend retired sat,
All alien spirits quite shut out,
Enjoying the pure draught of union.
He was the confidant of his good friend;
His pupils did lament and grumble,
'Whence came this ragged mendicant?
Whence brought he all this fraud and roguery.
To isolate so quickly our great Chief?
O God! Now Islâm is despised, destroyed,
The dome of Islâm is now led astray!
This robber is none but a heretic,
By God! his blood is free and free!'"

It may be seen that in these verses the 'great Chief' and the 'dome of Islâm' is Jellâl-al-din Rûmi, whilst the ragged mendicant and heretic robber is Shams-al-din.

Jellâl-al-din Rûmi's successor, Chelebi Hisâm-al-din, whose full name is Sheikh Hisâm-al-din Hasan Ben Muhammad Ben Alhasan Ben Akhi Turk. Becoming the successor of a *Pir* or *Sheikh*, *i.e.* spiritual guide, implies also the acceptance of all his duties and the allegiance of his pupils: and if the Pir was a man of great authority, learning, &c. his successor is also expected to be one. It appears that Hisâm-al-din got tired of the many *Ghazâls* composed by his teacher Jellâl-al-din, and requested him to write a connected and large poem: hereupon the latter pulled out a piece of paper from his turban containing the first twenty-eight distichs of his *Mesnâvi*, beginning with the words—

بشنو از ني چون حكايت ميكند
وز جدائيها شكايت ميكند

"Hear how yon reed in sadly pleasing tales
Departed bliss and present woe bewails!"

and ending with the words—

پس سخن كوتاه بايد والسلام

"Here pause my song, and thou vain world, farewell."*

Jellal-al-din said, "Before you ever thought of it, the idea of composing a work of this kind had been instilled into my heart from on high." The last piece in the *Mesnâvi* itself contains an account of the manner in which this celebrated work was commenced, and brought to an end by Hisâm-al-din, who wrote down every word of it as it fell from the lips of his master. Sometimes Jellal-al-din was so full of his subject that from the beginning of the night till the next morning dawned he dictated to Hisam-al-din, who was in the habit of again reading in a loud voice to the Mullâ all he had written. When the first volume was completed the wife of Chelebi Hisâm-al-din died, and the work was interrupted, as alluded to in the first distich of the second volume:—

مدتي اين مثنوي تاخير شد
مهلتي بايست تا خون شير شد

"Delayed was this *Mesnâvi* for a time.
Respite was needed blood to milk to change."

After that no interruption of any length appears to have taken place, till the whole work was brought to a termination. That Hisâm-al-din must have been an enthusiastic admirer of this book appears from the following words he uttered:—"When the *Mesnâvi* is being read aloud, all who are present get drowned in its light, and I behold a company of spirits from the invisible world who cut off with their swords the roots and branches of the faith of all those who do not listen with complete sincerity, and gradually drag them into hell-fire." But Jellâl-al-din replied:—

"Of verses mine the foes you see
Headlong dragged to flames of fire.
Hisâm-al-din, saw you their state?
Their acts has God revealed to you?"

The above words of Hisâm-al-din imply that as apparently many sentiments contrary to the strict laws of Islâm are uttered,—unless listened to with great and sincere attention, the hearing of the *Mesnâvi* will lead to infidelity, and consequently to eternal perdition; whilst the answer of his master is conceived in that tolerant spirit which permeates the whole *Mesnâvi*, and which ventures to condemn no one rashly.

No doubt the *Mesnâvi* contains also many strictly orthodox and even bigoted pieces; it must, however, be allowed that there are many which can never meet with the approval of strict Musalmâns of any sect. Such a piece is "Moses and the Herdsman" (*Ind. Ant.* vol. III. p. 90, March 1874), at the end of which the author even disclaims to be a religious guide, and openly avows that the religion of love is the only true one:—

تو ز سرمستان قلاوزی مجو
جامه چاکانرا چه فرمای رفو
ملت عشق از همه دينها جداست
عاشقانرا مذهب و ملت خداست

"You must not guidance seek from the inebriate:
Who rend their clothes, can they be asked to mend?
From all religions differs love's belief;
The lovers' sects and rites are God alone.†

* This piece was translated by Sir W. Jones; but since his time nothing further has been attempted.

† Though fully aware of my numerous imperfections both as an English and a Persian scholar, I have during the last two years given selections from this great poet, who has not yet met among Europeans with the attention and study

ON THE AGE AND COUNTRY OF BIDYÂPATI.

BY JOHN BEAMES, B.C.S.

It has been usual to speak of this poet as the earliest writer of Bengal, and, as his language is decidedly Hindi in type, the opinion has been held by myself and others that the Bengali language had at that time not fully developed itself out of Hindi.

This view is very distasteful to Bengalis, who are proud of their language, and wish to vindicate for it an independent origin from some local form of Prakrit. They have apparently set to work to search out the age and country of Bidyâpati, so as to show whether he was really a Bengali or not.

A very able article has appeared on this subject in the last number of that excellent Bengali magazine the *Banga Darśana* (No. 2, pt. IV. for Jyoishtho 1282, say June 1875). It leaves something to be desired in the shape of clearer indication of the authorities on which the statements are founded, and there are some points on which I still feel unsatisfied, but the main conclusions are, I think, unassailable.

I proceed to give the substance of the argument, and the conclusions arrived at, with my own comments.

In an article on Bidyâpati in the *Indian Antiquary*, vol. II. p. 37, I described his language as "extremely Eastern Hindi," and on p. 40 as "the vernacular of Upper Bengal." In the same series of articles, at p. 7 of vol. II., I wrote of it as "more properly old Maithila than Bengali." These three expressions are three different ways of stating the same fact, and my opinion was arrived at from an examination of the language rather than from historical or other considerations. Though I thus anticipated the writer in the *Banga Darśana*, yet it is none the less gratifying to me to find that the conclusion to which I was led by purely linguistic reasons has now been confirmed by actual documentary evidence.

One point, however, I was wrong about, and must now abandon. From the expression in *Padakalpataru*, 1317, "pâncha Gaureśvara," I and the pandits whom I consulted were led to suppose that the poet resided at Nadiyâ. The interpretation thus assigned to Gaura was supported by several considerations:—

1. Bidyâpati's meeting with Chandî Dâs, who lived in the adjacent district of Bîrbhûm.

2. The renown of Nadiyâ as the birthplace of Chaitanya, who, as we know from the *Chaitanya-charitâmrita*, was fond of singing Bidyâpati's poems.

3. The fact that Nadiya was the seat of a celebrated family of râjas.

The conclusion as to the poet's country being Nadiyâ did not even then seem to us to harmonize with his language, and some of my Bengali friends wished to explain it by the theory that the poet used the Braj Bhâshâ dialect as specially appropriate to songs in praise of Krishna. To this theory there were, however, the objections that Bidyâpati's language, though Hindi, is clearly not Braj Bhâshâ, or anything like it, but Maithila, which is a very different thing; and that prior to the restoration of the Krishna-cultus at Brindâban by Rûpa and Sanâtana, followers of Chaitanya, the Braj Bhâshâ was not considered peculiarly appropriate to Krishna-hymns. Jayadeva, for instance, as well as Rûpa and Sanâtana themselves, used Sanskrit.

To solve this question the writer in the *Banga Darśana* starts by observing that Bidyâpati's contemporary Chandî Dâs writes Bengali, and this explodes the theory that Bengali was in that age unformed, and closely resembling rustic Hindi. After discussing this point, he goes on to show, from the celebrated meeting of the two poets, that Bidyâpati's home must have been in some place not very far from Bîrbhûm, and he has been led by this argument to seek for it in the nearest Hindi-speaking province: for if Chandî Dâs, being a Bengali, wrote Krishna-hymns in his mother-tongue, it is a fair inference that Bidyâpati would also use *his* mother-

he deserves. In the text I have not ventured to alter a single word or to touch the metre, whether faulty or not; and in my translations I have aimed chiefly at fidelity. However imperfectly I may have accomplished my task, I venture to hope that I shall not be charged with rashness, since my acquaintance with Jellâl-al-din Rûmi is of more than twenty years' standing, and I flatter myself that I have, during that time, learnt to understand him a little. Nothing would please me more than to see better justice done to this poet than I can do.

tongue; and as the language he uses is Maithila Hindi, the conclusion is that he was a native of Mithilâ. I may here add to the writer's argument that Maithila closely approximates to Bengali, as in the *la* of the preterite, the characteristic *ba* of the future, the interchange of *l* and *n*, the nominal affixes *ke* and *ra*, and other points.

He next notices the allusions made by the poet to his patrons Raja Sib Singha (Siva Sinha) and Rûpanârâyaṇa; his patron's wife, Lachhimâ Debî; his friends Bijayanârâyaṇa and Baidyanâtha; and concludes that the poet was attached to the court of Sib Singh.*

By a happy inspiration he appears to have thought of consulting some learned men of the province of Mithilâ, which was nearly co-extensive with the modern district of Tirhut, occupying the country between the Ganges and the Himâlayas, and extending on the west as far as the Gandak river, and on the east quite up to, if not beyond, the old bed of the Kûsî river in Purâniya (Purneah).

As the result of his researches he found that Bidyâpati is still well known in Tirhut, and has left some lyrics which are still sung by the people and are in Maithila. On this point, however, I would observe that these songs may have been modernized: indeed they look very much as if they had,—such words as *kia, garva, dharegaka*, look suspicious. But the most important discovery is that of a *Pânjî* or chronicle of the kings of Mithilâ. It is to be wished that the author had told us where this book is to be found. He merely tells us that it is in Mithilâ, and begins in Śaka 1248, in the reign of Hari Singha Deva. The date and the king's name agree in a singular way with that Hari Singha Deva whose capital was at Simrâon (Sansk. Samaragrâma), and who was conquered by Tughlak Shâh in A.D. 1322, and fled to the mountains, where he founded the kingdom of Nepal, with its capital, Kâthmâṇḍo, or 'the wooden palace.' Simraon is in the extreme north-west corner of Tirhut, and its ruins are very extensive.

In the *Pânjî* mention is made of a king of Tirhut, Śiva Sinha, and at his court it is recorded that there was one Bidyâpati, son of Gaṇapati, son of Jaya Datta, son of Dhîreśwara, son of Devâditya, son of Dharmâditya. This is our poet, and it is strange that there should be two circumstantial traditions about the same man. The Maithilas claim him as their own, and the Bengalis, as mentioned (*Ind. Ant.* vol. II. p. 37), make him out to be a Jessore man—

"Orbis de patriâ certat, Homere, tuâ."

Râja Sib Singha is said to have lived at Sugâonâ, a village still extant. A curious legend is told of his being delivered from prison at Delhi—into which he had been cast by the Emperor—through the instrumentality of our poet, who showed himself to be possessed of miraculous powers. The Pâdshâh gave him the village of Bipasî, in Tirhut; and Sib Singha, apparently to save his own claims as zamindâr, also made him a grant of the same. The deed of gift is said to be still extant in the possession of the poet's descendants, who still own the village.

Certain expressions in this grant raise a question of date which is somewhat difficult to settle.

The document recites that the grant was made in the two hundred and ninety-third year of the era of Lakshmaṇ Sen. The Sen Râjas of Bengal must then have exercised some sort of over-lordship in Mithilâ. The writer tells us that the era of Lakshmaṇ Sen is still current among the paṇḍits of Mithilâ, and that the year 1874 A.D. = 767 of Lakshmaṇ, or the L. S. era as it is called. The era therefore begins in A.D. 1107 or Saka 1030, and L. S. 293 = Śaka 1323 and A.D. 1400. The Bengali tradition as to the poet's date gives him from A.D. 1433-1481, which is a little later than the date now given.

But there is another difficulty. The *Pânjî* states that Sib Singha's reign did not begin till Śaka 1369 = A.D. 1446, so that the grant was made 46 years before he ascended the throne. The Maithila paṇḍits get out of this by saying that the grant was made when Sib Singh was acting as *Jubarâjâ* or regent for his father, and they add that his father, Râja Deba Singh, reigned 91 years, so that he must have been old and infirm for a long period before his death. Still that he should have been obliged to resign all active participation in the govern-

* *Vide* the article in *Ind. Ant.* vol. II. quoted above.

ment 46 years before his death is hardly probable.

This date, moreover, would give Bidyâpati himself a very long life. Two productions of his are still extant, besides his lyrical poems. One is a prose work in Sanskrit, the *Purusha Parîkshâ*, which was translated into Bengali by one of the paṇdits of Fort William College, and is still remembered by Bengal civilians as one of those instruments of torture known as textbooks which we used to plod wearily over in our college days. Now in the introduction to this tedious work it is said to have been written at the request of Râja Sib Singha then reigning, or 46 years after the grant of land, when Bidyâpati could not well have been less than 66 or 70 years old.

The second work is in Sanskrit verse, and is called the *Durgâbhakti Taranginî*; it is said to have been written in the reign of Râja Nara Singha, who did not ascend the throne till 26 years later: so at his accession the poet must have been at least 92 years old, even supposing him to have been quite a young man when he got the grant.

The descendants of Bidyâpati at Bîpasî are stated to have in their possession a copy of the *Bhâgavat Purâṇa* in the handwriting of the poet, written in L. S. 349 = Śaka 1379 or A.D. 1456.

The writer in the *Bangı Darśana* is not at all surprised at the great age attained by the poet; he merely remarks that a contemplative life is conducive to longevity, and that there are many instances of Brâhmaṇs devoted to literature reaching a great age. I would suggest the possibility of there having been more than one Bidyâpati, and that the word is not a proper name, but a title, like Rai Gunâkar or Kabi Kankan. There is perhaps some weight in the Bengali tradition that the poet's real name was Basanta Rai.

The *Pânji* states that Râja Deva Singha reigned 91 years, and the dates of the various reigns of this period may be thus given:—

Deva Singha... A.D.	1355, reigned	91	years.
Sib Singha ...	1446 ,,	3½	,,
Rânî Padmâvatî Debî.	1450 ,,	1½	,,
Rânî Lakhimâ Debî...	1452 ,,	9	,,
Rânî Biswâs Debî ...	1461 ,,	12	,,
Nara Singha...........	1473		

It also appears that Rûpanârâyaṇa, whose name so constantly occurs immediately following that of Sib Singha, is not an independent personage, but that the kings of that family took the title of Nârâyaṇa with some prefix. Thus we find Mahârâjas Nara Singha Darpanârâyaṇa, Ratna Singha Jivananârâyaṇa, Raghu Singha Bijayanârâyaṇa, and others.

The patron of our poet was thus called in full Mahârâja Sib Singh Rûpanârâyaṇa. He had three wives—the three Rânîs mentioned above—who, according to the *Pânjî*, reigned in succession, and after them reigned Nara Singha, Sib Singha's cousin.

Mithilâ was always closely allied to Bengal, and was subject to it at the time of the introduction of the L. S. era. This accounts for our poet's salutation to the "pâncha Gauṛeśvara," princes of Mithilâ being regarded as also princes of Gauṛ or Bengal. The *five* princes are probably Sib Singha and his four cousins, Nara, Ratna, Raghu, and Bhânu, the first of whom came eventually to be the ruling prince.

The Lachhimâ Debî whom the poet so frequently celebrates is the second of the three wives of Sib Singha, and her name—a corruption of Lakshmî—is also written Lakhmî, in consonance with Hindi phonesis.

We must then regard Bidyâpati as a poet of Mithilâ, where he is still remembered and has left descendants. His language, though no longer to be regarded as old Bengali, is very closely akin to it, and represents a link between fifteenth century Bengali and Hindi. With one hand he touches Sûr Dâs, with the other Chaṇḍî Dâs.

He is said to have died at Bajitpur, a village near Dalsingha Sarai, about ten miles north-east of Bârh. He was on his way to the Ganges, to end his days there, when death overtook him on the road.

If the writer of the article I have been discussing would give us some more information as to this Maithila *Pânjî*, it would be welcome, and it would also be interesting to know whether Râja Sib Singha Rûpanârâyaṇa was in any way connected with the family whose present representative is still the nominal ruler of Nepâl.

ARCHÆOLOGICAL NOTES.

BY M. J. WALHOUSE, LATE M.C.S.

(*Continued from page 274.*)

VII.—Bronze Antiquities in India.

The elegantly-shaped bronze jug represented, actual size, in the accompanying plate, was dug up some fifteen years ago near A v i n â ś i, in the K o i m b a t u r district, Madras. A great city is traditionally said to have stood where it was found, but only some indistinct mounds and hollows now mark the spot, not only '*periere etiam ruinæ*'—have the very ruins perished,—but the name too has been forgotten, and only a dim tradition survives that palaces and temples once spread widely there. Such legends are not uncommon in India, to whose ancient soil the declaration of the poet is peculiarly applicable—

"Thou canst not find one spot
Whereon no city stood."

With the jug were found a bronze globular oil-vessel with straight tapering spout, and a bronze stand for one wick, both of the forms still commonly in use; but the jug is of a shape not at all Hindu, nor indeed, though elegant and classical, hardly Greek *,—rather resembling what is known to modern manufacturers as 'the Windsor pattern.' It should be remarked that the illustration might convey the idea that the rim opposite the handle is furnished with a spout. This is not the case, however; the rim is really broken away more or less all round, the top of the handle not being attached, but a fracture existing between. From some indications it seems probable that the original rim spread round in a perfect circle 5½ inches in diameter, without any spout or depression for pouring out. This would have given the jug a much more archaic appearance; the shape of the handle with its plaited ornament will be noticed.

A v i n â ś i is about a hundred miles from the Malabar coast, between which and Egypt there was certainly a frequent communication in very ancient times; and the Greek and Phœnician sailors, who took home peacocks and perfumes from thence, may have brought out with them such an article as this bronze jug. Further evidence of communication is given by a pot full of well-preserved coins of Augustus and Tiberius, which was dug up at P o l â c h i, in Koimbatur, in 1810: and there is, I believe, historical proof that one of the Pâṇḍyan kings sent an embassy to Augustus. Copper ornaments are occasionally found in the cairns in Central and Southern India, and in 1870 more than a ton of rudely shaped copper hatchets without sockets, and instruments like knives, were dug up in the B â l a g h â ṭ, Maisur; some are now in the British Museum.

VIII.—Masons' Marks.

The thirteenth century was distinguished by a wonderful development of architectural works and skill throughout Europe, and so great a resemblance runs through many of the magnificent monuments then erected, that they have been supposed to owe their origin to associations of artificers travelling over Europe, and employing the knowledge of mathematics and design, that had awoke from the Dark Ages, in the service of art and construction, chiefly ecclesiastical. In that age of faith

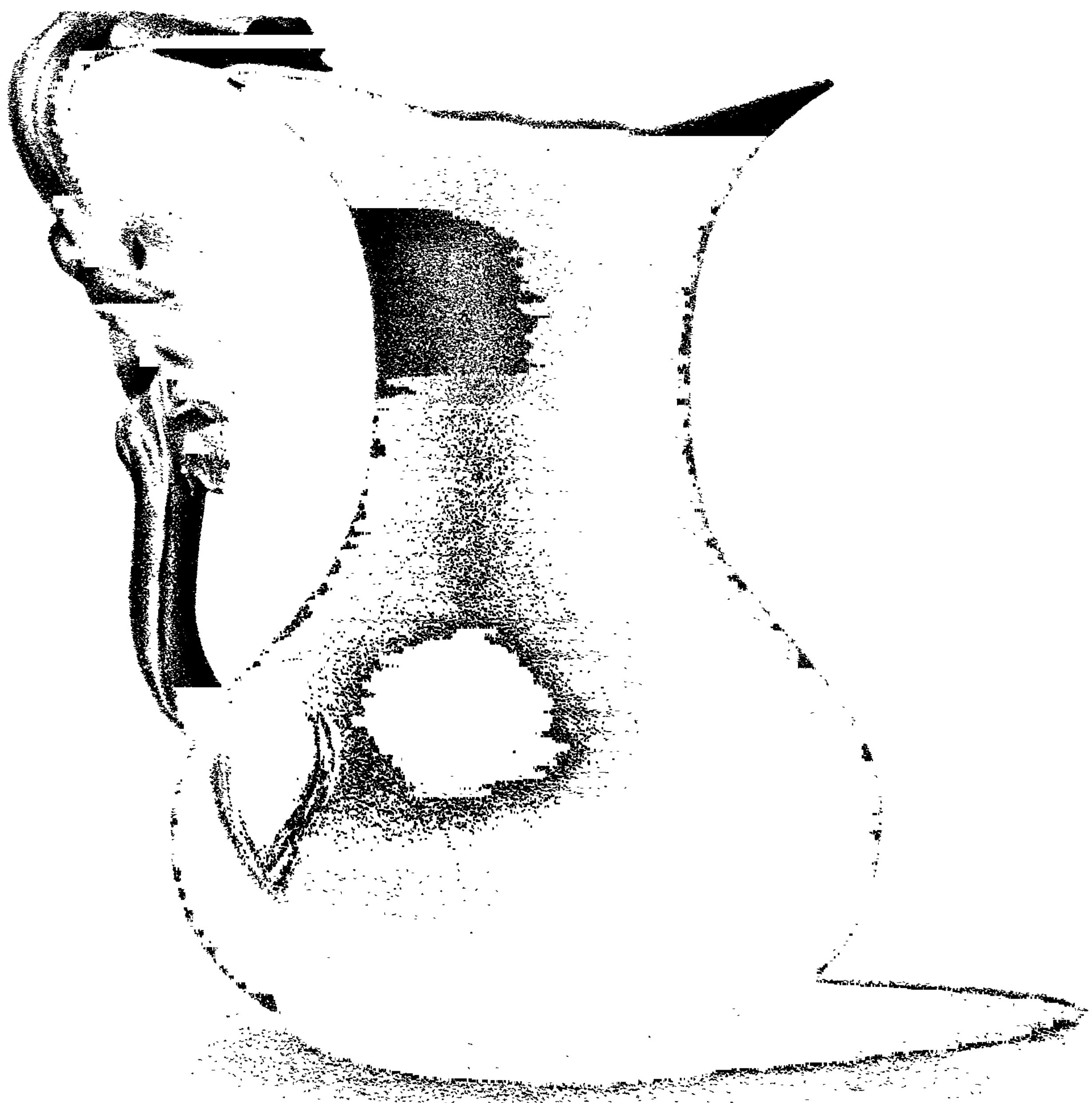
"The architect
Built his great heart into the sculptured stones,
And with him toiled his children, and their lives
Were builded, with his own, into the walls,
As offerings unto God."

Such an association was that of the *Fratres Pontis*, who wandered from realm to realm for the purpose of building bridges when travelling became more general, and communication between countries more frequent, as the arts and civilization expanded. Many a pilgrim would then ejaculate with a thankfulness ill understood in these days of excursions made easy—

"God's blessing on the architects who build
The bridges o'er swift rivers and abysses
Before impassable to human feet."

These societies of wise master-builders and co-workers are believed to have instituted certain secret signs and tokens, by which they might know one another and the works built by the fraternity, and hence are said to have originated many of the signs and passwords of Freemasonry; for they were also styled Free-Masons,—equivalent, as some say, to free-stone

* Perhaps most nearly approaching the *Oinochoe*.



ANCIENT BRONZE JUG: DUG UP IN KOIMBATUR MADRAS,

ACTUAL SIZE.

workers; or, as others assert, from their engaging and combining to assist one another, and not to work unless free and on their own terms. This was no unnecessary precaution, for in those days kings and powerful corporations, intent on building castles or churches, had small compunction in impressing skilled workmen, and forcing them to work on terms dictated.

Not only had these old craftsmen a system of secret signs for knowing one another, but also of marks or symbols cut on courses of stones laid by them, which disclosed to the initiated their presence and handiwork. Much that is mystical and extravagant has been propounded respecting these "*Masons' Marks*," but it seems probable they were nothing more than the personal marks of the masters of the works, conveying, in forms determined by the associations, directions to the setters how to lay the stones. Similar marks are indeed used in building to this hour, and by them each mason recognizes the particular stone for the correct workmanship of which he is answerable. On large works a list is kept by the foreman, and any new man having a marking similar to one already on the list must make a distinctive difference. Skilled masons say that from the character of the mark they can tell the kind of stone on which it was made.

It is certainly striking, however, to find the same Masons' Marks, whatever their original intent, upon the grandest architectural monuments from Iceland to Spain and Italy, and still more remarkable, and more to our present purpose, to find them similarly used in India and other Eastern countries. Some of the marks are well-known Indian symbols, such as the ubiquitous *svastikâ*, 卍, which Mr. Fergusson considers still unexplained, but which may have been a signature of the ancient Jaina kings. In Iceland it was called Thor's Hammer, and is found on Runic monuments, ancient Roman altars, Danish medals, English and Spanish cathedrals, the Minster at Bâle, the church at Oschatz, and may be seen in high relief on a brass amulet, brought from Ashanti, in the South Kensington Museum.

The late Charles Horne, B.C.S., F.R.A.S., &c., a most diligent archæologist, collected Masons' Marks during several years' service in the North-West Provinces, and published, in *The Builder* of 26th June 1869, a notice of them, accompanied by a collection of examples, copied on the annexed Plate I. Nos. 1—6.* He remarks that in large and ancient buildings he often found forty or fifty stones near to one another marked in a *similar* manner, having been probably all dressed by the same man on five sides, with the rough side left innermost, on which he set his mark. This would then be useful in computing the amount of work done, which was paid for by contract, as is now the practice in the Allahâbâd quarries where stone was cut for the Jamnâ Railway bridge. On many ancient stones directions in Sanskrit characters, such as *right hand, bottom of pillar, upright*, &c., were cut: the characters of the *Instructions* (No. 5) in the plate are G u p t a, *circa* 300 A.D., and were translated for Mr. Horne by Bâbu Râjendralâla Mitra, as signifying (1) "Lîtha," *Lâth, monumental column*; (2) "Saûka," *latch-pin*; (3) "Kicha," *middle*; (4) "Puda,"—*initials of Purva*, East *Dakhan*, south; (5) Upara, *of the upper course*. General Cunningham, in his *Archæological Survey Reports*, vol. I., has, in plates xxxiv. and xxxvii., given figures of Masons' Marks from the great stûpa of S â r n â t h and from the great mosque at D e h l i; several of the latter are instructions for numbering and placing the stones. Some of the *Letters* following the *Instructions* (No. 6) are transliterated with doubt. The curious figure of the cock (No. 4) is cut on a black stone roof in a small tower in the south-west corner of the Atallah Masjid, and from its position must have been incised before the stone was placed, which was probably during the Muhammadan occupation. The marks from Sadiyâ, Upper Assam (No. 7), occurred on stones in the "Copper Temple," and are taken from plate xxx. vol. XVII. of the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal* (page 467). The line of Persian marks (No. 8) taken from plate lxxxii. vol. III. of Sir W. Ouseley's *Travels in Persia* (page 563). He copied the marks (there called *nishân*) from large hewn stones in the magnificent ancient Palace of Saadekâbâd, *Abode of Happiness*, near Ispahân. Signs much resembling Masons' Marks are often found impressed on the bricks of the Birs-i-Nimrûd, or Tower of Babel. Advancing to Western Asia, *The Builder* of 12th June 1875 contains

* The Atallah Masjid and other buildings in the N.W.P. mostly date from A.D. 1300 to 1480.

a collection of marks, copied in Plate II. 9, obtained by Mr. G. J. Chester at Tartûs (Tortosa) and Jebeil, in the north of Syria, near Aradus, now Ruad, the Biblical Arvad, and communicated by him to the Committee of the Palestine Exploration Fund. At Tartûs there is a castle, an immense structure of massive drafted masonry of crusading date, incorporating probably still earlier constructions and masonry: the stones exhibit many Masons' Marks. There is also a cathedral, described as a noble edifice, extraordinarily perfect, fit to be used at any moment for Christian worship, consisting of four bays, the east end with three apses, each square outside; the roof of vaulted stone; the west front has a pointed doorway with a large threefold window above it of exquisite proportion, and there are elegant lancet windows at the sides. The marks come chiefly from these buildings. Mr. Chester considers them to be Christian and European, such as were used in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, though some are of all dates and countries. A few marks (10, 13) from the Holy Land are added from Mr. Godwin's collection, and some from ruins in Lycia (No. 15); also a line of Roman marks from Pompeii (No. 14), and examples from Hadrian's wall (17) of the second century and Roman altars found in England (No. 16).

Still further to illustrate the subject and to assist comparison, several sets of marks (Nos. 18—27) from mediæval buildings all over Europe are selected from Mr. Godwin's collection published in *The Builder* of March 27, 1869 (vol. XXVII. pp. 245-246). The remarkable identity of marks used in widely separated countries and ages cannot fail to strike attention. Some are as universal as the *svastiká*, and as full of mystical and typical meanings.* Such is the hour-glass form and the involved triangles, which when a pentacle are an emblem of Śiva and Brahmâ, and the famous "Solomon's Seal," as well as a Masonic symbol; trident-shaped signs in the Indian and Persian marks, like the Greek ψ, which are identical with the Vaishṇava sect-mark, passes into the Government *broad arrow* mark, and (reversed) is a Gîsh character; and the T in the Runic alphabet. On European as well as on Asiatic buildings may be found Hindu caste-marks, Rosicrucian, Astrological, and Cabalistic signs, and characters occurring in the Etruscan, Lycian, Old Slavic, African, Gnostic, Palmyrene, and Cufic alphabets, as well as the progressional varieties of the Indian Alphabets. The V, N, W, and A forms are of all countries and ages. Indeed, not the least curious point in this subject is the fact that nearly all the Runic letters are found figuring far and wide as Masons' Marks,—a circumstance not to be lost sight of by those who affirm that Odin, "the inventor of the Runes," and his Aesir, were a people from the East. Amongst our present instances from Persia the not uncommon mark ϟ is the Runic S: this character also occurs in the Aśoka and Western Cave Inscriptions, in which it has the power of *d*; it is also found in the Arianian Alphabet, as given by the late Prof. Wilson in his *Ariana Antiqua*, where it represents *r*, and finally in the Himyaritic Inscriptions of Southern Arabia it is *n*:—astronomically it denotes Saturn.

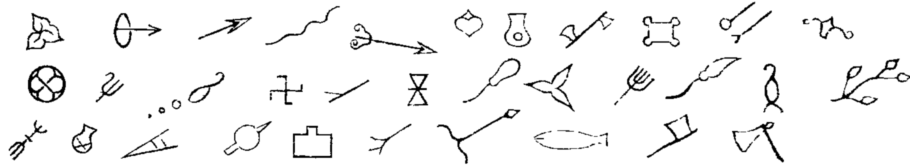
In connection with this subject the alphabets and inscriptions given in vol. I. of Prinsep's *Essays on Indian Antiquities*; Prof. H. H. Wilson's paper on Rock Inscriptions of Kapurdi Giri, Dhauli, and Girnâr, in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, vol. XII., and the Arianian Alphabet above mentioned; the progressional Alphabet in Hope's *Inscriptions in Dharwar and Mysore*, and Plate 2 of Hindu Symbols and Caste-marks in Moor's *Hindu Pantheon* may be referred to: as also Mr. Burnell's *Elements of South Indian Palæography*. The length of Masons' Marks, it may be mentioned, ranges from 1 in. to 5 in. or 6 in.; the majority, however, are from 2 in. to 3 in. long. When I became alive to the subject, I had no opportunity of examining the great temples of Southern India, but only the remains of Jaina architecture occurring in Kânara. On those I could find no mark, though it is far from impossible they may exist. Search on buildings all over India,† as well as in Afghanistan and adjacent countries, would doubtless discover multitudes, which it would be interesting to

* In a chamber of the Great Pyramid is cut the ball surmounted by a cross, the same as the coronation ball and that on the top of St. Paul's Cathedral: reversed it is the astronomical sign of Venus. Though now an eminently Christian symbol, it bore a widely different signification in the preceding ages.

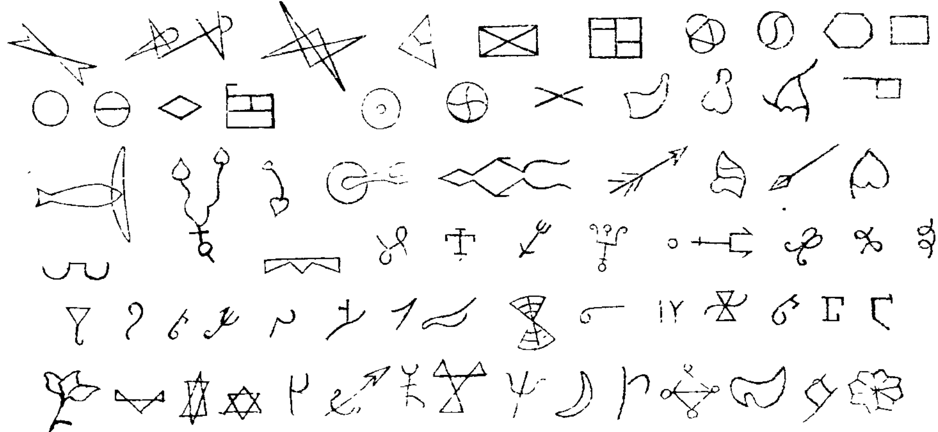
† For a collection of Masons' Marks from the T&j see the *Freemasons' Quarterly Review*, vol. XII. (1845) p. 319; and for other notices, *ib.* p. 441 ff. and vol. XIII. (1846) p. 410.—ED.

MASON'S MARKS. I.

1 FROM THE ATÁLAH MASJID JAUNPÛR N. W. P.



2 FROM VARIOUS BUILDINGS IN THE N. W. P.



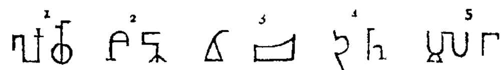
3 MODERN MARKS FROM THE JUMNA RAILWAY BRIDGE.



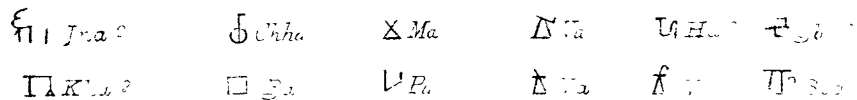
4 IN ATÁLAH MASJID



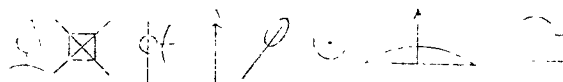
5 INSTRUCTIONS



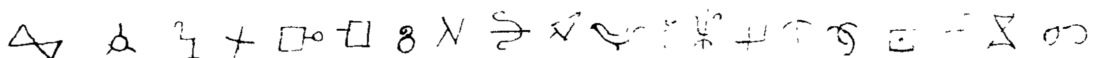
6 LETTERS



7 FROM SADIYA, UPPER ASSAM.

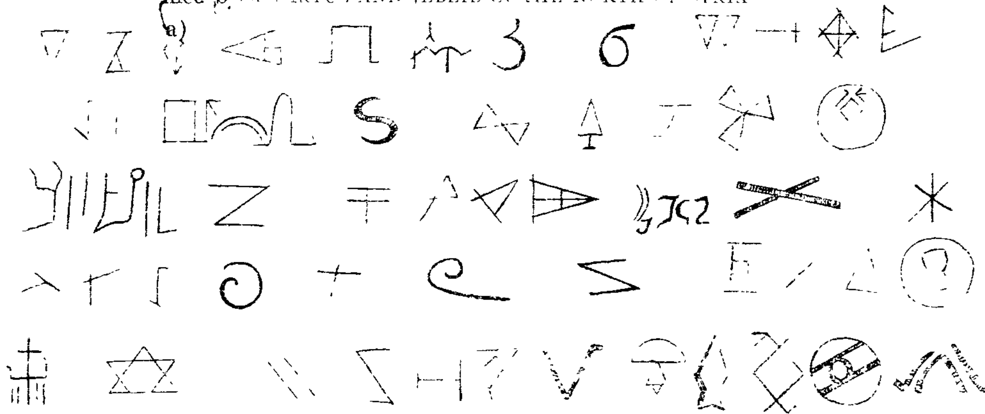


8 FROM THE PALACE AT SAADETABAD NEAR ISPAHAN, PERSIA.

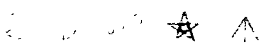


PHOTOLITHOGRAPHED & PRINTED BY W. GRIGGS LONDON

FROM KARTÛS AND JEBEIL IN THE NORTH OF SYRIA



FROM JERUSALEM



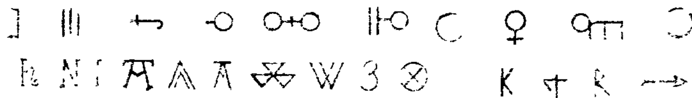
GREAT PYRAMID



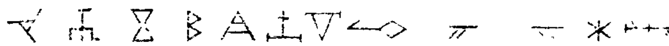
FROM



PALESTINE AND RUINED CITIES BEYOND JORDAN



4. FROM POMPEII

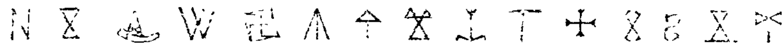


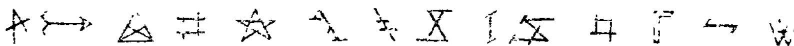
FROM ALALIA, INDIA

ON ROMAN ALTARS

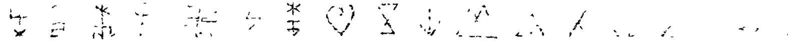


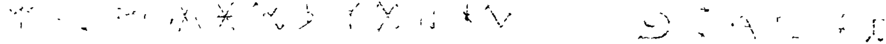
FROM LINCOLN CATHEDRAL





FROM HADDON HALL





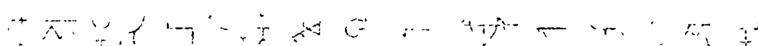


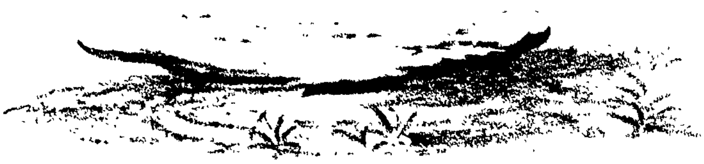






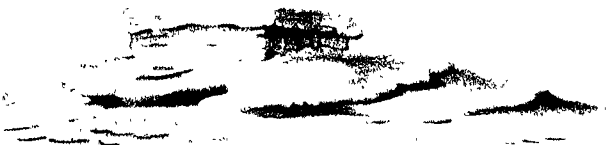


Fig 2



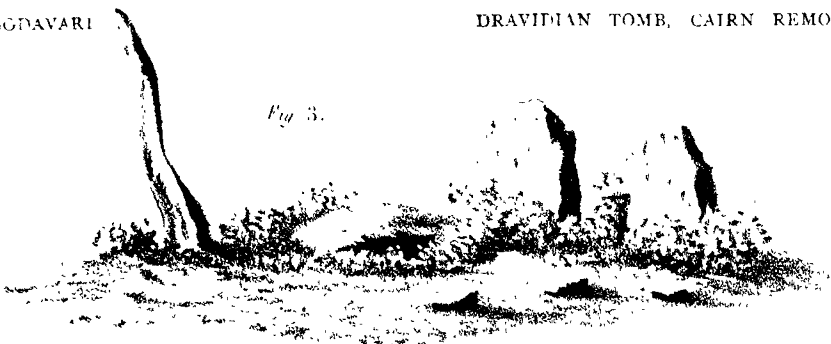
TOMB BEYOND NELLIMILLY, UPPER GODAVARI

Fig 1



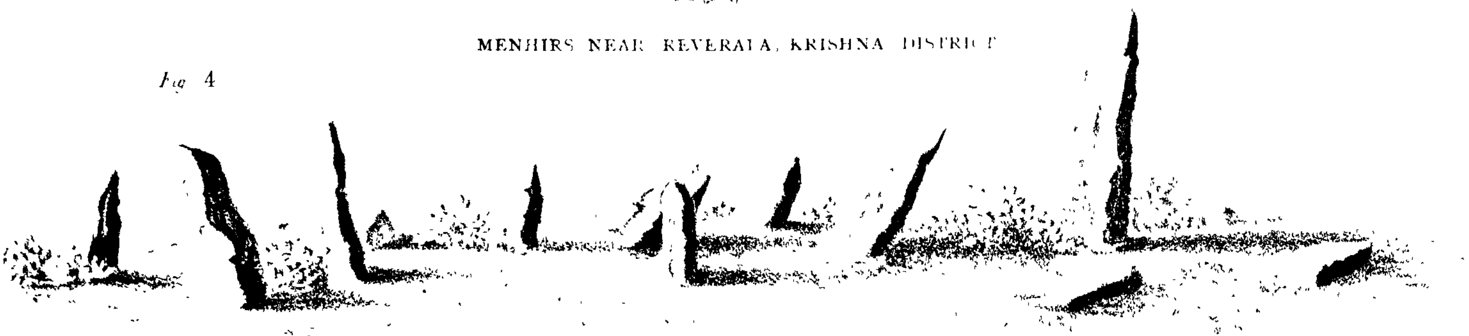
DRAVIDIAN TOMB, CAIRN REMOVED, NELLIMILLY UPPER GODAVARI.

Fig 3.



MENHIRS NEAR REVERALA, KRISHNA DISTRICT

Fig 4



MENHIRS NEAR REVERALA, KRISHNA DISTRICT

compare with marks that may be found in Ceylon, Siam, Kambodia, and Java. Should any be discovered in remoter China and Japan, the interest would be increased: for though the subject is probably more curious than important, it might point to some useful conclusions, and throw perhaps a ray of light on the early history of architecture.

NOTES ON THE ANTIQUITIES FOUND IN PARTS OF THE UPPER GODÂVARÎ AND KṚISHṆÂ DISTRICTS.

(*From the Proceedings of the Madras Government, Public Department, 11th Feb.* 1875.)

These antiquities consist of the cairns and tombs of Dravidians or earlier Skythians, of Skythian tombs of the later period, ruins of Buddhist and Hindu temples, and stone crosses of the early Christian period.

1. In the Upper Godâvarî, British side, and Kṛishṇâ Districts south of Jagiâpetâ, Dravidian or earlier Skythian tombs and cairns are found in groups, particularly in the Kṛishṇâ District, where there are hundreds on one hill alone. The cairns are constructed of four stone slabs on edge, and slab at bottom and one on top; then round the tomb a ring of small stones some twelve feet in diameter, and small stones, within that, heaped over the grave. The grave is sunk from two to four feet in the ground, according to the breadth of the side slabs. The sizes of the graves are from one foot six inches long by one foot broad to six feet long by two feet broad. In the Kṛishṇâ District the slabs are limestone; in the Upper Godâvarî, trap, metamorphic rock, and sandstone. I have opened several of these graves and found a skeleton. The body had been laid on the right side, head resting on right arm—head always north, feet south. The bones were invariably so damaged that they crumbled almost at a touch. The upper slabs on the tombs vary in size. I have found them from four feet by three feet to eight feet by six feet; some of the smaller tombs have no slabs on them on top, but only small stones piled up as a cairn. (*See* Fig. 1.) In none of the graves have I found any ornaments, beads, or pottery.

I think that these graves must be between 3,000 and 4,000 years old.*

2. *Skythian Tombs.*—These I have only seen in the Upper Godâvarî; they are tombs without cairns. These tombs have no slabs at bottom, only four forming the sides; they are generally four feet by three feet, some with immense slabs on top. I have measured them fourteen feet by five feet; they lay irrespective of compass bearing. The graves are filled up with small earthen pots filled with burnt bones and clay. I have found beads apparently made of ivory, and some small glass ones of red and green colour, in the pot that contains the charred remains of the skull. (Fig. 2.)

There is a splendid tomb made of sandstone on the Nizâm's side of the river opposite Lingala; the slab on top is nine feet square; the tomb surrounded with eight rings of stone (sunk in the ground) some seven feet in diameter, and is evidently a chief's grave. I had no opportunity to open and examine it; but another grave, with smaller slabs and fewer rings round it, I opened. In the tomb there were the usual pots with bones and beads; the rings contain a skeleton with feet in towards the tomb, the skull placed between the knees. These were the skeletons of slaves that had been sacrificed on the death of a chief, number according to rank. Herodotus describes this ceremony. These two different tombs alluded to in the foregoing are indiscriminately called by the natives *râkshasi-guḷḷu*, 'tombs of the giants;' this is a misnomer. None of the skeletons I have met with exceed in size those of the present day; and the unburnt bones in the other tombs, pieces of ribs, arm-bones and pieces of the skull, are just the usual size.

The graves with the charred bones of the dead probably belong to the Northern race of Skythians, who may have learned the custom of cremation during the Grecian invasion in their country 325 years B.C., and brought this custom south in their wars. The upright stones in connection with demon-worship I have only found in the Kṛishṇâ District (*see* Figs. 3, 4). The Kolhs and Gonds put up wooden posts for the same rite.

3. Ruins of Hindu temples of the earlier

* No dependence can be placed on the conclusions mentioned in this paper respecting the ages of the remains; and the name *Skythian* is, to say the least, unsatisfactory.—ED.

period before Buddhism I have not found, either in the Godâvarî or Krishnâ District, in the places I have visited; all the pieces among the ruins have grotesque and unhuman-shaped sculpture on them, which is not the case in the earlier temples, where some of the sculptures of human beings are almost equal to those of the Greeks.

Of the remains of Buddhist temples I have seen two in the Upper Godâvarî. One has the appearance of having been one of the fortified Buddhist temples. The wall of the enclosure, some 600 feet square, had on two sides a rough stone wall faced with cut stone some eighteen feet high; on the other two sides the hill is a cliff. The entrance gate was built of immense blocks of stone; the top beam consisted of a square stone with Buddha and two elephants with pots in their trunks pouring water on him carved on it.* Subsequently this temple seems to have passed into Hindu hands. By the broken stone bulls in the enclosure, and by some Muhammadan coins found in the old well, now nearly filled up with rubbish, it seems to have been occupied by them, probably as a fortress, for which it is well situated, being close to the ruin at Davarapilli.

The next instance of Buddhism are two stones (built into a small temple at Lingala) with the sacred duck or dodo carved on them.

I have not seen any remains of Jain temples or idols in the Upper Godâvarî.

Ruins of Hindu temples are numerous both on the British and Nizâm's side of the river. The temples have all been small, and the idols very roughly carved. Of the present temples in the Upper Godâvarî none exceed 400 years in age. One small temple at Purnashala is said to be built near the spot from which the wife of Râma was carried off to Ceylon, and on one stone in a *cayu* at the back of the temple is shown a footprint, said to be the spot the wife stood on when she was forcibly carried off. The footprint is thin; but I rather think it has been cut in the stone. In excavating among the ruins of a small temple at Nelimilli, some four miles north-east of Dumagudem, I found a rough stone (hard) some two feet six inches long by one foot four inches broad and four inches thick; on it are carved some Telugu letters. The language is Sanskrit; the date is plain; the stone is 750 years old.

4. The Christian remains are on the Nizâm's side near Mûngapetâ in the jungles, and consist of several stone crosses; † one some thirteen feet high, and also a structure which on first appearance looks like a tomb; it is seven feet above ground, about eight feet square, closed on three sides, open on one, and roofed in with an immense slab of stone. When I saw them I was pressed for time, and so did not examine them closely. I did not see any inscription, nor had I means to make any excavation. To fix the date of these crosses is rather a difficult matter. Christianity (the Syrian Church) was introduced into India in 400 A.D. These churches remained in peace till the arrival of the Portuguese in the fifteenth century, when persecution began, and was brought to a climax in 1599 A.D., when Meneses, Archbishop of Goa, instituted the Inquisition, and ordered all the Syrian books to be destroyed and burnt. It is well known that many of the Syrian Christians sought refuge by flight inland,—they were favourably looked on by the Hindus; but whether these crosses were put up by them, or belong to an earlier period,‡ is a question that can only be decided in case any inscriptions are found on or near them.

T. Vanstavern,
Executive Engineer, D.P.W.

Racelala, 4th Dec. 1874.

* Is this not Lakshmî the consort of Vishnu, rather than Buddha?—*Archæological Report for Belgaum and Kaladgi*, p. 13; Fergusson's *Tree and Serpent Worship*, 2nd ed. pp. 108, 112, 113, 120, 242, 268.—Ed.

† These crosses belong to the same age as the neighbouring tombs:—conf. Fergusson's *Rude Stone Monuments*, pp. 486-89.—Ed.

‡ Had Syrian Christians existed in the Haidarâbâd territories so late as the seventeenth century, we should in all probability have had some mention of the fact. If Christian, these crosses can hardly be of later date than A.D. 1000.—Ed.

PROGRESS OF ORIENTAL RESEARCH, 1874-75.

(*Abridged from the Annual Report of the Royal Asiatic Society, May* 1875.)

Professor John Dowson has contributed to Part 2, Vol. VII. of the *Jour. R. As. Soc.* a paper on a Bactrian-Pâlî inscription of considerable interest brought from Takht-i-Bahi by Dr. Leitner, and now in the Lahor Museum. The document records the name and title of the king *maharayasa Gunapharasa*, whom both General Cunningham and Professor Dowson, independently of each other,

have identified with Gondophares. They disagreed, however, as to the date, the latter reading it as "the 26th year of the king, on the 7th day of the month Vaiśâkha," whilst the former read it as "the year Saṁvat 103 (A.D. 46), the 4th of Vaiśâkha, the 26th year of the king's reign." Professor Dowson has now taken the inscription up once more, and adopts General Cunningham's interpretation of the word *saṁvatsara* as meaning the Saṁvat (or Vikramâditya) era. His revised reading of the date is "the 26th year of the king, the year 100 of the Saṁvat, the 3rd day of Vaiśâkha." Another communication of considerable antiquarian interest is an account by Mr. T. H. Blakesley of Ceylon on the ruins of Sigiri. The rock of Sigiri, in the north extremity of the central province of Ceylon, which rises some 500 feet above the surrounding plain, appears in early times to have constituted the citadel of a fortified position, surrounded by earthworks and moats, the sides of which are in some parts revetted with stone. Mr. Blakesley has traced out two quadrangular areas, comprising, together with the rock, a space of some 600 acres, and defended not only by these walls and moats, but, on the eastern side, by a large artificial lake, which he thinks must have been used also for the purposes of agricultural irrigation. Extensive earthworks or *bands* for the diversion of running water into particular channels have also been traced in different directions for some miles. Mr. Blakesley ascribes these earthworks to King Kaśyapa the Parricide, who lived in the fifth century of our era; and the completion of the irrigation arrangements to Parâkrama Bâhu in the middle of the twelfth century. Earlier than either of them—indeed, as early as the first century B.C.—are, in his opinion, the walls of cyclopean masonry still to be seen at Mapagala, a pair of rocks about half a mile south of the rock of Sigiri.

In the numbers of the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal* of 1874 which have been hitherto received, the most important contribution is a translation from the Arabic, by Major E. C. Ross, at Maskat, of the *Kashf-al-Ghummah*, which, in the translator's opinion, is to be considered as the most authentic and coherent account of the history of 'Omân that has emanated from native sources. The work appears to be extremely rare. Major Ross had only heard of two copies existing in 'Omân, from one of which his translation has been prepared. The name of the author of the work was not given in the manuscript, but Major Ross was informed by some learned men that the author was Sirhân-bin-Sâîd, a native of Izkî.

Bâbû Râjendralâla Mitra discusses at length the question as to the supposed identity of the Greeks with the Yavanas. The conclusions at which he arrives are chiefly these: That originally the term Yavana was the name of a country and of its people to the west of Kandahâr, which may have been Arabia, or Persia, or Media, or Assyria—probably the last; that subsequently it became the name of all these countries; and that there is not a tittle of evidence to show that it was at any one time the exclusive name of the Greeks.

The discovery by Mr. Westmacott of seventeen Arabic inscriptions, ranging from A.H. 859 to 938, at Maldah, has enabled Dr. H. Blochmann to continue his valuable contributions to the geography and history of Bengal during the Muhammadan period.

In the *Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society* Mr. E. Rehatsek has published facsimiles and annotated readings of twelve Himyaritic inscriptions—nine of which are inscribed on stone, and three on metal plates—which the Society procured a few years ago from Arabia, together with eight Arabic talismanic medicine-cups, facsimiles and descriptions of which are likewise published by Mr. Rehatsek. Of the Himyaritic inscriptions two are written in the *βουστροφηδόν* style. Another contribution of considerable importance is a series of Sanskṛit and Old Canarese Inscriptions relating to the Raṭṭa Chieftains of Saundatti and Belgaum, in modern Canarese character, with translation and notes, by Mr. J. F. Fleet. These documents furnish a very satisfactory view of the two powerful families which play such an important part in the history of the Châlukyas during a period of about three centuries and a half, from the time they were first raised from the rank of spiritual preceptors to the position of chieftains. The value of Mr. Fleet's communication would have been considerably enhanced by facsimile copies. The same number contains a legendary account of King Śâlivâhana or Sâtavâhana, drawn from a Marâṭhî treatise entitled *Śâlivâhana-charitra*, by Rao Sâheb V. N. Maṇḍlik.

Mr. K. T. Telang has given two papers: in one of them he endeavours to fix the date of Madhusûdana Sarasvatî, who commented on the *Bhagavadgîtâ*, at about the end of the 15th or the beginning of the 16th century; whilst in the other he gives a Châlukya copperplate grant, and examines the chronology of the Western line of that dynasty down to Vijayâditya (A.D. 695 to 733).

Archæology—India.—The Council are happy to be able to state that since the last anniversary meeting considerable progress has been made in the Archæological Survey of India, including some discoveries which have the most important bearing on our knowledge of the ancient art and religion of

that country. Of these the most prominent is that made by General Cunningham of the half-buried rail of the tope at Bhârahut, which he thinks belongs to a period not long subsequent to the age of Aśoka. These remains appear to be covered with the most elaborate bas-reliefs, which afford a wonderfully complete illustration of the arts of the period, as well as an authentic picture of the early forms of the Buddhist faith.

Some years ago, when Mr. Fergusson first published his work on *Tree and Serpent Worship*, it was scarcely suspected that the *Jâtakas*, or legendary lives of Buddha, were of any great antiquity. Before, however, the second edition appeared, Mr. Fergusson had been enabled, with Mr. Beal's assistance, to identify among the sculptures of the Sânchi Tope some scenes from the *Vessantara* and other Jâtakas, the conversion of the Kaśyapas, and other incidents in the life of Buddha. There were then already sufficient indications to make it probable—though they were not strong enough to prove it—that at least a great part of the Buddhist literature of Ceylon and Nepâl was as old as the Christian era. The great merit of General Cunningham's discovery consequently consists in the Bhârahut rail being older than anything hitherto known; in the scenes represented being more numerous and varied than those at Sânchi and Âmarâvati, and in their being all inscribed with the same names which the Jâtakas bear in Buddhist literature. The incidents depicted are sometimes not in themselves easily recognized; but the names of the principal actors being written alongside of them, there can be no possible mistake as to the persons they are intended to represent.

Mr. Burgess's *Report* on his first season's work as Archæological Surveyor, in the districts of Belgaum and Kalâdgi, is replete with information on the antiquities of these districts, which were only imperfectly known before. The volume is profusely illustrated by photographs and plans, as well as drawings of details; but the point of most permanent interest is probably the discovery in the Badâmî caves of inscriptions bearing dates from a well-ascertained epoch, and in the reign of a king whose name was previously familiar to us from other documents. No inscriptions with either a date or a recognizable name had hitherto been found in any Brâhmanical cave, and there was thus no clue to their age except the assumed progression of style. Now, however, that Cave No. III. at Badâmî is known to have been dedicated in the twelfth year of King Mangalîśvara, 500 years after the inauguration of the king of the Śakas, or A.D. 578, we have a fixed point to start from. The first inference we shall probably have to draw from this discovery seems to be that the Brâhmaṇical caves at Elora and elsewhere were not always of a later date than, but were, in some instances at least, contemporary with, the latest Buddhist caves; whilst it also appears that it may be necessary to carry back the present form of the Hindu Pantheon to a considerably earlier period than was hitherto assigned to it.

Lieutenant Cole has also published his report on the buildings in the neighbourhood of Agra; and, though containing little that is new, its illustrations are a valuable contribution to our knowledge of the district.

For several years past a party of Sappers have been employed in exploring the remains of the Buddhist buildings in the district of Peshâwar. Plans of the buried monasteries at Takht-i-Bahi, Jamâlgaṛhî, and Harkai, which they have uncovered, have been published in the *Lahor Gazette*, but unfortunately on so small a scale and so imperfectly as hardly to be intelligible. The sculptures found in these excavations have all been sent to the Lahor Museum, but, again unfortunately, without any steps being taken to indicate from what place the specimens came; so that General Cunningham was only able to ascertain the original site of six. Notwithstanding all this, they form a group of sculptures nearly as interesting as those from Bhârahut; and though, unfortunately, none of them are inscribed, there will probably be little difficulty in identifying most of the scenes they are intended to represent. Although we have at present no means of ascertaining the dates of these sculptures with anything like precision, it appears probable that they extend from the Christian era to the Hijirah. But the most interesting point is that they seem to exhibit a marked classical, or at least Western influence. It remains, however, to be ascertained whether this arose from the seed planted there by the Baktrian Greeks, or whether it was the result of continued communication between the west and the north-west corner of India during the period indicated. It is to be hoped that a selection from those in the Lahor Museum will be brought home, as they are entirely thrown away where they are.

Ceylon.—Thanks to the enlightened interest taken by Mr. Gregory, the present Governor of Ceylon, in archæological research, steps have been taken by the Colonial Office to have all inscriptions in the island copied and published. This important work has been undertaken by a German scholar, Dr. Paul Goldschmidt, who has hitherto given much attention to the study of the Indian Prâkrits. According to the latest reports, Dr. Goldschmidt has already examined nearly all the

inscriptions at Anurâdhapura and Mahintale. At the former place a new inscription of considerable length has been discovered and copied by him. The Governor has likewise resolved to have the ruins in the island properly surveyed by a competent person, and plans, drawings, and descriptions of them published.

The appearance of Dr. A. Burnell's *Elements of South-Indian Palæography* has successfully broken ground in an important but hitherto neglected branch of inquiry. The first chapter deals with the various theories regarding the date of the introduction of writing into India: whilst the second contains a conspectus of the alphabets and the chief dynasties of the South, followed by discussions on the South-Indian numerals, accents, and signs of punctuation; and finally by an essay on the different kinds of South-Indian inscriptions, with numerous palæographic specimens, executed from original copper-plates, stones, and palm-leaf manuscripts.

The first volume of Bâbû Râjendralâla Mitra's long-expected work on the *Antiquities of Orissa* has just reached this country. The published volume deals more especially with the principles of Indian architecture, and with the social condition and religion of the Orissan temple-builders. It is copiously illustrated by lithographs. The second volume will describe in fuller detail the antiquities of Khandagiri, Udayagiri, Bhuvaneśvara, Kanarak, Alti, and Jayapur.

Sanskrit.—Professor Max Muller's edition of the *Rigveda*, with Sâyaṇa's comment, originally undertaken under the liberal patronage of the Directors of the East India Company, afterwards continued by Her Majesty's Secretaries of State, has now been completed. The sixth volume contains, besides the concluding portion of the text and commentary, the second part of the useful *index verborum*, and an index of the *uttara-padas*, or second members of compound words, prepared by Dr. G. Thibaut.

Professor R. Roth, of Tübingen, is about, in conjunction with Professor W. D. Whitney, to bring out the long-expected second volume of the *Atharvaveda*, containing the *variæ lectiones*. He has lately given an account of the manuscript materials he has obtained from India since the publication of the text. Of especial interest is a MS. which has been discovered in Kaśmir, containing the *śâkhâ* or recension of the school of the Paippalâdas, the text of which greatly differs from that hitherto known.

The last volume of the *Transactions of the Göttingen Academy* contains a paper by Professor T. Benfey, in which he states his reasons for believing that the Sañhitâs or combined texts of the Vedas have been handed down to us in exactly the same form in which they were at the time when the hymns were first collected. These and other papers of a similar kind will be introductory to a complete grammar of the Vedas, which he has prepared for publication.

In his inaugural dissertation Dr. E. Grube has published the text and an *index verborum* of the *Suparṇâdhyâya*, which, though reckoned among the supplementary treatises of the *Rig-veda*, is evidently of comparatively modern origin. The subject of this treatise is the legend of the bet between the two wives of Kaśyapa, Suparni (or Vinatâ) and Kadrû, by which the former becomes the slave of the latter, until her son Suparṇa (Garuḍa) restores her to liberty by means of ambrosia he has forcibly taken from the gods.

To last year's volume of *Abhandlungen* of the Munich Academy Professor M. Haug has contributed an elaborate essay on the various theories and modes of Vedic accentuation, partly drawn from sources accessible to him alone in manuscripts procured by him in India. In the same paper Professor Haug endeavours to show that, so far from the Vedic accentuation being intended, as has been generally believed, for the actual accents of the language, it is only a kind of musical modulation, and that the notion which has hitherto prevailed as to the *udâtta* marking the accented syllable of the word is altogether erroneous. Professor Haug's views have, however, already drawn forth protests from several Sanskṛit scholars, by whom the numerous analogies between the udâtta and the word-accent in the cognate languages, and the close connection between it and the guṇation of vowels in many grammatical formations are justly insisted upon.

Since the publication, at Banâras, of the great commentary on Pâṇini's grammatical aphorisms, the *Mahâbhâshya*, the Indian Government has brought out its magnificent photolithographic reproduction of the same work, together with the comments of Kaiyaṭa and Nâgojibhaṭṭa. This work, consisting of six volumes, of together 4674 pages, was originally undertaken at the suggestion of the late Professor Goldstücker, who had himself corrected all but 300 pages when he was overtaken by death, and thus precluded from seeing completed this grand monument of his untiring energy.

Professor Kielhorn, of Puṇâ, has now completed his translation of Nâgojibhaṭṭa's *Paribhâshendu-śekhara*, a work of infinite labour, for which he deserves the cordial thanks of all Sanskṛit scholars. In Dr. Kielhorn's opinion the greater part of these *paribhâshâs*, or general maxims intended to assist

a correct interpretation of Pâṇini's rules, commented upon by Nâgojî, must either consciously or unconsciously have been adopted already by Pâṇinî, and must therefore be adopted also by us, when we wish to explain and apply the rules of that great grammarian, and to ascertain the value and accuracy of their traditional interpretation.

To his excellent edition of Varâhamihira's *Brihat-Samhitâ* Professor H. Kern, of Leyden, has added another important astronomical text, viz. the *Âryabhaṭîya*, together with the comment of Paramâdîsvara. The author, Âryabhaṭa, was born as he himself states in a couplet of the second chapter, in the year of the Kaliyuga corresponding with A.D. 476.

Dr. G. Buhler has brought out, in the Bombay Sanskrit Series, the first part of his long-expected critical edition of Daṇḍin's *Daśakumâracharita*.

The examination of private collections of Sanskṛit and Prâkrit MSS. in the Northern Division of the Bombay Presidency has been carried on by the same scholar with very marked success. Two years ago Dr. Buhler announced in the *Indian Antiquary* the recovery of two Prâkrit glossaries of considerable importance, viz. the *Deśîśabdasaṅgraha* of Hemachandra, and the *Pailachchhi nâmamâlâ*, the former with the Sanskṛit equivalents. Since then a second MS. of the latter work has been discovered by him, whilst of the former work as many as six copies have already come to light. Of an important grammatical work, the *Gaṇaratnamahodadhi*, two incomplete copies exist in England —one belonging to the Society's collection, the other to the India Office Library. For many years the late Professor Goldstücker in vain exerted himself to obtain another copy from India. Since his death no less than three copies of the work have been discovered by Dr. Buhler. These, however, are only a few of the many important accessions of scarce or hitherto unknown works for which scholars are indebted to Dr. Buhler and to the Bombay Government, which has hitherto so liberally encouraged his researches.

Pâlî.—By his admirable sketch of Pâlî grammar, Dr. E. W. A. Kuhn, of Leipzig, has supplied a long-felt want. Dr. Kuhn, like most other European scholars, rejects the identification of the Pâlî with the Mâgadhî, or dialect of Magadha, and, on the strength of its very marked similarity to the language of the Girnâr Aśoka inscription, takes, with Professor Westergaard, the dialect of Ujjayinî to have been its chief source.

Mr. V. Fausböll, of Copenhagen, is now engaged in bringing out a complete edition of the *Jâtakas*, with the commentary, the first part of which has already appeared. The usefulness of the work will be greatly enhanced by a translation which Professor R. C. Childers is now preparing for press. The second and concluding part of Professor Childers's excellent Pâlî Dictionary is also making rapid progress, and will probably be ready for publication in the course of next month.

Sir Mutu Kumâra Svâmin has published a translation of the *Sutta Nipâta*, or discourses of Gautama Buddha, considered as part of the Buddhist Canon; and the Pâlî text and a translation of the *Dâthâvaṁśa*, or history of the sacred tooth.

Pahlavî.—To their edition of the Ardâ Vîrâf and two other Pahlavî texts Dr. E. W. West and Professor M. Haug have now added a complete glossary, arranged according to the order of the Pahlavî letters, together with an alphabetical index, in the Roman character, to the transliterations adopted in the glossary.

Under the auspices of the Sir Jamsetji Jejeebhoy Fund, Destur Behramji Sanjâna has brought out the first volume of an edition of the *Dinkard*, both in the original Pahlavî text, and a transliteration in the Zend character, together with Gujarâtî and English translations, and a glossary of select terms.

Arabic.—Professor E. Sachau's English translation of *Al-Bîrûnî's Athâr ul Bâkiâ*, to the publication of which the remainder of the funds of the Oriental Translation Committee will be devoted, is making satisfactory progress.

Professor J. de Goeje has brought out, from a Leyden manuscript, perhaps the only one in existence, a beautiful edition of the *Diwan* of Abu'l-Walîd Moslim ibno-'l-Walîd al-Ansârî, together with an Arabic commentary, and explanatory notes. The exact age of the poet is not known; but M. De Goeje supposes that he was probably born between 130 and 140 A.H. The same industrious scholar has issued the fifth volume of the Catalogue of Oriental MSS. at Leyden. The two preceding volumes had been prepared by him in conjunction with M. De Jong, whilst vols. i. and ii. were published by Professor Dozy.

Professor W. Wright has brought out a new revised and enlarged edition of his Arabic Grammar, and the tenth and eleventh parts of his edition of the *Kâmil* of Al-Mubarrad, the latter of which is printed at the expense of the German Oriental Society.

Professor E. H. Palmer, of Cambridge, has likewise published an Arabic Grammar in which the arrangement of native grammarians has been adopted to a great extent.

Of M. R. Boucher's text and translation of the *Diwan* of Ferazdak, published from a manuscript at Constantinople, the third part has appeared during the past year.

COPPER ŚÂSANAM OF THE SYRIAN CHRISTIANS OF MALABAR.

PHOTO-LITHOGRAPHED & PRINTED BY W. GRIGGS. LONDON

Since the last anniversary meeting, M. Barbier de Meynard has brought out the eighth volume of his edition and translation of *Masudi*. To the *Journal Asiatique* for 1874 the same scholar has contributed a highly interesting essay on the Shiite poet Abu-Hashem, generally called Seid Himyarî, who was probably born A.H. 10 (A.D. 728-29).

Himyaritic.—M. J. Halévy has continued, in the *Journal Asiatique*, his *Etudes Sabéennes*, containing some further explanations of the valuable collection of inscriptions brought home by him.

Dr. F. Praetorius also has issued the third part of his contributions to the interpretation of Himyaritic inscriptions, in which six of M. Halévy's inscriptions are dealt with.

CORRESPONDENCE AND MISCELLANEA.

MALABAR CHRISTIANS.

To the Editor of the "Indian Antiquary."

Sir,—In the *Indian Antiquary* for June (vol. VI. p. 183) Dr. Burnell answers some remarks of mine on "Manichæans on the Malabar Coast," printed at p. 153, and I observe that he represents my argument as being "disfigured by several misunderstandings" of the books I quote. This, I wish to show, is not the case.

1. And first with regard to the account of Pantænus:—I accept Dr. Burnell's criticism in so far as it points out an inadvertence on my part. I regret that I wrote "Pantænus *speaks*," instead of "Pantænus *is reported to have said*," and that I have spoken curtly of his mention of "*an Apostle*." The fact is I had so fully discussed elsewhere (*Missionary Enterprise in the East*, pp. 66-73) Eusebius's account of Pantænus's visit to India, his finding a Hebrew Gospel of St. Matthew, and a report of a visit of "one of the Apostles," whom Eusebius states to have been Bartholomew, but whom I supposed, for reasons there stated, to have been, possibly, not Bartholomew,* but Thomas, that in the short space of a letter, and the cursory summing up of a number of facts, I simply stated the result as presented to my memory, instead of quoting the *ipsissima verba* of Eusebius. But though I have inadvertently made Pantænus speak, instead of Eusebius for him, his testimony through Eusebius is still virtually what I stated, as to the existence in India of a Hebrew Gospel of St. Matthew in the second century, and the visit of "*an Apostle*," whoever that Apostle may really have been: for were it indeed Bartholomew who visited India, he was still an Apostle.

2. Again, with regard to the history of the Pahlavî language, I can only suppose Dr. Burnell has an earlier edition of Max Müller's *Lectures on the Science of Language* than my own. In the 6th edition (Dr. Burnell quotes the 5th), vol. I. page 242, I read, "This language (the Pehlevî), though mixed with Iranian words, is decidedly Semitic, and is now supposed to be the continuation of an *Aramæan dialect spoken in the ancient empire of Assyria*, though not the dialect of the Assyrian inscriptions. Formerly, Pehlevi was considered as a dialect that had arisen on the frontiers of Irân and Chaldæa, in the first and second centuries of our era—a dialect Iranian in grammatical structure, though considerably mixed with Semitic vocables. Later researches, however, have shown that this is not the case, and that the language of the Sassanian coins and inscriptions is *purely Aramaic*." I have not, therefore, misunderstood Max Muller. Nor am I yet aware that I am "utterly wrong" in what I have said as to the probability of the Pahlavî language having been known in the north of the Persian empire, and even at Edessa.

3. With regard to the "Syrian documents," which I have "not quoted with precision," I thought that they were pretty well known to every one interested in the history of the Syrian Christians of Malabar. These documents are the accounts the priests themselves possess of their early history. Translations of portions of two of them I have myself published (*Missionary Enterprise in the East*, pp. 68-72). Extracts from them are also to be found in other books. Whether these documents be regarded as throughout historically valuable or not, it is at least remarkable that they connect Malabar with Edessa. For instance, in one of them we read as follows:—"Now in those days there appeared a vision to an archpriest at Urahâi (Edessa), in consequence whereof certain merchants were sent from Jerusalem by command of the Catholic authorities in the East to see whether there were here any Nazarenes or Christians."* * * * "After this, several priests, students, and Christian women and children came

* I have stated in *Missionary Enterprise in the East* that "the name of Bartholomew nowhere occurs, either in tradition or church history, except in that one passage of Eusebius, and a passage in Socrates, which is manifestly a mere echo of it." There is, however, an apocryphal account called the *Martyrdom of Bartholomew*, of much later date, and which coincides in a great measure with what Pseudo-Abdias says of him: but its placing his sphere in India may be simply again a mere echo of Eusebius's passage which is under consideration. There is not a word as to Bartholomew's being in India in Dr. Cureton's *Syriac Documents* referred to below.

hither from Bagdad, Nineveh, and Jerusalem by order of the Catholic archpriest at Urahâi, arriving in the year of the Messiah 745 in company with the merchant Thomas." I am not without warrant, then, for connecting the early Syrian Church in Malabar with Edessa. Why do the priests cherish this tradition, and why do they retain the ancient name of Edessa, Urahâi or Urrhoi,—a name known now to only a few scholars—if there is no foundation for their statement?

4. To return to Eusebius's account of Pantænus, Dr. Burnell revives an objection, which has been used only too often and too recklessly—by Dr. Burton amongst others—as a leaping-pole for historical obstacles, that "India was in the early centuries A.D. the name of nearly the whole East, including China." This statement has a foundation of truth: but to use it whenever the name India is mentioned by early historians is simply to sweep India out of the argument by a *petitio principii*. According to this argument Megasthenes, for instance, though he called his book *Indica*, may have visited Fuh-chau. The same argument may be used as successfully against Al Nadim's account of Manes as against Eusebius's account of Pantænus.

Further, Dr. Burnell disputes the evidence of Eusebius about Pantænus on the ground that it is "late hearsay," and therefore "valueless for truth." If this canon, again, is to be applied in so unreserved and sweeping a sense in our judgment of the statements of history, it is astonishing how much will appear to us "valueless for truth": history must then be re-written, and in a very small volume too. How many, for instance, of Cicero's charming anecdotes must be expunged, everything introduced by *fertur* or *dicitur*, or *sæpe audivi* or *accepimus*, must be regarded as either "pious" or impious "fictions." Surely we must be allowed some discrimination. When "hearsay" is really "*late* hearsay," and when the thing related is an improbable account of some obscure person, or wants collateral evidence of its truth, we may indeed justly doubt. But Pantænus was not so obscure a person that Eusebius is likely to have made a mistake about his journeys. One thing, at least, is clear, namely, that Clemens Alexandrinus, the pupil and immediate successor of Pantænus in the chair of the Catechetical school at Alexandria, was pretty well versed in Indian matters, which he is generally supposed to have learned from Pantænus. He knew enough to write as follows:—"The Indian Gymnosophists are also in the number, and the other barbarian philosophers, and of these there are two classes, some of them called Sarmanæ,* and others Brahmans. And those of the Sarmanæ who are called Hylobii (ὑλόβιοι) † neither inhabit cities, nor have roofs over them, but are clothed in the bark of trees, feed on nuts, and drink water in their hands. Like those called Encratites in the present day, they know not homage nor the begetting of children. Some too of the Indians obey the precepts of Buddha (Βούττα), whom, on account of his extraordinary sanctity, they have raised to divine honours." Clemens was also acquainted with the then extant writings of Megasthenes, as further on he says, "The author Megasthenes, the contemporary of Seleukos Nikator, writes as follows in the third of his books, *on Indian affairs*:—'All that was said about nature by the ancients is said also by those who philosophize beyond grace: some things by the Brahmans among the Indians, and others by those called Jews in Syria'" (*Clem. Stromata*, I. 15, translated in the *Ante-Nicene Christian Library*, vol. IV. pp. 398, 399). India, then, was pretty well known and understood in Alexandra in the time of Clemens; and Eusebius, of whom it is said that "he knew all that had been written before him," must have been a more obtuse, ignorant, or careless man than we generally give him credit for if, with the *Stromata* of Clemens before his eyes, he could make a mistake as to when and what India was, and as to where Pantænus went. Moreover, I would venture to ask, is it fair to say that Eusebius's testimony as to the journeying of Pantænus is founded on *late* hearsay, when Clemens died in A.D. 220 and Eusebius was born in 264? Indeed it is far from improbable that Clemens, who scarcely ever seems to have been without a pen in his hand and who wrote in his *Stromata*, "My memoranda are stored up against old age, as a remedy against forgetfulness, truly an image and outline of those vigorous and animated discourses which I was privileged to hear, and of blessed and truly remarkable men," amongst which remarkable men he apparently placed Pantænus first (see *Clem. Stromata*, bk. I. ch. i.)—it is, I say, far from improbable that Clemens left notes, in addition to what we find in the *Stromata*, of Pantænus's account of India, and that from those notes Eusebius drew his information.

5. Dr. Burnell remarks that Eusebius's account of Pantænus "says *nothing* about Thomas." This is true. But it says something about Christians having the original Hebrew version of St. Matthew's Gospel in the second century in some part of India, and that before Manes had come

* श्रमण.

† वान प्रस्थ.

into existence; and my object is not *primarily* to contend that St. Thomas came to India—though I have something more to say about that too—but that the early Christian sects were orthodox, and not Gnostic or Manichæan, as Dr. Burnell supposes. All that I maintain about St. Thomas is that there is *better* evidence that he was the first missionary than that the heresiarch Manes, or any follower of his, founded sects which have since become Christian. Let us observe that the fact that Eusebius mentions the existence of a Hebrew Gospel of St Matthew among the Christians whom Pantænus visited in India furnishes very strong presumptive evidence that his story is true. For the earliest Gospel, used by what has been called the "Hebrew party" in the Church, as distinguished from the "Hellenic party," was this very original Hebrew, or Syro-Chaldee, version of St. Matthew; and if one of the Twelve, or any of their immediate disciples, visited India, this is the Gospel they would be certain to bring. (See this subject of the Hebrew Gospel ably handled in the *Edinburgh Review* for April 1875, in a critique on *Supernatural Religion.*) Of course we have no certain proof that the Christians Pantænus found were in Malabar, and not in Arabia, Abyssinia, or China, all which places went equally under the denomination of India in the time of Eusebius, according to Dr. Barton and Dr. Burnell. But there is a presumption of tolerable stability that they were somewhere in India. And we have proof in the evidence of Cosmas Indicopleustes, evidence which I am happy to find is accepted by Dr. Burnell, that there were Christians in the 6th century in M a l e, or Malabar. And as the church found by Cosmas was evidently the same that still exists in Malabar, there is little difficulty in believing that the Christians Pantænus met in the second century were their forefathers. The Christians reported on by Cosmas were not Manichæans, or he would not have spoken of them as "faithful," nor would he have found a "Bishop," who had been "consecrated in Persia." If Pantænus came across the same church, the members of that church were orthodox in the second century.

6. Dr. Burnell seems to "have strong impressions" as well as myself. His last impression appears to be that unorthodox Persian settlers, *i.e.* Manichæans or Gnostics, used the Pahlavî language in Malabar till the ninth century, and that then Nestorian missionaries converted them, through the instrumentality, at least partly, of the Pahlavî language, which they retained, although it had died out in Persia. But how does this coincide with Cosmas's evidence in the sixth century? He, being a Nestorian, would not have taken Gnostics or Manichæans for orthodox Christians. And that Nestorians in the ninth century should have written Inscriptions at Koṭṭayam in a language they did not know, is not, surely, so likely as that orthodox Christians from Persia should have written them during the Pahlavî period. There is no reason why men knowing the Pahlavî language should have been Gnostics or Manichæans, and not Christians.

And when I find the Syrians connecting their early history with that of Edessa: when I find Cosmas reporting the existence of a Bishop in Malabar in the sixth century, consecrated in Persia: when I find in the Council of Nicæa, in A.D. 325, a Bishop signing himself "Metropolitan of Persia and the Great India": when I find Pantænus—not speaking—but being spoken of as having found a Gospel of St. Matthew somewhere in India in the second century—I think I have some ground for an impression that there was orthodox Christianity somewhere in India between the 6th and 2nd centuries, and also some grounds for suspecting that was Malabar. And when I am told by Dr. Burnell that he has found a Pahlavi Inscription to the Trinity at Koṭṭayam, I seem to connect that in the most natural way, in my own mind, with the story of Edessa in the Syrian legends, and the Indo-Persian Bishops of Cosmas and the Nicene Council.

In opposition to this, and in support of the supposed fact that there were only Persian Gnostics or Manichæans in Malabar for eight centuries, Dr. Burnell adduces the following statements:—that "Al Nadîm says that Mâni 'called on' Hind, Sîn, and the people of Khorâsân, and 'made a deputy of one of his companions in each province'": that Manes wrote an *Epistle to the Indians*: that the Arab geographer Abû Said says of Ceylon, "There is a numerous colony of Jews in Sarandib, and people of other religions, especially Manichæans: that there is a place in Malabar called *Manigramam*, where Iravi Korttan settled: and, in fact, though not in so many words, that no one knew Pahlavî among the Persian settlers but Gnostics and Manichæans; of which it may be briefly remarked that the coupling of Khorâsân with Hind would seem to draw one's attention to the north of India: that no result of Manes's preaching or Epistle remains in India either now or in history, though Christians still owning the Eutychian Patriarch of Antioch do remain: that the Manichæans* of Ceylon were, as I

* The epithet Manichæan, in and about the ninth century, was not merely used, as Dr. Burnell supposes, by one sect of Christians in abusing another; but it was a term that had got to be used indiscriminately for any Christians who were not at the feet of the great Bishop of Rome.

have before shown, not improbably Christians; and that the Mânigrâmakar* bore no resemblance whatever to Manichæans.

In short I most confidently place against the one real historical notice on which Dr. Burnell lays so much stress, namely, Al Nadim's statement that Manes "called on Hind and Sîn, and the people of Khorâsân," Eusebius's account of Pantænus, which is equally worthy of credit, and which, moreover, is backed by Cosmas's testimony in the 6th century, and the existence of Christians now.

Lastly, with regard to the statement by the Syrians of Travancore as to the connection of the Apostle Thomas with the early Indian Church, I do not claim for it absolute historical certainty; but I do claim for it a place above the region of mere "pious fictions." In the first place, if it be a fiction, that fiction certainly existed in the fourth century; for the *Acts of Thomas*, to which Dr. Burnell refers, is mentioned by Epiphanius, who was made Bishop of Salamis about A.D. 368. The original version of the *Acts of Thomas* is attributed by Photius to Leucius Charinus: though I am quite willing to accept Dr. Haug's theory, as stated by Dr. Burnell, that it was written by Bardesanes about the end of the second century. This gives it a considerable antiquity. Now, in all the Apocryphal Gospels and Acts there is a certain groundwork of historical truth. This was necessary to obtain credit for the fabulous superstructure. The object of the writer was to impose upon his readers some new doctrine, in most cases the worship of the Virgin Mary, celibacy, or some other practice contrary to apostolic teaching. Hence he took historical names well known in the Church, and their prominent historical surroundings, especially *where they lived* and *where they went*. For instance, in the *Prot-Evangelium* of James, among abundant fables, we find the historical facts of Herod, the Magi, Bethlehem, the ox-stall, &c. So in the *Gospel* of the *Pseudo-Matthew*, such facts as the enrolment at Bethlehem, the departure to Egypt, the return to Judæa, and the home in Galilee are the historical groundwork. In the same way, with regard to the *Acts of Thomas*, while the main object of the writer is evidently to inculcate the doctrine of celibacy, and while he is profuse in fable, and even indecency, to gain his point, he must have some historical groundwork to obtain credit for his story; and there is the highest probability that the groundwork he studiously took was not only the correct name of the Apostle, Judas Thomas, but, as in the case of pseudo-apostolic histories of Christ, the correct mention *geographically* of his sphere. The writer had nothing to gain in sending the Apostle to India, but much to gain if the Apostle whose name he forged was well known, at the time he wrote, as having been the Apostle of India.

Nor, it should be well observed, is there any the least antecedent improbability of the truth of the Apostle's mission. The Apostles, one and all, were commissioned by a Master, whose words they were not likely to forget, to "go into all the world." And assuredly, endowed, as they were, with the "gift of tongues" for this especial work, they could not tarry at home.

If, then, the author of the *Acts of Thomas* gives us the right clue to the Apostle's sphere, all subsequent accounts are in harmony:—the testimony of the Syriac document on *The Teaching of the Apostles*, which was brought to light by Dr. Cureton, and is most probably of the Ante-Nicene age, in which we read—"India . . . . . . received the apostles' ordination to the priesthood from Judas Thomas, who was guide and ruler in the Church which he had built there, [in which] he also ministered there" (*Ante-Nicene Library*, vol. xx.):—the testimony of Eusebius:—the testimony of Alfred's ambassadors to the shrine of Thomas:—the testimony of the Syrians themselves:—and the connection of the Syrians of Malabar with the Christians of Edessa, of which church St. Thomas is said to have been the first apostolic overseer and director (*Ante-Nicene Library*, vol. xx. *Syriac Documents*, p. 6).

I apologize for the length of my letter. I have felt it incumbent upon me to give authorities at length. And if I have added nothing new, I am more ambitious to be correct than original.

RICHARD COLLINS, M.A.

Kandy, Ceylon, 23*rd June* 1875.

SANSKRIT MSS.

From Dr. Buhler's *Report on Sanskrit MSS.*, 1874-75, we extract the following details:—

Among the Brâhmanical MSS. purchased is the *Bhâratamañjarî*, a poetical epitome of the *Mahâbhârata*. It closely follows the divisions of its original, and is divided into the same number of Parvas. Its metre is the Anushṭubh Śloka. The author, Kshemendra, appears to be the poet who wrote the epitome of the *Vrihatkathâ* of Guṇâḍhya, as his surname Vyâsapâda shows that he was a Bhâgavata. The MS. was acquired in Bhûj. It is about three hundred years old and tolerably correct.

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* If the name Mângrâmam be spelt more correctly with the dental than with the cerebral *n* (Dr Burnell spells it with the latter), then in the purest and *most primitive* Tamil it would describe a village ceded as a *free gift* by royalty. It may therefore have first received its name when ceded to Iravi Korttan, if it had *not* the name previously (as I myself at present think) as a *Brâhman* village. Certainly the Mângrâmakar were Brâhmans, according to Mr. Whitehouse's account, whether converts or not. They were, however, in some way connected with the Syrian Church.

The *Naishadhîyadîpikâ* is one of the oldest commentaries on Śrîharsha's epic which has become known. Its author, Châṇḍûpaṇḍita, the son of Âliga, was a Nâgara Brâhmaṇ of Dholkâ, near Ahmadâbâd. He states that he composed poetry, officiated as priest at many great sacrifices, studied Sâṅkhya philosophy, and wrote a commentary on the *Rigveda*. His teachers were Vaidyanâtha and Narasiṁha; the *Naishadha* he learned from one Munideva, apparently a Jaina Yati. He asserts that before his time only one commentary on the *Naishadha* existed, composed by Vidyâdhara (*alias* Sâhityavidhyâdhara, *alias* Châritravardhanamuni) of which I have found fragments in Ahmadâbâd and in Jesalmîr. He partly confirms the story of the Jaina author Râjaśekhara, who places Śrîharsha under Jayantachandra or Jayachandra of Kânoj at the end of the 12th century. He also calls the *Naishadhîya* "navaṁ kâvyam, a modern poem." Châṇḍûpaṇḍita gives as the date of his own work the 15th day of Śuklapaksha Bhâdrapada of the year 1513 according to Vikrama's era, or 1456-7 A.D. When he wrote, Sâṅga was chief of Dholkâ, and Mâdhava his minister. Châṇḍû's younger brother Tâlhaṇa revised and corrected the book. The MS. bears two dates, 1473 (at the end of canto xxii.) and 1476 (at the end of canto ii.), and consists of four pieces, which, however, have been written by the same writer, a Vaid called Nârâyaṇa, the son of Bhâbhala. The dates refer, no doubt, to the Śaka era. I received the MS. from Gandevî, in the Gaikvâḍ's territory.

The *Yudhishṭhiravijaya*, or 'victory of Yudhishṭhira,' is another novelty. It belongs to the numerous compositions which are based on legends taken from the *Mahâbhârata*. It contains eight Âśvâsas. The end of the first canto is gone. The second contains the sports of Kṛishṇa and Arjuna (*kṛishṇârjunavihâravarṇana*), the third 'the departure to the forest' (*vanavâsagamana*), the fourth 'the battle between Kirâta and Arjuna' (*kirâtârjunayuddhavarṇana*), the fifth 'the death of Kîchaka' (*kîchakavadha*), the sixth 'the peace-proposals' (*sâmavarṇana*), the seventh 'the defeat of the Kauravas,' and the eighth 'the victory of Yudhishṭhira over Duryodhana.' The work is written in the Âryâgîti metre, and each half-verse is adorned with a Yamaka or rhyme of four syllables. Its literary value is about the same as that of the *Nalodaya*. Its author is not named. One of my Śâstrîs told me that he had heard it mentioned by his teacher as an old and rare work.

The *Râjavinoda*, 'the amusement of the king,' or *Javalakshapâtaśâhiśrîmahamûdasuratrâṇacharita*, 'the life of Sultan Mahmûd' (Bigaḍhâ of Ahmadâbâd), by Udayarâja, is quite a literary curiosity.

The author, who declares himself to be the son of Prayâgadâsa and the pupil of Râmadâsa, celebrates Mahmûd, popularly reputed to have been the most violent persecutor of Hindus and Hinduism, as if he were an orthodox Hindu king. He calls him the 'crest-jewel of the royal race' (*râjavaṁśachûḍâmaṇi*) as if he were a Kshatriya, and he asserts that Śrî and Sarasvatî attend on his footsteps, that he surpasses Karṇa in liberality, and that his ancestor *Muzaffar Khân assisted Kṛishṇa against Kali*. The Charita is divided into seven Sargas. The first (ślokas 29), entitled 'Surendra's and Sarasvatî's colloquy' (*surendrasarasvatîsaṁvâda*), is introductory, and relates how Brahmâ sent Indra to look after Sarasvatî, and found her in the halls of Mahmûd Shâh, and how she sang the praises of Mahmûd. The second (*vaṁśânukîrtana*, ślokas 31) gives the genealogy of Mahmûd, beginning with Muzaffar Khân. The statements made appear to be historically correct. The third *sabhâsamâgama* (ślokas 33) describes Mahmûd's entry into the darbâr hall. The fourth (*sarvâvasara*, ślokas 33) relates what princes and people Bere received in darbâr. The fifth (*saṅgîtaraṅgaprasaṅga*, ślokas 35), describes a *nâch* given by the Sultân. The sixth (*vijayayâtrotsava*, ślokas 36) and the seventh (*vijayalakshmîlâbha*, ślokas 37) are devoted to a rhapsodic description of Mahmûd's warlike exploits. The frequent allusions to the Pâdishâh's liberality make it probable that the author either had received or hoped to receive *dakshiṇâ* from him.

The *Dharmapradîpa* is not identical with the *Bhojasmṛiti*, stated to be one of the works of Bhoja of Dhârâ. It was written at the order of Bhoja, the son of Bhâramalla, who ruled over Kachh some centuries ago. This king is the same to whom the *Bhojavyâkaraṇa* of Vinayasâgara, which occurs in my *Catalogue of MSS. from Gujarat*, is dedicated. The *Dharmapradîpa* treats of Âchâra, or the rule of conduct, only. The MS. comes from Kachh.

The *Nâradasmṛitibhâshya* of *Kalyâṇabhaṭṭa* is the most important acquisition of the year among the works on Dharma. It gives a full explanation of the first eight Adhyâyas of the *Smṛiti*, and helps greatly to settle the text of this interesting but difficult law-book, of which very few copies are procurable. Kalyâna says in the introductory verses that his work is based on an older but corrupt commentary.* The MS. has been written in Banâras, and has been procured from the library of the Râjâ of Bundi through the kind offices of the Asst. Political in charge of Harautî.

* *Dṛishṭvâsahâyarachitaṁ nâradabhâshyam lekhakairbhrashṭaṁ kalyâṇena kriyate prâktanameva tadviśodhya punaḥ.*

Two copies of the old *Dharmasûtra* of Vâsishtha are complete and very correct. The first was presented to me by Professor Bâlaśâstrî of Banâras College, and the second by Dâmodara Śâstrî of Bhûj. Like all similar presents, I accepted them for Government.

A large fragment of the ancient *Gârgî Saṁhitâ* first discovered by Dr Kern and described in the preface to his edition of the *Vârâhî Saṁhitâ*.

No 37. The *Panchasiddhântikâ* of Varâhamihira is one of those rare works which have been sought after for a long time. The copy which I have procured is a transcript made from a MS. belonging to Sadârâma Joshî of Sojitrâ, who was good enough to lend me his copy for some time. The original is unfortunately so incorrect that it is hardly possible even to make out the general drift. The work is a *karaṇa* which gives the substance of five older works, the *Siddhântas* ascribed to Pauliśa, Romaka, Vâsishtha, Sûrya, and Pitâmaha. It is written in the Âryâ metre, and contains, I suppose, 18 Adhyâyas. The first, called *karaṇâvatâra* (ślokas 25), contains the well-known verses giving the details about the older *Siddhântas* (vs. 2-4) and the date Śaka 127, which forms the base of the subsequent calculations (v. 8). Next follow 83 verses which are not divided into Adhyâyas, but at the end of which are placed the words *chandragrahaṇaṁ shashṭhodhyâyaḥ*, 'eclipses of the moon,' Adhyâya VI. The following Adhyâyas appear to be in good order. They are Adhyâya VII., eclipses of the sun according to Pauliśa, *iti paulisasiddhânte ravigrahaṇaṁ saptamodhyâyaḥ* (ślokas 6); Adhyâya VIII., eclipses of the sun according to Romaka, *iti romakasiddhânte rkagrahaṇam ashṭamodhyâyaḥ* (ślokas 18), Adhyâya IX., eclipses of the sun according to Surya, *sûryasiddhântekagrahaṇaṁ (?) navamodhyâyaḥ* (ślokas 22), Adhyâya X., eclipses of the moon, *chandragrahaṇaṁ daśamodhyâyaḥ* (ślokas 7); Adhyâya XI, *[illegible]* (?) (ślokas 6); Adhyâya XII., Lunar and Solar years according to Pitamaha, *iti pitâmasiddhânte dvâdaśodhyâyaḥ* (ślokas 5), Adhyâya XIII., the order of the Universe, *trailokyasaṁsthânaṁ nâma trayodaśodhyâyaḥ* (ślokas 40). In this chapter occurs (v. 6) the refutation of the opinion of those who hold that the earth moves: —

Bhramati bhramasthit eva kshitirity apare vadanti nod ... [illegible]

Yadyevaṁ śyenâdyâ na khât punaḥ svanilayam upeyuḥ.

'Others contend that the earth standing as it were in an eddy turns round, not the crowd of the stars. If that were the case, falcons and other (birds) could not return from the sky to their nests."

Adhyâya XIV. describes the Chedyakayantras (ślokas 58).

Adhyâya XV. is called the Jyotishopanishat (v. 13).

Adhyâya XVI. contains the correction of the position of the stars and planets, *târâgrahasphuṭîkaraṇaṁ shoḍaśodhyâyaḥ* (ślokas 28).

After these follow seventy-eight ślokas without any division, and the conclusion of the whole is *ity âchârya varâhamihirakṛtâyâṁ panchasiddhântikâ samâptâ* (sic).

Sadârâma Joshî states he obtained his MS. from Banâras, and that better copies and a commentary are to be had there.

No. 38 is a manual for indigenous school masters. Its author, Kshemendra, was the son of Bhûdhara, a Nâgara Brâhman of Râjanagara, and wrote his treatise by order of Śankaralâla, Chief of Pitlad (Pedlâd, MS.).

5 Among the Jaina books two deserve special notice. The first is the nearly complete copy of the *Trishashṭiśalâkâpurushacharita* (bought in Bhûj), which contains also the life of Mahâvîra, the reputed founder of Jainism. It gives a great many hitherto unknown details regarding the saint's life. The second remarkable acquisition is the old copy of the *Pâïalachchhînâmamâlâ*. This MS is correct and accurate. I have already published a note regarding it in the *Indian Antiquary*,* and have shown that the author's name was *Dhanapâla*. An edition of the book has been prepared: I shall print it, as well as Hemachandra's *Deśîkosha*, as soon as I find a little of that leisure and quiet which are absolutely necessary for serious work of the kind.

SUFI MANZALS.

In his popular "Notes on Mahomedanism" in the *Christian Intelligencer*, the Rev. T. P. Hughes has already described at length the different classes of Musalmân faqirs, together with their doctrines. He next proceeds to notice the system of Oriental mysticism, as taught by the Sufi sects. Sufism appears to be but the Muslim adaptation of the doctrines of the philosophers of the *Vedânta* school, which we also find in the writings of the old Academies of Greece, and which Sir W. Jones thinks Plato learned from the sages of the East. In Sufism the disciple (*murîd*) is invited to proceed on the journey (*tariqat*) under the guidance of a spiritual leader (*murshid*), who must be considered superior to any other human being. The great business of the traveller (*sâlik*) is to exert himself and strive to attain to the Divine Light, and to go on to the knowledge of God. God, according to the Sufi belief, is diffused throughout all things; and the soul of man is part of God, and not from Him. The soul of man is an exile from its Crea-

* *Ante*, p. 59.

tor, and human existence is its period of banishment. The object of Sufism is to lead the soul onward stage by stage, until it reaches the goal—"perfect knowledge." The natural state of every Muslim is *Nasut*, in which state the disciple must observe the precepts of the law, or *Shariat;* but as this is the lowest form of spiritual existence, the performance of the *journey* is enjoined on every searcher after truth.

The following are the stages (*manzal*) which the Sufi has to perform. Having become a searcher after God (a *Talib*), he enters the first stage of *Abudiyat*, or Service. When the Divine attraction has developed his inclination into the love of God, he is said to have reached the second stage of *Ishaq*, or Love. This Divine Love expelling all worldly desires from his heart, he arrives at the third stage of *Zuhd*, or Seclusion. Occupying himself henceforward with contemplation and the investigations of the metaphysical theories concerning the nature, attributes, and works of God, which are the characteristics of the Sufi system, he reaches the fourth stage of *Ma'rifat*, or Knowledge. This assiduous contemplation of metaphysical theories soon produces a state of mental excitement, which is considered a sure prognostication of direct illumination from God. This fifth stage is called *Wajd*, or Ecstasy. During the next stage he is supposed to receive a revelation of the true nature of the Godhead, and to have reached the sixth stage, *Haqiqat*, or the Truth. The next stage is that of *Wasl*, or Union with God, which is the highest stage to which he can go whilst in the body; but when death overtakes him, it is looked upon as a total re-absorption into the deity, forming the consummation of his journey, and the eighth and last stage, of *Fanak*, or Extinction. That stage in which the traveller is said to have attained to the Love of God is the point from which the Sufistic poets love to discuss the doctrines of their sect. The Salik or Traveller is the Lover (*Ashaq*), and God is the Beloved One (*Mashuk*). This Divine love is the theme of most of the Persian and Pashtu poems, which abound in Sufistic expressions which are difficult of interpretation to an ordinary English reader. For instance, *Sharab*, wine, expresses the domination of Divine love in the heart. *Gisu*, a ringlet, the details of the mysteries of Divinity. *Mai Khana*, a tavern, a stage of the journey. Mirth, Wantonness, and Inebriation signify religious enthusiasm and abstraction from worldly things.

The eight stages we have given are those usually taught by Sufi teachers in their published works, but in North India Mr. Hughes has frequently met with persons of this sect who have learnt only the four following stages:—The first, *Nasut*, or humanity, for which there is the *Shariat*, or law. The second, *Malaqut*, or the nature of angels, for which there is *Tariqut*, or the pathway of purity. The third, *Jabruts*, or the possession of power, for which there is *Ma'rifat*, or knowledge. And the fourth, *Sahut*, or extinction, for which there is *Haqiqat*, or truth.

CAPE COMORIN OR KUMÂRÎ.

"Fra Paolino, in his unsatisfactory way (*Viaggio alle Indie*, p. 68), speaks of Cape Comorin, "which the Indians call Canyamuri, *Virginis Promontorium*, or simply Comari or Cumari, 'a Virgin,' because they pretend that anciently the goddess Comari, 'the Damsel,' who is the Indian Diana or Hecate, used to bathe," &c. However, we can discover from his book elsewhere (see pp. 79, 285) that by the Indian Diana he means Pârvatî, *i.e.* Durgâ".—Yule's *Marco Polo*, vol. II. p. 552.

Mr. Talboys Wheeler, in his *History of India* (vol. III. p. 386), says the Kumârî was the infant babe exchanged for Krishṇa, apparently *because* the temple at the Cape was built by Krishna Râja of Narsinga, a zealous Vaishṇava,—forgetting, seemingly, that this was only a repair or reconstruction of a far older Śaiva edifice to Kanyâ Kumârî, the full vernacular name, and Fra Paolino's Canyamuri—who is no other than Pârvatî.

The Rev. G. M. Gordon (C.M.S.), who has been making tours through the Jhelam district, says: "The villagers are a great mixture: Hindus, Sikhs, and Muhammadans, bound together by sympathy of race amid much diversity of creed. The Muhammadan (whose ancestors were Hindus) mingles freely in Hindu festivals, and salutes faquirs; while the Hindu shows no less respect for Muhammadan observances, and the boundary line between Sikhism and Brâhmaṇism is gradually diminishing. The outward harmony may be partly due to mutual dependence for the necessaries of life, the cultivators being all Muhammadans, while the shopkeepers are mostly Hindus. Here, where the Muhammadans are in the majority, Hinduism appears under a very different garb from what one is accustomed to see in the South of India. There is none of that marked ascendancy of Brâhmaṇ over Śûdra; none of that shameless exhibition of wayside idols; no colossal temples like those of Madura and Kanchveram. The Hindu in these parts seems ashamed to confess to idolatry in the presence of a Muhammadan. His religious belief takes a more speculative turn, and he is generally a Vedantist or Pantheist. Among this class, and amongst the Muhammadan zamindârs, there is generally a willingness to listen to the preacher.

THE DELUGE.

The subjoined extract is taken from an unpublished translation of Albirûni's *Athâr al Bâkiya*, now in course of preparation for the Oriental Translation Fund by Dr. E. Sachau, Professor of Oriental Languages at Vienna:—

"The Persians and the great mass of the Magians deny the Deluge altogether; they believe that the rulership (of the world) has remained with them without any interruption ever since Gayômarsk, *Gilshâh*, who is, according to them, the first man. In denying the Deluge the Indians, Chinese, and the various nations of the East concur with them. Some, however, of the Persians admit the fact of the Deluge, but account for it in another way, as it is described in the Books of the Prophets. They say a partial Deluge occurred in Syria and the West in the time of Tahmûrash, but that it did not extend over the whole of the then civilized world, and only a few nations were submerged in it. It did not extend beyond the Peak of Holwân, and did not reach the countries of the East."—E. THOMAS, in *The Academy*, 17th *April* 1875.

BOOK NOTICES.

CENSUS OF THE BOMBAY PRESIDENCY taken on the 21st February 1872. Government Central Press, Bombay, 1875.

On a former occasion (*Ind. Ant.* vol. III. p. 331) we had occasion to notice the value of the Madras Census Report as a source of information upon many points interesting to readers of the *Antiquary*, and especially upon matters of ethnology. The three volumes now under review, though of about equal size, and referring to a population little more than half that of Madras, have taken a year longer to compile and publish; and now that we have them they are, we regret to say, almost valueless from this point of view.

The elaborate tables which set before the reader of Dr. Cornish's Report all possible statistics regarding the ethnology of the Madras Presidency are to be sought for in vain in Mr Lumsdaine's compilation, though we are indeed furnished with many particulars in decimal fractions as to the various sects of Christians, which the changes of a single year will render as inaccurate as they are unimportant. Perhaps this is the less to be regretted as the little ethnological information contained in the Bombay Report is calculated chiefly to mislead. Take, for instance, page 103, where Mr. Lumsdaine informs us that "Aborigines do not need special notice" This is fortunate, for they certainly have not got it. In the table immediately below, the District of Khândesh is shown as having an aboriginal population of 122,992, Nâsik 115,910, Ahmadnagar 6,228, Punâ 192, Kalâdgi 1, and the remaining districts of the Dekhan none at all. The rapid decrease in their numbers as we pass southwards would be remarkable to any one who did not know that the highlands of Ahmadnagar contain about 40 villages, and those of Puṇâ 199, almost exclusively inhabited by Kolîs with a few Ṭhâkurs. It appears, from a passage on the same page relating to Nâsik, that Mr. Lumsdaine knows that Kolîs are an aboriginal race, and that 68,302 of them swell the total in that district; and the natural though totally false inference would be that there are none in Puṇâ or Ahmadnagar. Yet these Kolîs might be considered worthy of some notice, if only for the fact that military aid has been required for the last fourteen months to keep them in order. Similarly, the number of aborigines given for Ṭhâṇâ is 25, and for Kulâbâ none. Even setting aside the coast Kolîs as a doubtful race, the region (North Konkan) comprised in these two districts is one of the richest in aborigines in the whole Presidency, both for number and variety,—containing Kolîs of the Hills, Warlîs, Kâtkarîs, Ṭhâkurs, &c. in such number that large tracts have hardly any other inhabitants. And so on through other districts. Yet knowledge on this subject was available, if only from the brief but valuable remarks of Dr. Wilson on page 111, though they are disfigured by the clumsy misprint of 'Kâlkarî' for 'Kâtkarî.'

Similarly, on the same page the point of a neat antithesis between 'Kshetrapatî,' 'the owner of a field,' and 'Chhatrapatî,' 'the lord of an umbrella,' has been improved by spelling both words the same way.

Instead, again, of the commentary rendered valuable by the research and acumen of Dr. Cornish, and by many extracts from the best authorities in Madras, we have in this Report only the one paragraph above mentioned from Dr. Wilson; a few pages extracted bodily from "Steele's *Castes of the Deccan*" (a good work, but old and not very practical); an account of the Swayamvara of Sanjogta Kumârî, Princess of Kanouj, from Mr. Talboys Wheeler's *History of India*; and some fine but vague writing of Mr. Lumsdaine's own about the early Âryans and a festival which he saw at "the castle of the Rahtor." He does not specify the name by which this castle is now known to mortals, but from the context it would

appear to be the palace of Jodhpûr, and further that Mr. Lumsdaine thinks that the famous Swayamvara took place there! The passage is so spirited and interesting that we give it at length, although it is hard to see what connection either the place or subject has with the census of the Bombay Presidency, except through the person of its compiler.

"Such tales" (viz. as the story of the Swayamvara) "find spell-bound listeners, and it has so chanced that I have read them. The castle of the Rahtor is no longer threatened; and it has been my good fortune to look down from its grim old towers, and by torchlight, upon a scene which as a scene was simply perfect. The occasion is an annual festival in honour of Mâta Devi, whose wrath is to be so appeased, that the scourge of small-pox may be stayed for the coming year. Groups of girls dressed in every colour and every shade of colour pass up to the palace to receive the usual propitiatory offering and take it to the shrine of the goddess. There the most beautiful amongst them is chosen, and a lighted taper is given to her, and placing it in an earthen vessel she is to carry it to the king. If it reaches him alight it is a good omen, but if it be quenched it is a presage of evil—*quod Deus avertat!* The ceremony is of the simplest, but it is all that is left to them of pomp and power. The procession of the girls is itself the very poetry of colour, and with it come stately elephants in housings ablaze with gold and silver embroidery. From end to end the route is illuminated; the terraced roofs are crowded; each coin of vantage is occupied; and the street has a background of torchlit matchlocks and men, wildly effective, and between them is borne the sacred light.

"And then come the very flower of Rajpût chivalry, splendidly dressed, superbly mounted; rich armour and jewelled plumes, inlaid shields, the burnished axe, the glittering mace, the pennoned lance; and everywhere the play of sword-blades. The picture is perfect, and carries one back to the Crusades, but it tells us that ages before the Crusades such arms were wielded by the ancestors of the men who now carry them."

We have the 'Buddhists', of course, 190,620 of them, in whom the public of Bombay will be surprised to recognize the familiar Mârvâḍi, with numbers eked out by certain Gujarâtî Jainas, and a few Southern Jainas who are cultivators or small traders in the Dekhan and South Marâṭhâ Country. As there is a good account of them at p. 83 (indeed the whole chapter on Religions is the best in the Report), it may be presumed that this classification is used under orders from superior authority. It is scarcely necessary to say here that there is not an indigenous Buddhist in the Presidency.

To conclude: the orthography of the Report varies from the pure Jonesian of Dr. Wilson to the ugly but still systematic Gilchristian of Mr. Steele, with every possible form of intermediate bastard and barbarous kakography. This fault reaches its acme on the map, which has besides, on its own geographical account, the merit of putting Ṭhâṇâ on the mainland, and the source of the Ulâs river under the Malsej Ghâṭ, with other new discoveries of the same sort "too numerous to mention."

THE PRINCIPLES OF COMPARATIVE PHILOLOGY. By A. H. SAYCE, Fellow and Tutor of Queen's College, Oxford. (London: Trubner and Co., 1874.) pp. 381.

Mr. Sayce is a zealous philologist who has already done excellent service, especially in the investigation of the Assyrian branch of Semitic. He is well entitled to an attentive hearing on the subject of Comparative Philology.

He characterizes his own work as "devoid of the graces of style," "rough-hewn," and "bristling with uncouth words," and, so far as the matter of it is concerned, as being "critical" rather than "constructive."

We certainly cannot praise the style. Mr. Sayce is full of thought and knowledge; but he seems just to have tilted the water-jar on one side and allowed the stream to *rush* as best it might.

And Mr. Sayce is nothing if not critical. He has very strong convictions, and is ever bold in expressing them. No matter who crosses his path, *Tros Tyriusve*, the comer is greeted with a war-whoop and a blow. We are glad that we are criticizing Mr. Sayce, instead of being criticized by him. We shall deal more mercifully by him than he would by us.

But, in fact, our work is exposition much rather than criticism. Mr. Sayce holds that one far-reaching error on the part of philologists has been the assumption that the Âryan family of language affords a complete solution of the problems of the science of language. We cannot admit that philologists have overlooked the Semitic tongues; but the tendency which Mr. Sayce thus states, and considerably overstates, does, to some extent, exist. He would give as an instance of such perilously rapid generalization the canon that the roots of all languages are monosyllabic.* This canon, he states, is set aside

* Does not Mr. Sayce, however, rather exaggerate the evil? We find in Prof. Whitney's *Life and Growth of Language* the following assertion regarding the large family of Malayo-Polynesian dialects:—"The roots are prevailingly dissyllabic" (p. 243).

by recent investigations into Accadian, as recovered from the cuneiform inscriptions of Babylon. Many of its roots are dissyllabic. Accadian is a very ancient Turanian speech,—older than the Sanskrit of the Veda; and Mr. Sayce strongly holds that the neglect of Turanian has led to many other rash conclusions besides the specific one now mentioned. On this point we quite agree with him.

Our readers are doubtless familiar with the division of languages into Isolating, Agglutinative, and Inflectional, with the great dispute whether an isolating tongue is naturally developed—or capable of being developed—into an agglutinative, and afterwards into an inflectional one. Mr. Sayce vehemently says, No. He asserts that even if the Âryan was "the eldest born of a gorilla," "his brain could produce only an inflectional language, as soon as he came to speak consciously." He admits that the three stages of language above named mark "successive levels of civilization," but maintains that "each was the highest expression of the race that carried it out." We would fain gather arguments from Mr. Sayce's pages as strong as these assertions; but we have failed to find them.

The question of the interchange, as it has been called, of letters has attracted much notice. Why, for example, have we *duo* in Latin, *two* in English, and *zwei* in German? Or, again, *tres* in Latin, *three* in English, *drei* in German? Mr Sayce holds that all the related sounds were "differentiations of one obscure sound which contained within itself the clearer consonants." Primitive man, he believes, had no delicacy of ear. The further back we push our researches, the greater becomes the number of obscure, or neutral, sounds. The oldest words he holds to have conveyed ideas of the most purely sensuous kind.

Mr. Sayce's speculations on the Metaphysics of language are in more than one sense oracular. But his illustration of his meaning should be more intelligible. Take the question of gender:—how can the sexual character attributed to nouns be explained? Some have ascribed it to a philosophic, or perhaps poetic, view of the character of the objects as resembling in quality either males or females, or neither. Mr. Sayce sets aside this view by referring to African dialects that have eight or even eighteen genders. Following Bleek, but somewhat modifying his view, he says: Out of the endless variety of words that might have been taken for personal and demonstrative pronouns, use selected some; each of these was associated with "an ever-increasingly specified" class of nouns; and where the pronouns continued different the classes of substantives connected with them continued different also. "Where the majority of words with a common termination were of a certain gender, all other words with the same ending were referred to the same gender." And then we have illustrations supplied from Moxa, and Abiponian, and Mikir, and Tshetsh, and Wolof!

Mr. Sayce holds that the dual is older than the plural. This opposes the common belief of scholars; but he argues the point ably, and, what is more, clearly.

The chapter on Philology and Religion is the part of the book that satisfies us least. We find a multitude of propositions, stated without proof, which would upset the belief of nine-tenths of thinking men. For example—

"The religious instinct first exhibits itself in the worship of dead ancestors. Society begins with a hive-like community, the members of which are not individually marked out, but together form one whole. In other words, the community, and not the individual, lives and acts. But the community does not comprise the living only; the dead equally form a part of it; and their presence, it is believed, can alone account for the dreams of the savage or the pains and illnesses to which he is subject. In this way the conception of a spiritual world takes its rise."

And all this is quietly taken for granted! Let us pass on, lest we lose our temper, to the concluding chapter, which discusses the influence of Analogy in language. It deals with nothing deep, but simply states some very obvious truths. The influence of analogy may be seen in the tendency now existing in English to reduce all verbs to the *weak* form of conjugation. Its influence is far-reaching. It affects language both as to its matter and its form. As to its matter, analogy produces change in accent, quantity, and pronunciation generally. It moulds not only accidence and syntax, but the signification of words. Exceptional cases are forced into harmony with the prevailing rule. Irish accents its words on the first syllable; the cognate Welsh on the penultimate; though originally the mode of accentuation must have been similar in both. "A particular mode of accentuation became fashionable," and the "whole stock of words was gradually brought under the dominant type." This explanation does not explain much, however; it only asserts that the majority drew the minority after it. But how did the majority go in one direction in Irish, and in another in Welsh?

There are many striking things scattered up and down the pages before us. Rash as we deem Mr. Sayce, at all events he never fails to be interesting; and his stores of information are very great.

SKETCH OF THE KÂṬHÎS,

ESPECIALLY THOSE OF THE TRIBE OF KHÂCHAR AND HOUSE OF CHOṬILA.

BY MAJOR J. W. WATSON, BHAUNAGAR.

DURING the celebrated strife between the Kauravas and Pâṇḍavas, when the latter were travelling incognito, during the thirteenth year of their banishment, the Kauravas, by way of discovering their enemies, went about harassing cows, so as to induce the Pâṇḍavas to declare themselves by issuing to protect them. How their device succeeded is detailed in the *Mahâbhârata*. Now Karṇa, the son of Sûrya by Kuntâ, mother of the Pâṇḍavas, was an ally of the Kauravas, and he undertook to bring to aid them the best cattle-lifters in the world. This Karṇa was the first to bring the Kâṭhis into Hindustân, and accordingly when he came to the Kauravas' aid he brought with him the seven tribes of the Kâṭhîs, viz. (1) Paṭgar, (2) Pâṇḍavâ, (3) Nâraḍ, (4) Nâtâ, (5) Mânjariâ, (6) Ṭoṭariâ, and (7) Garibâguliâ. These seven are the original Kâṭhîs, and all the modern tribes are sprung from their intermarriage with Râjput tribes; thus the intermarriage with the Wâlâs gave rise to the great sub-tribe of the Shâkhâyats, in which are included the three leading tribes of Wâlâ, Khâchar, and Khumân: the intermarriage with the Râṭhoḍs of the Dhândhal tribe gave rise to the Dhândhals; and their intermarriage with the Jhâlâs founded the tribe of Khawaḍ.* These original Kâṭhîs, accompanying the Kauravas, lifted the cattle of Verâṭ, the modern Dholakâ, and after the defeat of the Kauravas settled in the province of Mâlwâ, on the banks of the river Chomal.

Now Vrittriketu, of the Solar race, coming from Ayodhyânagari, is said to have founded the kingdom of Mâṇḍavagaḍh in Mâlwâ; some accounts represent him to have brought with him to Mâlwâ the seven tribes of the Kâṭhis; and this account appears the more probable of the two. Vrittriketu was succeeded on the throne of Mâṇḍavagaḍh by Ajaketu, whose descendants many years after are said to have entered Saurâshtra and reigned at Walâ. They were accompanied by the seven Kâṭhî tribes, who, however, leaving Saurâshṭrâ, went to Kachh, and there founded the kingdom of Pâwargaḍh, near the site of the modern Bhuj, where they remained for many years. One year there was a great famine, and Vishâlo, the head of the Paṭgar tribe, with his tribe and many other Kâṭhîs, came to Saurâshṭra, and taking their flocks and herds into the Baraḍâ mountains remained there. Vishâlo himself came to Kâlâwaḍ (now under Navanagar) and built a *nes* (or hamlet) there. At this time Dhân Wâlâ was reigning in Walâ Chamârdi. One of his sons, by name Verâwalji, went on a pilgrimage to Dwârkâ, and on his return journey halted at Kâlâwaḍ, where he accidentally saw Rupâlde, the beautiful daughter of Vishâlo Patgar, and, being enamoured of her, he asked her hand of her father in marriage. Her father, Vishâlo, agreed on condition that Verâwalji should become a Kâthî, and Verâwalji consenting was married with great pomp to the beautiful Rupâlde. Verâwalji was now outcasted by his brethren, and ever after resided amongst the Kâṭhis. The following *kavit* is said regarding this marriage :—

कवित.

संवन बार चालीश ।। मास वैशाख मंडे ।।
भोमवार नथ बीज ।। चुंकर संग उमंडे ।।
घरे त्रंबाला घोर ।। चोदश फोजां सजे ।।
रणछोडराय रूदये रखी ।। दीश्वकीध दीगवीजे ।।
घरभणी शंग हालेघणो ।। एम कालावड आवीयो ।।
सरवजाण वेलावल धानशनण ।। पटगर वीशला घरेपरणीयो ।।

It is written that in Saṁvat 1240, in the month of Vaishâkh, the light half,
On Tuesday the second day of the month, at the commencement of four quarters,
The drums were beating loudly and the army was ready in all.
Having kept Ranchodrâi at heart, he who was victorious over the four quarters of the earth,
The great *sangh* was returning home, and so came to Kâlâwaḍ;
He, the all-knowing Verâwal, son of Dhân,
Married at the house of Vishâlo Patgar.

Though in quoting this poetry I have retained the original words, viz. Saṁvat 1240, I incline to think that it should be Saṁvat 1440, because there is good reason to doubt that the Parmârs of Muli settled there before the fifteenth century Saṁvat, and, as will be shown hereafter, they were at this time holding Muli.

* So named from Khawadji Jhâlâ, the son of Harpâldeva, who married a Kâṭhiânî.

After this marriage Verâwalji, as a Suryavanśi Râjput, was looked on not only by the Patgars, but by the seven tribes of the Kâthîs, as their head and chieftain, and he went to the Baraḍâ hills to receive their allegiance, and then, taking the seven tribes of the Kâthîs with him, he went to Ḍhânk and set up his *gâdi* there. Ḍhânk is said to have been called Mungipur Pâṭan and Rehewâs Pâṭan in ancient times, but it had fallen waste, and was now repopulated by Verâwalji. Another account shows that Verâwalji received Ḍhânk in appanage from the *gâdi* of Wâlâ Chamardi, but this is not so probable as the above. It is supposed that Verâwalji sat on the *gâdi* of Ḍhânk in S. 1245[*] A.D. 1189. Verâwalji was succeeded on the *gâdi* by his son Wâlâji: he had altogether three sons and one daughter, viz. (1) Wâlâji, who succeeded him, (2) Khumânji, (3) Lâlu, and (4) his daughter Mâṇikbâi, whom he married to a Parmâr Râjput. The descendants of Mâṇikbâi by her Parmâr husband are called Jebaliâ Kâṭhîs. After Verâwalji's death Wâloji[†] returned to the old Kâthî seat of Pâwargaḍh in Kachh, and, conquering about four hundred villages in the vicinity, remained there ruling over the Kâthîs. At this time Jâm Satoji ruled over a portion of Kachh; he had a feud with the Soḍhâ of Dhât-Pârkar, and collected an army to invade that country. One of the Jâm's courtiers, who knew of Wâloji's prowess, advised the Jâm to take Wâloji with him, and the Jâm invited him to accompany him. When the Jâm's messenger explained his message to Wâloji, Wâloji agreed to aid him with fifteen hundred horse and marched at once to his camp, where Jâm Satoji received him and his Kâthîs with much cordiality, and bestowed on Wâloji a handsome tent. The Kâthîs from their prowess became the leading portion of the army, which soon reached the confines of Dhât-Pârkar.[‡] When the news of this invasion reached the Chief of Pârkar, he with his brothers Alang and Samarath came forth with their army and joined battle with the Jâm; but after an obstinate resistance the three brothers were slain, and the Jâm pillaged the whole country of Pârkar, after which he turned his steps towards his own dominions, and on his way thither camped at the Nigâlâ tank, where there were but few trees. The Kâthîs formed the vanguard of the army, and arriving first at the tank pitched their tents under the shade of these trees. When the Jâm arrived, he was excessively enraged at the conduct of the Kâthîs in not leaving him a tree beneath which he might pitch his tent, and compelled Wâloji to remove his tents. Wâloji vowed revenge, and the Jâm, unwilling to provoke a chief of his prowess, now endeavoured to conciliate him, and styled him the Kâthî Jâm. Wâloji, however, refused all his overtures and withdrew from the camp with his Kâthîs, and a few days after, finding the Jhâḍejâs off their guard, he made a night attack on the Jâm's tents and slew him and five of his brothers, the youngest brother, Jâm Abḍâ (after whom the Abḍâsâ district in Kachh is named), alone escaping. Jâm Abḍâ with a large force marched against Pâwargaḍh, expelled the Kâthîs from thence, and finally drove them across the Ran, pursuing them to Thân. Other accounts say that Jâm Abḍâ pursued the Kâthîs to Pâwargaḍh, where he besieged them, and eventually compelled them to receive a garrison, which was posted in the citadel, and also forced Wâloji to give him his daughter in marriage. After a year or two had elapsed, the Kâthîs on a fixed day massacred the Jâm's garrison and then fled across the Ran, *viâ* Morbi and Wankâner, to Thân in the Panchâla, whither they were hotly pursued by Jâm Abḍâ. At Thân was the celebrated temple of the Sun, and it is said that that luminary appeared in a dream to Wâloji and encouraged him to risk a battle: and he accordingly did so, repulsing Jâm Abḍâ, who now retired to Kachh. Some say that in this conflict the Sun appeared in Wâloji's ranks in mortal form, riding on a white horse, and that wherever this strange warrior went the enemy's men fell as though mown with a sickle. After this the Kâṭhîs devoted themselves more than ever to Sun-worship. The descendants of Wâloji were called Wâlâs; they with the other Kâthîs remained at Thân till Saṁvat 1480,[§] when the three sons of Wâloji acquired the chiefdom of Chital, and taking with them their followers and kinsfolk they

[*] This is probably S. 1445, A.D. 1389.

[†] The fact of Wâloji leaving Dhânk and returning to Pâwargadh shows, I think, that the occupation of Dhânk was merely temporary, and that it was not bestowed in appanage, in which case he would have been loth to relinquish it.

[‡] Also called Dhrât.

[§] This date, probably correct, shows that the Saṁvat 1245 is a mistake for S. 1445, and S. 1240 for S. 1440, as only one generation had elapsed, and these three were the second generation from Verâwalji.

reigned there. Khumânji, the second son of Verâwalji, had one son named Nâgpâl,—so named from his having adopted the worship of the Nâga Wâsuki, or Wâsangji as he is now called. Nâgpâl had two sons, Mânsur and Khâchar. The descendants of Mânsur were called Khumâns, after their grandfather Khumânji. Mânsur had a son named Nâgsur, who acquired Sâwar-Kuṇḍlâ, and remained there with his kinsfolk and followers; he is the ancestor of the Khumân Kâṭhîs of Sâwar-Kuṇḍlâ under Bhâunagar. Lâluji, the third son of Verâwalji, had a son named Khâchar, from whom all the Khâchar tribe of Kâṭhîs are descended. His son was Khimânand, whose son was Wâjsur, who had two sons, Punjo and Nâgsur. From Punjo sprang the Somâsriâs (under Muli), the Dândâs, and the Thobâliâs. Nâgsur had a son, Nâgajan, whose sons were Kâlo and Nâgpâl. From Nâgpâl descended the Mokânîs, which sub-tribe are now to be found at Bhaḍli and Khambâlâ. Kâlo was a renowned Kâṭhî, and he in S. 1542 founded the village of Kâlâsar, naming it after himself. Kâlo was a devoted worshipper at the shrine of Śiva in the Thângâ hills, called the Ṭhângânâth, and in S. 1560 the god, pleased with the assiduity of his devotions, told him that he would grant him all the land which he should be able to see in a straight line from his shrine; he also told him that a caravan laden with grain would come for the supply of his soldiers, but that he must not look back. Kâlo Khâchar looked and saw the land as far as Loliânâ, on the banks of the Bhâdar. The caravan too arrived, and he filled his storehouses with grain; but after this, while about to make room for more, he accidentally looked back, when all the bullocks of the caravan were changed into stones, and the grain into dust. These stones may yet be seen between Kâlâsar and the Ṭhângânâth. Afterwards Kâlo Khâchar, with the assistance of the Thângânâth, took possession of the land which he had seen. Kâlo Khâchar had four sons, named Sâmat, Ṭhebo, Jâvaro, and Vejo. The descendants of Jâvaro are called Kuṇḍaliâs. Thebo had two sons, Dâno and Lakho; the descendants of Dâno were called after their grandfather Ṭhebo, Ṭhebânîs; but the descendants of Lakho are called after their father, Lakhânîs. The tâlukdârs of Pâliâd are Ṭhebânîs, while the tâlukdârs of Jasdan and their bhayâds are Lakhânîs. Sâmat had four sons:—Râmo, Nâgo, Devâit, and Sajâl, regarding whom the following *duho* is said:—

|| दुहो. || शागमल रामो ने साबभल || देवाइत दीगपाल ||
नरभटंको नागडो || छे शामतका चार ||

Sagmâl and Râmo are entirely good,
Devâit is a protector of the world,*
Nâgḍo is a victorious man,—
These are the four (sons) of Sâmat.

Sâmat Khâchar conquered Chotilâ from the Parmârs, and Sejakpur and Shâpur from the Gohels; previous to these conquests he reigned at Thân. The conquest of Chotilâ, then called Choṭgaḍh, was on this wise. Chotilâ was held by Jagsio Parmâr,† and the Kâṭhî women, who in all time have been famous for their beauty, used to go there to sell grass, firewood, &c., and were noted for their skill in smearing the floors with cowdung. On one occasion some beautiful Kâṭhiânîs were employed for this purpose in Jagsio's palace, and he becoming enamoured of them made them proffers of love, which they scornfully rejected, though he detained them for some time in hopes of overcoming their constancy. When they reached home their husbands and brethren asked them why they returned so late. They replied, "You are not our husbands; our husband is Jagsio Parmâr, who has thus dared to detain us." They then related the insults they had been subjected to, and their husbands and kinsmen swore by the sacred Sun to avenge them or die. It is said that these women came from Gugliânâ, a village between Thân and Chotilâ; their husbands went to Thân and complained to Sâmat Khâchar, and offered to seat him on the throne of Chotilâ if he would avenge them on the Parmâr. Sâmat, though now old, agreed, and it was arranged to invite Jagsio Parmâr to a feast at Gugliânâ, when on the signal "*Lakhâ vândar gher*" ("Lakhâ, besiege the monkey,") Lakhâ should slay Jagsio. This Lakhâ was the ancestor of the Lakhânîs mentioned above, and was nephew of Sâmat Khâchar, and son of Ṭhebo as aforesaid. Jagsio Parmâr, ignorant of the plot, accepted the invitation to Gugliânâ, and was received with much respect by the

* *Digpâl* means literally 'a protector of the points of the compass.'

† The Parmârs say that this Jagsio was a Khavas, but this is probably to hide their shame.

Kâṭhîs. After he had eaten and drunken, Sâmat Khâchar said "*Lakhâ wândar gher*," but Lakhâ stirred not. Sâmat two or three times repeated the signal, but Lakhâ's heart failed him, for Jagsio was a powerful man; at last Nâg Khâchar, son of Sâmat, said to Lakhâ, "If you will not, I will," and Lakhâ assenting, Nâg Khâchar drew his sword and with one blow hewed off Jagsio's head. A massacre of his followers ensued, and the Kâṭhîs mounting at once proceeded to and surprised C h o ṭ i l â, expelling the Parmârs. This conquest was made in the month of Chaitra, Saṁvat 1622. The L a k h â n î s are to this day taunted with the cowardice of their ancestor. Nâg Khâchar now mounted the C h o ṭ i l â *gâdi*, but his reign was of short duration; for the M u l i P a r m â r s, with the view of avenging the death of Jagsio and of recovering Choṭilâ, led a strong force against that place. On this occasion Nâg Khâchar, after fighting with great gallantry, fell, with fifty other Kâṭhîs, in the streets of Choṭilâ. The Parmârs, however, also suffered so severely that they were obliged to return without placing a garrison in the town. The following verses are said in praise of Nâg Khâchar :—

|| कवीत || गडे राग सींधु नो चडे लोढोगीयण ||
उगरे नके अरजडे आरा ||
पडचडे नांहां धरलहर बुडे प्रशण ||
खाचरां तणा दल समुद्र खारा ||
हरा शामन हठी ठेब मोकल हरा ||
कटकरां उफणे लोढ काला ||
अदभ जेम गडगडे, कटकरा उफणे ||
वेरीयां शरे पांचाल वाला ||
फेटलेवे वंका हुन कटका फरक ||
मेच जत्र थीया छत्र गरक मांइ ||
सात्रकाला हरा लहर आंबेर छबे
नाग वालां दलां नाग नांही ||

When the Sindhu tune is sung, the waves (of his prowess) mount to the sky,
Then the enemy can find no shore of safety;
If they fight, then the foe is drowned beneath the waves,
For the Khâchar's army is as the salt sea.
Descendant of Sâmat, and also of Ṭhebo and Moko,
Whose forces rise like the black waves,
And roar as the sea roars,
Does the rising of the army of the lord of the P a n c h â l a against his foes.
His army, ever patrolling the country, dashes down even the brave.
The chiefs of the Mlechhas were drowned wherever they were:
For the waves of the grandson of king Kâlâ reach to the heavens,
And no estimate can be formed of the army of Nâg.

The following verses are also in praise of Nâg Khâchar, who by a play on words is likened to a *nâga* or cobra, as in the preceding verses his army was compared with the ocean :—

|| दुहो || राफरे चोटीलरे || फुकनखे गेणाग ||
वादी रखे जगाडनो || सोनागा ओननाग ||

At his ant-hill * of C h o ṭ i l â
He hisses as high as heaven :
Vâdi, † be careful lest he wake!
Thus Nâg resembled a *nâga* (cobra).

|| दुहो || चाचर चोटीला तणे || त्रंबक त्रेयां जेह ||
नागन जायने || शोणीये शामन राउत ||

At your palace of C h o ṭ i l â
The drums beat so loudly,
O Nâg, son of Sâmat,
That one cannot hear aught else.

On the death of Nâg Khâchar his brother Râmo assumed the sovereignty over C h o ṭ i l â: but after his time, owing to the feud with the Parmârs, Choṭilâ was deserted. Yet the Parmârs were never able to recover it, and its lands remained under the Khâchars' sovereignty. The descendants of Râmo are called R â m â n î s. The *pâliâs* erected in memory of Nâg Khâchar and the Kâṭhîs who fell with him are still standing at Choṭilâ. From Sagâl Khâchar, son of Sâmat, and brother of Nâg and Râmo, sprang the S u r a g â n i and T â j p a r â Kâṭhîs; from Nâg the N â g â n î s and K â l â n î s; while from Devâit sprang the G o d a ḍ k â s, who now hold lands in Botâd and Gadhrâ under Bhâunagar. Râmo Khâchar, who ruled at Choṭilâ, had six sons, viz. (1) Chomlo, (2) Jogi, (3) Nândo, (4) Bhimo, (5) Jaso, and (6) Kâpaḍi. Chomlo left Choṭilâ and lived at Hadmatiyâ and Dântavash. Jogi had a son Râmo, whose son was Velo, whose descendants are at present the Girâsiâs of Umardâ under Dhrângadhrâ. One of his

* The word राफरो means 'the mound of the white ant,' a notorious haunt of cobras; here *Râphro* is also used figuratively for the Choṭilâ hill.

† A *vâdi* is a professional snake-catcher, but the word also means 'an enemy,' and is here used in the double sense.

descendants named Kâlo, son of Mâmâiyo, was a brave and renowned Kâṭhî, and the following verses are said in his honour :—

|| दुहो. || क्रोडे लख कढीये || लखन मांह हजार ||
हजारे शो कढीये || शोमां कलो सार ||

From a kror take a lâkh,
From a lâkh take one thousand,
From a thousand select one hundred,
In the hundred Kâlo will be best.

And this verse—

|| दुहो. || कलीआ थाये भेलां कटक || बीजां बार हजार ||
सामन हर सरदार || कीयो रगनाथे रामाउन ||

Kâliâ, if even there should assemble twelve thousand other armies,
Where has Raghunâth created a sardâr like Râmo the son of Sâmat?

Nândo, the third son of Râmo, died without male issue. From his fourth son Bhimo sprang the B h i m â n î s, who hold some lands on the banks of the Bhâdar; and from his fifth son Jaso sprang the J a s â n i s. The sixth son, named Kâpaḍi, went to Dhandhukâ, which he conquered, expelling Aju Mer and the Muhammadan garrison. He conquered for himself a *chorâsi*, or principality of 84 villages, on the banks of the Rânpur Bhâdar river, and used to make forays in the surrounding districts at the head of fifteen hundred horse, and many stories are told of his daring. The following verses are in his praise :—

|| रूपक. || केशर फाडीये जह || अचमर नहर काठीये ||
भवशरां कुंझरां खरां भांठे ||
केशरी रामरो दीकरो कापडी ||
कापडी गरजीयो भाद्र कांठे ||
धंधुके थीयो पतशाह धर धोपटे ||
प्रजा रखपाल जाणे पटालो ||
गुड सुंडा वलां डलां आखां गले ||
बोलीए त्रशीभर वाघ बालो ||
लोहमे थाप उभारीए अनलबल ||
अरहरां झींकीएकाभ आठी ||
छत्रांभिर धोखले शींगलां मेंगलां ||
कहो मडा वाघ सोराठ काठी ||
खाचरां राओरा नहर लागा खरा ||
भोयतण चारदश वले भागी ||
असुरवाग आकरी, चाकतण उतरी ||
वाहराशीहरी हांक वागी ||

As the lion rends, so the sword is the claw of the K â ṭ h î;
He cleaves the strongest elephants of the world,
Does Kâpaḍi, son of the lion-like Râmo.
Kâpaḍi roared on the banks of the B h â d a r.
Conquering the land he became king of D h a n d h u k â.
He was protector of his subjects like a tiger:
Though he devoured great pieces of the elephants' legs, yet the (blood)thirsty young tiger roared,
His iron claws he raised with immeasurable strength,
And cast down the army of his thick-necked enemies,
The umbrella-bearing (king) cut them down as it were bulls and elephants,—
Say, Thus did the great tiger, the Kâṭhî of S o r a t h.
The claws of the Khâchar Râo struck deeply:
From fear they fled (from him) in every direction,
On the Asuras fell a heavy calamity.
Bravo, king of lions, thou hast sorely terrified them!

There is also this couplet:—

|| दुहो. || पाडल उपर पाग || न पडे नेजालां नणो ||
कापडीओ करमाल || धोडे चोटीला धणी ||

The feet of banner-bearing (kings)
Cannot stay on the mountain (of Choṭilâ);
Because the Kâpaḍi lord of C h o ṭ i l â
Is brandishing his sword.

Kâpaḍi Khâchar had seven sons, viz. (1) Nâgâjan, (2) Jaso, (3) Wasto, (4) Harsur, (5) Devâit, (6) Hijho, and (7) Wâlero, of whom Nâgâjan was the most famous. He had two sons, Lakho and Mulu Khâchar, and married his daughter Premâbâi, in the month of Paush Samvat 1713 (A.D. 1657), to Bâjhâni Dhândhal at Gugliânâ, and gave her the village of Chhaḍiâli as a marriage portion. The following verses are said concerning Nâgâjan :—

|| दुहो. || गुगलीआणे गडगडे || खुनी खाननणां ||
ओले अंनर रहा || नररहा नागाजणा ||

When (the drums) of a ferocious Khân were beating at Gugliânâ
Men remained under your protection, O Nâgâjan.

Mulu Khâchar made S e j a k p u r his capital, and thence conquered Â n a n d a p u r a; while Lakhâ Khâchar made S h â p u r his capital, whence he conquered M e w â s â and B h â d l â. Mulu Khâchar had three sons:—(1) Wâjsur, (2) Râmo, and (3) Sâdul. Of these, Râmo kept Â n a n d a p u r a as his share, and the present tâlukdârs of Ânandapura are his descendants. During these times C h o ṭ i l â was still waste, nor

had it ever been repopulated since its relinquishment by the sons of Râmo Khâchar. It remained thus waste until Saṁvat 1806, when, in the month of Mâgha, Khâchars Sâdul Mulu, Wâjsur Mulu, and Ramo Mulu repopulated it. These three were the sons of Mulu Khâchar of Sejakpur, of whom mention has been made above. Lakhâ Khâchar of Shâpur had seven sons, three of whom—Bhim, Kumpo, and Bhân—were his sons by the sister of Jhânjhariâ Dhândhal; and the other four—Suro, Viro, Wâgho, and Bhoko—were the sons of the sister of Ghaghâni Bhim. Kumpo and Bhân reigned at Bhâdlâ. Wâgho ruled at Mewâsâ. Suro reigned at Shâpur and Chobâri, Viro at Sanosrâ and Piprâli, while Bhoko ruled at Ajmer. The sons of Suro, named Velo and Nâjo, succeeded their father at Chobâri in Saṁvat 1836.

TRANSLATION OF BHARTṚIHARI'S NÍTI ŚATAKAM.

BY PROF. C. H. TAWNEY, M.A., CALCUTTA.

(Continued from p. 265.)

Some miscellaneous stanzas.

A woman's heart is like a glass, reflecting every face,
Her secret thoughts, like mountain paths, are difficult to trace,
Her fancy wavers, like the dew which lotus-leaves enclose,
Her faults, like deadly Upas-buds, develop as she grows.

Who falls in sight of either host
Upon th' ensanguined plain,
Though victory and heaven be lost,
From both sides praise doth gain.

The Boar's and Râhu's mighty deeds our reverence command:
The one upheld with gleaming tusks the sea-o'erwhelmed land;
The other, sorely maimed in fight, while head and throat remain
Makes shift to swallow still the foes he must release again.

The land is limited by sea, the sea its bounds must keep,
The ever-wandering orb of day measures heaven's trackless deep:
All things are fettered and restrained, except the sage's mind,
Which springs beyond the bounds of death, and ranges unconfined.

Between Vishnu and [illegible] there's nothing to choose,
B[illegible] fair or foul she will serve [illegible] as well.
Men in woods and in deserts the same course pursues,
And a friend's but a friend in a court or a cell.

By tortoise, hills, and king of snakes
Upheld and poised, earth's centre shakes;
Men of firm faith and constant soul
Swerve not, while endless ages roll.

Does not the tortoise feel the load he bears without complaint?
Is not the flaming lord of day with ceaseless wandering faint?
Are not good men o'erwhelmed with shame when forced their troth to break?
Great spirits love to carry through whate'er they undertake.

Cymbals, to harmonize their tone,
Must first with flour be fed:*
So he can call all bards his own
Who fills their mouths with bread.

The mean pursue a thousand ways to satisfy their greed.
But he will ne'er be chief of saints whose gain's his highest meed,
The Aurva-fire drinks up the sea to still its craving new.
The cloud, to cheer a thirsty world, the waves doth upward draw.

Hard fate to minister and bard assigned!
One must new tunes and one new taxes find.
By honeyed language both aspire to climb,
This slowly builds his power, and that his rhyme;
A captious public both must toil to please,
And part unthanked with liberty and ease.

Though fortune shower her blessings everywhere,
But few will reach the poor man's lowly head.
Though rain-clouds all day long their treasures shed,
Three drops at most reward the *chātak's* prayer

* Literally, [illegible] is played upon. (Kâśinâth Trimbak Telang.)

A man should reverence the sage,
  Not only when he gives advice,—
The random words of prudent age,
  If rightly weighed, are pearls of price.

The good man, like a bounding ball,
Springs ever upward from his fall;
The wicked falls like lump of clay,
And crumbles into dust away.

What though by some untoward fate no lotus on the lake be born,
The swan will ne'er, like barndoor fowl, rake in the dust for grains of corn.

'Tis like the cheeks of elephants splitting with thunder-sound,
'Tis like the neigh of battle-horse that frets and paws the ground,
'Tis like a strong man roused from sleep with trumpets, fifes, and drums,
When justice robed in heavenly might, intent on vengeance, comes.

The heart of the contented man enjoys perpetual peace,
The covetous pine with lust of wealth; their cravings never cease;
Not Meru's peak, of gold entire, can captivate my soul,
Let him, who likes it, clamber up and carry off the whole.

From nature comes the lotus' rosy hue,
By nature good men others' good pursue,
And cruel men have cruel ends in view.

Truth is the ornament of all mankind,
Slim elephants delight the keeper's mind,
Learning and patience are a Brâhmaṇ's boast,
Each creature's highest good becomes it most.

Better to fall from mountain height,
  And dash thy life out on the plain,
Better th' envenomed serpent's bite,
  Better the death in fiery pain,
Than once to swerve from virtue's path,
  Which they who lose ne'er find again.

Abandon, fool, thy hope to see
The brave man dread calamity;
When the great doom shall earth o'ertake
Nor seas, nor mighty hills will quake.

The moon the lord of healing herbs, whose gleaming horn is Śiva's crest,
Is doomed with dim eclipse to pine; none can avoid grim Fate's behest.

A splendid palace, lovely brides, the symbols all of kingly sway,
Are jewels strung on merit's thread stretching through many a toilsome day:
As pearls are from a necklace shed, when breaks the bond that held them fast,
Light they disperse, when merit fails, whirled from us by misfortune's blast.

SANSKRIT AND OLD CANARESE INSCRIPTIONS.

BY J. F. FLEET, Bo. C.S.

(*Continued from page 250.*)

No. VI.

This is an inscription of the Vijayanagara dynasty, from Plate No. 22 of Major Dixon's work. The original, in Canarese characters approaching very closely to those of the modern alphabet, is engraved on a stone-tablet 5′ 8″ high by 2′ 8″ broad at Harihar. The language is partly Sanskrit and partly Canarese. The emblems at the top of the stone are:—In the centre, a *linga* and a kneeling priest or worshipper: on its right, a figure of Basava, with the sun or moon above it; and on its left, a standing figure, above which there must be the moon or the sun, though the photograph is cut so as not to show it.

The inscription is dated in the year of the Śâlivâhana Śaka 1452 (A.D. 1530-1), the Vikriti *saṁvatsara*, and belongs to the time of king Achyutarâya or Achyutadêvarâya. It records that Nârâyaṇadêva, the son of Timmarasa, divided into three portions the village of Baḷḷôpura, otherwise known as Achyutarâyapura, which had been previously granted to him by the king, and allotted one share to the god Harihara and the remaining two shares to Viśvêsvarârâdhya, the son of Râmachandrârâdhya.

Achyutarâya's* name is mentioned by Prinsep in his list of the kings of Vijayanagara, but his date is wrongly given there as between A.D. 1490 and 1524. I have previously met with his name in No. 9 of the Gadag inscriptions dated Śaka 1461, the Vikâri *saṁvatsara*.

* See the *Ind. Ant.* for October 1873, Vol. II., p. 298, where the reading should be Achyutamahârâya, and not Avyayamahârâya as printed.

Transcription.

[1] ಶ್ರೀಹರಿಹರಾಯ ನಮಃ ॥ ನಮಸ್ತುಂಗಶಿರಶ್ಚುಂಬಿಚಂದ್ರಚಾಮರಚಾರವೇ [।] ತ್ರೈ-
[2] ಲೋಕ್ಯನಗರಾರಂಭಮೂಲಸ್ತಂಭಾಯ ಶಂಭವೇ ॥ ಶ್ರೀಗೌರೀವಿಲಸದ್ವಾ-
[3] ಹುವಲ್ಲೀವೇಷ್ಟಿತವಿಗ್ರ(ಗ್ರ)ಹಂ । ವಂದೇ ಹರಿಹರಾಕಾರಾನಲ್ಪಕಲ್ಪಮಹೀರುಹಂ ॥ ಸ್ವಸ್ತಿ ಶ್ರೀಜಯಾಭ್ಯು-
[4] ದಯಶಾಲಿವಾಹನಶಕವರ್ಷ [೧]೪೫೨ ವಿಕ್ರು(ಕೃ)ತಿಸಂವತ್ಸರದ ಶ್ರಾವಣ ಬಹುಳ ೧ಯು(ಯು) ಸೋಮವಾರ ಜಯಂತೀಪುಂ(ಪು)ಣ್ಯಕಾ-
[5] ಲದಲ್ಲಿ ಶ್ರೀಕ್ರು(ಕೃ)ಷ್ಣಾವತಾರಸಮಯದಲ್ಲಿ ಶ್ರೀಮದ್ರಾ(ರಾ)ಜಾಧಿರಾಜ ರಾಜಪರಮೇಶ್ವರ ಶ್ರೀವೀರಪ್ರತಾಪ ಅಚ್ಯುತರಾಯಮಹಾರಾಯರೂ
[6] ಸುಖಸಂಕಥಾವಿನೋದದಿಂ ಪ್ರು(ಪೃ)ಥ್ವೀರಾಜ್ಯಂಗೈಉ(ಯು)ತಂ ವಿ(ಇ)ರಲಾಗಿ ಸ್ವಾಮಿ ನಮಗೆ ಅಮರನಾಯಕತನಕ್ಕೆ ಪಾಲಿಸಿದ ಕೊಟ್ಟೂರ
[7] ಚಾವಡಿಗ್ಗೆ(ಗೆ) ಸಲುವ ಉತ್ತಂಗಿಯ ವೆಂ(?ಸೋ?)ರ(ರೆ)ಯ ವೊಳಗಣ ಪಾಂಡ್ಯನಾಡಿಗೆ ಸಲುವ ಹರಿಹರದ ಸೀಮೆಯ ವೊಳಗಣ ಅಚ್ಯುತರಾ-
[8] ಯಪುರವೆಂಬ ಪ್ರತಿನಾಮಧೇಯ ಹಾತ ಬಳ್ಳೊಂಪುರಸಿಂಬ ಗ್ರಾಮವನು ವಸಿಷ್ಟ(ಷ್ಠ)ಗೋತ್ರದ ಆಶ್ವಾ(ಶ್ವಲಾ)ಯನಸೂತ್ರದ ಚೆಂನಭಂಡಾರದ ತಿಂಮ-
[9] ರಸರ ಮಕ್ಕಳು ನಾರಾಯಣದೇವಗಳು ಶ್ರೀಹರಿಹರದೇವರ ಅವಸರಸತ್ರಕ್ಕೆ ಸಮರ್ಪ್ಪಿಸಿದ್ದು ಎರಡು ಪಾಲು ಗೌತಮಗೋತ್ರದ ಆಶ್ವ-
[10] ಲಾಯನಸೂತ್ರ(ತ್ರ)ದ ಹಂಪನದ ರಾಮಚಂದ್ರಾರಾಧ್ಯ(ಧ್ಯ)ರ ಮಕ್ಕಳು ವಿಶ್ವೇಶ್ವರಾರಾಧ್ಯ(ಧ್ಯ)ರಿಗೆ ಶ್ರೀಹರಿಹರದೇವರ ಸಂನ್ನಿ(ನಿ)-
[11] ಧಿಯಲ್ಲಿ ಸಹಿರಂ(ರ)ಣ್ಯೋದಕದಾನಧಾರಾಪೂರ್ವ್ವಕವಾಗಿ ಕೊಟ್ಟರು ವೊಂದು ಪಾಲು ಯೀ ರೀತಿಯ ತ್ರಿ(ತ್ರಿ)ಭಾಗದಲ್ಲಿ ನಿಂ-
[12] ಮ ಪುತ್ತ್ರ(ತ್ರ)ಪೌತ್ತ್ರ(ತ್ರ)ಪರಂಪರೆಯಾಗಿ ಆಚಂದ್ರಾರ್ಕಸ್ಥಾಯಿಗಳಾಗಿ ಸುಖದಿಂ ಅನುಭವಿಸುವಿರಿಯಂ(ಯೆಂ)ದು ಕೊಟ್ಟ ಧರ್ಮ್ಮ-
[13] ಶಾಸನ ॥ ದಾನಪಾಲನಯೋರ್ಮ್ಮಧ್ಯೇ ದಾನಾಚ್ಛ್ರೇ(ಚ್ಛ್ರೇ)ಯೋ ನುಪಾಲನಂ । ದಾನಾತ್ಸ್ವರ್ಗ್ಗಮವಾಪ್ನೋತಿ ಪಾಲನಾದಚ್ಯು-
[14] ತಂ ಪದಂ ॥ ಏಕೈವ ಭಗಿನೀ ಲೋಕೇ ಸರ್ವ್ವೇಷಾಮೇವ ಭೂಭುಜಾಂ । ನ ಭೋಜ್ಯಾ ನ ಕರಗ್ರಾಹ್ಯಾ ಬಿಪ್ರ(ವಿಪ್ರ)ದತ್ತಾ ವಸುಂ-
[15] ಧರಾ ॥ ಸ್ವದತ್ತಾದ್ವಿ(ದ್ವಿ)ಗುಣಂ ಪ್ರಂ(ಪು)ಣ್ಯಂ ಪರದತ್ತಾನುಪಾಲನಂ । ಪರದತ್ತಾಪಹಾರೇಣ ಸ್ವದತ್ತಂ ನಿಷ್ಫಲಂ ಭವೇ-
[16] ತ ॥ ಸ್ವದತ್ತಾಂ ಪರದತ್ತಾಂ ವಾ ಯೋ ಹರೇತ ವಸುಂಧರಾಂ । ಷಷ್ಟಿರ್ವ್ವರ್ಷ(ರ್ಷ)ಸಹಸ್ರಾಣಿ ವಿಷ್ಠಾಯಾಂ ಜಾಯತೇ ಕ್ರಿ-
[17] ಮಿಃ ॥ ಗ್ರು(ಗೃ)ಹ್ಣಂತಿ ಯಾವತಃ ಪಾಂಸೂನ್ಪತತಾಮತ್ರಬಿಂದವಃ । ವಿಪ್ರಾಣಾಂ ಹೃತವಿತ್ತಾನಾಂ ಪಹಾನ್ಯಾನಾಂ ಕುಟುಂ-
[18] ಬಿನಾಂ ॥ ರಾಜಾನೋ ರಾಜಕುಲ್ಯಾಶ್ಚ ತಾವತೋ ಬ್ಬಾನ್ನಿರಂಕುಶಾಃ । ಕುಂಭೀಪಾಕೇಷು ಪಚ್ಯಂತೇ ಬ್ರಹ್ಮದಾಯಾ-
[19] ಪಹಾರಿಣಃ ॥ ಬಹುಮನಾರ್ತ್ತಂ(ರ್ತ್ತಂ) ಸುಖ್ಯಾರ್ತ್ತಂ(ರ್ತ್ತಂ) ಗ್ರಾಮರಕ್ಷಾರ್ತ್ತ(ರ್ತ್ತ)ಮೇವ ಚ । ಯೇ ಗ್ರು(ಗೃ)ಹ್ಣಂತ್ಯಗ್ರಹಾರೇ ಸ್ಮಿನ್ನಸಂ
[20] ತೇ ಮಾತ್ರು(ತೃ)ಗಾಮಿನಃ ॥ ಸಾಮಾನ್ಯೋ ಯಂ ಧರ್ಮ್ಮಸೇತುರ್ನ್ನ್ರು(ನೃ)ಪಾಣಾಂ ಕಾಲೇ ಕಾಲೇ ಪಾಲನೀಯೋ ಭವದ್ಭಿಃ । ಸರ್ವ್ವಾ-
[21] ನೇತಾನ್ಭಾವಿನಃ ಪಾರ್ತ್ಥಿ(ರ್ಥಿ)ವೇಂದ್ರಾನ್ಭೂಯೋ ಭೂಯೋ ಯಾಚತೇ ರಾಮಚಂದ್ರಃ ॥ ಶುಭಮಸ್ತು ॥ ಈ ಗ್ರಾಮದ ಚತುಃ-
[22] ಸೀಮೆಯ ವಿವರ । ಆ ಗ್ರಾಮದಿಂ ಮೂಡಲು ಅತ್ತಿಯಮರನಿಂದಂ ಮೇಲಣ ಹುಣಿಸೆಯಮರ [।] ಆ(ಅ) ಗ್ರಾಮದಿಂ*

* This completes the twenty-second line of the inscription, and the rest of the tablet is blank.

Translation.

Reverence to Śrî-Harihara*! Reverence to Śambhu, who is made beautiful by a *chavri* which is the moon that lightly rests upon his lofty head, and who is the foundation-pillar for the erection of the city of the three worlds! I salute that mighty tree of paradise which is the form of Harihara, the trunk of which is encircled by the creepers which are the arms of Śrî † and Gaurî ‡!

Hail! On the anniversary of the incarnation of Śrî-Kṛishṇa, at the holy time of the Jayantî §, on Monday the eighth day of the dark fortnight of the month Śrâvaṇa of the Vikṛiti *saṁvatsara*, which was the year of the victorious and glorious Śâlivâhana Śaka 1452, while the glorious supreme king of kings, the supreme lord of kings, the brave and puissant great king Achyutarâya, was governing the earth with the recreation of pleasing conversations:—

Nârâyaṇadêva, the son of Timmarasa ‖ of Chinnabhaṇḍâra, of the lineage of Vasishṭha and of the ritualistic school of Âśvalâyana,—having allotted to the *aravasarasatra* ¶ of the god Śrî-Hariharadêva two shares of the village of Baḷḷôpura, a *Vâḍa* ** which has also the name of Achyutarâyapura, in the boundaries of (the town of) Harihara which belongs to the district of Pâṇḍyanâḍu within the *Vênthe* †† of Uchchaṅgi which belongs to the *Châvaḍi* ‡‡ of Koṭṭûru, which his master had allotted to him for the office of *Amaranâyaka* §§, — gave (the remaining) one share, in the presence of the god Śrî-Hariharadêva, with gifts of gold and libations of water, to Viśvêśvarârâdhya, the son of Râmachandrârâdhya of Harihara, of the lineage of Gautama and of the ritualistic school of Âśvalâyana; and (with it) he gave a religious charter to the effect that "In this manner you shall happily enjoy (this village) in three shares, in the succession of your sons and grandsons, as long as the moon and sun may last."

In (discriminating between) giving a grant and preserving (the grant of another), preservation is better than giving: from giving a grant a man obtains paradise, but by preserving (the grant of another) he attains the sphere of Achyuta ‖‖! In this world land that has been given to a Brâhmaṇ is as a sister to all kings, who is not to be enjoyed nor to be taken in the way of taxes ¶¶! The preservation of that which has been given by another is twice as meritorious as giving in one's own person; by confiscating the grant of another, one's own grant becomes fruitless! He is born for sixty thousand years as a worm in ordure, who confiscates land that has been given, whether by himself or by another! As many particles of dust as the tears of eloquent Brâhmaṇs, fathers of families, who weep when they are despoiled of their wealth, gather up; during so many years are kings or those belonging to the families of kings,—who, throwing off restraint, take away the heritage of Brâhmaṇs,—tormented * in (the hell called) Kumbhîpâka†! They commit the sin of incest with a mother, who seize upon any wealth in this *Agrahâra* for the sake of making complimentary presents, or as taxes, or on account of the protection of the village! 'This general bridge of piety of kings should ever be preserved by you'—thus does Râmachandra make his earnest request to all future kings! May it be auspicious!

The details of the four boundaries of this village are:—To the east of the village, a tamarind-tree above a wild fig-tree; to the‡ . . . . . of the village . . . .

No. VII.

This is another Vijayanagara inscription, from Plate No. 21 of Major Dixon's work. The original is on a stone-tablet 7′ 7″ high by 2′ 11″ broad at Harihar. The emblems at the

* A form of deity consisting of Vishṇu (Hari) and Śiva (Hara) combined.

† The wife of Vishṇu.

‡ A name of Pârvatî, the wife of Śiva.

§ The rising of the asterism Rôhiṇî at midnight on the eighth day of the dark fortnight of Śrâvaṇa, on which day Vishṇu became incarnate as Krishṇa.

‖ *Sc.* 'king Timma.'

¶ '*Satra*', *oblation, charity, asylum* or *alms-house, charitable dining-hall*; '*aravasara-satra*' seems to mean *an occasional* '*satra*'.

** Another form of '*bâḍa*'; see note ‡ page 211.

†† The etymology and meaning of this word are not known. Perhaps we have in it the origin of the Marâṭhî '*Pêṭ*', *a subdivision of a* '*Tâluk*' *or* '*Pargaṇâ*'.

‡‡ At the present day the meaning of this word is restricted to 'the revenue and police office of a village, in which the village-headman and accountant transact their business'.

§§ *Amaranâyakatana*,—the nature of this post is not apparent: *amaranâyaka* is an epithet of Indra as being *the leader or chief of the immortals*.

‖‖ 'The imperishable one',—Vishṇu, whose sphere is one of greater happiness and of higher rank than the paradise of Indra, Svarga.

¶¶ A play on words is intended here, *karagrâhyâ* meaning also *to be taken by the hand, i.e. married*.

* *Lit.*, 'are cooked.'

† The hell in which the wicked are baked like potters' vessels.

‡ See note * to line 22 of the text.

top of the stone are :—In the centre, a *linga* ; on its right, a priest standing, with the sun above him ; and on its left, a representation of Basava, with the moon above it. In this instance the language is Sanskrit throughout. The characters are Canarese of the same standard as those of the preceding inscription.

This, again, is an inscription of the time of Achyutarâya, and it is dated in the year of the Śâlivâhana Śaka 1460 (A. D. 1538-9), the Vilambi *samvatsara*. It records the grant of the village of Kundavâḍa, otherwise known as Achyutarâyêndramallâpura, to the god Harihara, by Achyutamallapaṇṇa or Akkapa, the minister of Achyutarâya.

The orthography of this inscription, as also of the preceding, is peculiar in several respects : particularly noteworthy is the insertion of *y* after the compound letter *jñ* in accordance with the modern pronunciation,—*dny*,—of this letter.

*Transcription.**

[1]ಶ್ರೀಹರಿಹರಾಯ ನಮಃ [॥] ನಮಸ್ತುಂಗಶಿರಶ್ಚುಂಬಿಚಂದ್ರಚಾಮರಚಾರವೇ [।] ತ್ರೈಲೋಕ್ಯನ-
ಗರಾರಂಭ[2]ಮೂಲಸ್ತಂಭಾಯ ಶಂಭವೇ ॥ ಭೂಯಾದ್ಭುಕ್ತ್ಯೈ ತ್ರಿಜಗತಾಂ ವಪುರ್ಹರಿಹರಸ್ಯ
ಯತ್ ॥(।) ಇಂದಿರಾಶೈಲಸುತಯೋ(ಯೋಃ)[3]ರಪಾಂಗೈರ್ಮಂಗಳಾಯಿತಂ ॥ ದೇವೋ ದೈತ್ಯಕುಲಾಂತ್ರ-
(ತ)ಕಃ ಪರಶಿವಃ ಕಂದರ್ಪದರ್ಪಾಂತಕೋ ಲಂಕಾತಂಕವಿಧಾಯಕಃ ಕುರುಪತೇಃ ಸತಲ್ಪಸಂ[4]-
ಕೋಚಕಃ ॥(।) ಲೋಕೈಕಸ್ತ್ರಿಪುರಾಂತಕಸ್ತ್ರಿಜಗತಾಮಾತಂಕಕಾಲಾಂತಕೋ ವಿಶ್ವಾಕ್ರಾಂತ್ರ(ತ)ಗಜಾಂತ್ರ(ತ)ಕೋ
ಹರಿಹರಃ ಪಾಯಾತ್ ಸ ವಿಶ್ವಂ[5]ಜಗತ್ ॥ ಪ್ರಣಯಕಲಹಕಾಲೇ ಶೈಲಕನ್ಯಾರಮೇಶೋ
ವಿಹಧದಿಹ ಭವಾನಿಪ್ರೀತಯೋ ಸ ಪ್ರಣಾಮಂ ॥(।) ಚರಣಕಮಲಮಸ್ಯಾಃ ಸಂಕುಚ[6]ದ್ಭ್ರು-
(ಭ್ರೂ)ತ್ರಿಮೋಯಾದಿತಿ ಕ್ರು(ಕ್ರೂ)ತಕಲಿತೋ ಹಾಸಹಾಸ ಬಿಭ್ರಚ್ಚಕಾಸ್ತಿ ।।(॥) ದಿಶ್ಯಾಚ್ಛ್ರ(ಶ್ರೀ)ಯಂ ವಿಗ-
ಳದಿಂದುಕಳಾನಿಭಾಂತುಚೋಲಾಂಚನಾಂತರಿತತುಂಗ(ಗ)ರ[7]ಮಾಕುಚಾಗ್ರಂ ॥(।) ಯತ್ಪ್ರತ್ಯತೋ ಹರಿಹರಸ್ಯ
ಮುಖಾರವಿಂದಮಾಶ್ಲೇಷಿತಂ ಗಿರಿಜಯಾ ಸಮುಷಾ ಕಟಾಕ್ಷೈಃ ॥ ಬಾಲಾರ್ಕಪೂರ್ಣಶಶಿ[8]ನೋ-
ರ್ಜ್ವಲದರ್ಧಬಿಂಬವ್ಯಾಜಾತ್ಸ ರಾಜಯತಿ ಸೋ ಚ್ಯುತನೋಪರಾಯಃ ॥(।) ಯಸ್ಯ ತ್ರಿಲೋಕಪರಿ-
ಪೂರ್ಣಯಶೋ ವಿಧಿಂ(ಧಿ)ಸ್ತುಬ್ರಹ್ಮಾಂಡ[9]ಮಂಡಯುಗಳಂ ಪ್ರತಿಭಾತಿ ಚಿತ್ರಂ ॥ ಕೋ ನ್ಯೋ
ಪಿ ಹಾಚ್ಯುತನ್ರು(ನೃ)ಪಾದತೋದ್ಯಮಾಳಭ್ಯಾನ್ಯೈಕಮಿತ್ರಜನಮುಕ್ತಿಮನಪ್ತ(ಸಾ for ನಪ್ತ) ಕನೋತಿ ॥(।)
[10]ಸೇವಾಮಪೇಕ್ಷ್ಯ ತು ಚಿರಂ ಹನಿ(ರಿ)ರಚ್ಯುತೋ ಪಿ ವ್ಯಾಸಾದಿಮಿತ್ರಜನತಾಂ ನಯತಿ
ಸ್ವ ಮುಕ್ತಿಂ ॥ ರಾಜಾಧಿರಾಜಸ್ತೇಜಸ್ವೀ ಯೋ ರಾಜಪ[11]ರಮೇಶ್ವರಃ ॥(।) ಮೂರುರಾಯರ†
ಗಂಡಾಂಕಃ ಪರರಾಯಭಯಂಕರಃ ॥(।) ಹಿಂದೂರಾಯಸುರತ್ರಾಣ ಯು(ಇ)ತ್ಯಾದಿಬಿರಿ(ರು)ದೋಂ(ದೋ)ನ್ವಿ-
ತಃ ॥ ತಸ್ಮಿನ್ನಚ್ಯುತ[12]ಭೂಪಾಲೇ ಪಾಲಯತ್ಯಖಿಲಾಂ ಮಹೀಂ ॥ ೦ ॥ ಆಸೀದಚ್ಯುತದೇವರಾಯನ್ರು-
(ನೃ)ಪತೇಃ ಕಾರ್ಯೇಷು ನಿಯುಕ್ತೋ ಹಿತೇ ಶ್ರೀಮಾನಚ್ಯುತಮಲ್ಲಪಣ್ಣನ್ರು(ನೃ)[13]ಪತಿಃ
ಕಾರು(ರು)ಣ್ಯರತ್ನಾಕರಃ [।] ಶ್ರೀಮದ್ಭಾಲನ್ರು(ನೃ)ಗಾಂಕಮೌಳಿಚರಣಾಂಭೋಜೇ ಸಭ್ರು(ಭೃ)ಂಗಾ(ಗಾ)-
ಯಿತಂ ಚೇತೋ ಯಸ್ಯ ಗತಸ್ಪೃಹಜನಕ್ರು(ಕೃ)ತ್ಯೈರ್ಜಗತ್ಯ[14]ಸ್ಯ ಸತ್ರು(ತ್ಯ)ತ್ಯೈಃ ॥೧॥
ಶ್ರೀಮಾನಚ್ಯುತಮಲ್ಲಪಣ್ಣನ್ರು(ನೃ)ಪತಿ ರಾಜ್ಞೇ(ಜ್ಞೇ) ನಿಜಸ್ವಾಮಿನೇ ಪಿಜ್ಞ(ಜ್ಞ)ಪ್ತಿಂ(ಪ್ತಂ)
ರಚಿತಂ ನಿವೇದ್ಯ ಸಮಯೇ ತತ್ಸ್ಪ(ತ್ಸ್ವ)ಣ್ಯಕೀರ್ತ್ಯಾಪ್ತಯೇ ॥(।) [15]ದಾಸ್ಯಾಮೀತಿ ರಘು-
ಪತ್ಯಮೋಘಫಲದಂ ಶ್ರೀಕುಂದವಾಡಾಭಿಧಂ ಗ್ರಾಮಂ ಶ್ರೀಗಿರಿಜಾಯುಜೇ ಹರಿಹರಾಯೋದಾದಿಶತ್
ಸಾಸ್ಥಿತಂ ॥೨॥ ಶಾಲಿವಾ[16]ಹನನಿರ್ಣೀತಶಕವರುಶ(ವರ್ಷ)ಕ್ರಮಾಗತೇ । ವ್ಯೋಮಶಕ್ರಚತುಶ್ಚಂದ್ರಸಂಖ್ಯಯಾ ಚ
ಸಮನ್ವಿತೇ ॥ ವಿಳಂಬಿನಾಮಕೇ ವರ್ಷೇ ಮಾಸೇ ಕಾರ್ತಿಕನಾಮನಿ ॥೩॥(।) [17]ಪೌರ್ಣಮಾ-
ಸ್ಯಾಂ ಸಿತೇ ಪಕ್ಷೇ ವಾರೇ ಶಶಿಸುತಸ್ಯ ಚ ॥ ಸೋಮೋಪರಾಗಸಮಯೇ ಸೀತಿ-
ಸ್ಮ್ರು(ಸ್ಮೃ)ತಿ ಜ್ಞೇ) ನಿಪುಣಃ ಸುಧೀಃ ॥೪॥(।) ಗುಣವಾನ್ ಧರ್ಮಶೀಲಶ್ಚ ಸತ್ಯವಾ[18]ಕ್ಯೋ

* The lines of this inscription being too long for the page, the beginning of each line has been marked by a numeral in brackets.—ED.

† This is the Canarese genitive plural.

ದ್ರು(ದೃ)ಢವ್ರತಃ ॥ ದಯಾಸುಧಾನಿಧಿರ್ಗ್ಗೋಷು ಬ್ರಾಹ್ಮಣೇಷು ಸುರೇಷು ಚ ॥೧॥(।) ವಿಚ-
ರಂ(ರ)ನ್ ಧರ್ಮಮಾರ್ಗ್ಗೇಣ ಸುಭಗೋ ಸಾವ್ರದಾರಧೀಃ ॥ [19]ಸ ಚಾಳುಕ್ಯಮಹಾರಾ-
ಯಮಲ್ಲಪಂಣಮಹೀಪತಿಃ । ಸತ್ಕಳಾಕೋವಿದೋ ಧೀಮಾನಕ್ಷಪಾಪ್ಯೋ ಗುಣಾಧಿಕಃ ॥೧॥ ನೀತಿಶಾ-
ಸ್ತ್ರವಿವೇ[20]ಕಜ್ಞೋ ಯಃ(ಜ್ಞೋ ೭) ವಿಚರಂ(ರ)ನ್ ದರ್ಮವರ್ತ್ಮನಾಂ ॥(।) ತತೋ ಹರಿಹರಗ್ರಾಮ-
ವಾಸಿನಾಂ ಚ ದ್ವಿಜನ್ಮನಾಂ ।೧॥ ಅಗ್ರಹಾರೇಷು ಸರ್ವೇಷು ದೇವಸ್ಥಾನೇಷು ಭೂ-
ಪತೇಃ । [21]ಅಧಿಕಾರಂ ಸಮಾಸಾದ್ಯ ಸ್ಥಿತೋ ನೇನ ಪ್ರಚೋದಿತಃ॥೧॥ಸ್ವಸ್ವಾಮಿನೋ
ಚ್ಯುತೇಂದ್ರಸ್ಯ ಯಶೋಧರ್ಮಾಭಿವ್ರು(ವೃ)ದ್ಧಯೇ॥(।)ಚೋಗಿವ್ರುಂ(ವೃಂ)ದಹ್ರು(ಹೃ)ದಂಭೋಜಮಂ[22]ದಿರಾಯ
ಮಹಾತ್ಮನೇ ॥೧॥ ಅಪಾರಗುಣಸಂಘಾಯ ಕೋಟಿಸೂರ್ಯ್ಯಸಮತ್ವಿಷೇ ॥(।) ನಿರ್ಘಾತನಿಖಿಲದ್ವಂದ್ವವಪು-
ಷೇ ಮುರವಿದ್ವಿಷೇ ॥೧॥ ಪಾಲಕಾ[23]ಯ ತ್ರಿಜಗತಾಂ ಸ್ರು(ಸೃ)ಷ್ಟಿಸಂಹಾರಕಾರಿಣೇ ॥(।)
ತುಂಗಭದ್ರಾನದೀತೀರವಾಸಿನೇ ಪರಮಾತ್ಮನೇ ॥೧॥ ಗುಣಾತೀತಾಯ ನಿತ್ಯ್ಯ(ತ್ಯಾ)ಯ ಸತೇ ಹರಿ-
[24]ಹರಾಯ ಚ ॥(।) ಪಾಂಡ್ಯನಾಡಾ ಶುಚಾ ರಂ(ರ)ಮ್ಯ ಉತ್ಸಂಗೇವೇಂಚೆಯೋ ಸ್ಥಿತಂ ॥
ಕುಂದವಾಡಾಭಿಧಂ ಗ್ರಾಮಂ ಸರ್ವ್ವಸಸ್ಯಾಭಿವೃದ್ಧಿದಂ ॥(।)ಸೆ (?ಸೇ)ಬ[25]ನೂರ್ವ್ವಾಖ್ಯಕಾದ್ಗ್ರಾಮಾತ್ಪ್ರ-
ತೀಚೀಂ ದಿಶಮಾಶ್ರಿತಂ ॥ ಸಾಲಕಟ್ಟಿಭಿಧಾದ್ಗ್ರಾಮಾದುತ್ತರಾಶಾಂ ಸಮಾಶ್ರಿತಂ ॥(।) ಬಾತೀತಿನಾಮಕಾದ್ಗ್ರಾ-
ಮಾತ್ಪ್ರಾಚೀ[26]ಮಾಶಾಮುಪಾಶ್ರಿತಂ* ॥ ಯಬಗುಂಟೆಭಿಧಾದ್ಗ್ರಾಮಾದ್ದಕ್ಷಿಣಸ್ಯಾಂ ದಿಶಿ ಸ್ಥಿತಂ ॥(।)
ನಿಧಿನಿಕ್ಷೇಪಸಂಯುಕ್ತಂ [27]ಜಲಪಾಷಾಣಸಂಯುತಂ ॥ ಅಕ್ಷಿಣ್ಯಾಗಾಮಿಸಂಯುಕ್ತಂ ಸಿದ್ಧಸಾದ್ಯ(ಧ್ಯ)-
ಸಮನ್ವಿತಂ ॥(।) ಸರ್ವ್ವಮಾನ್ಯಮಮುಂ ಗ್ರಾಮಂ ಸಮಸ್ತಬಳಿಸಂಯ್ಯು(ಯು)[28]ತಂ ॥ ಖ್ಯಾತಮ-
ಚ್ಯುತರಾಯೇಂದ್ರಮಲ್ಲಾಪುರಮಿತಿ ಪ್ರಿಯಂ ॥(।) ಪ್ರತಿನಾಮ ವಿಧಾಯಾಮುಂ ಪ್ರಾದಾದಾಚಂದ್ರತಾ[29]-
ರಕಂ ॥ ಮಧ್ಯಾಹ್ನಾವಸರೇ ಕ್ಲ(ಕ್ಲೃ)ಪ್ತನ್ಯ(ನೈ)ವೇದ್ಯಾಯ ನಿವೇದಿತಂ ॥೧॥(।) ದ್ವಿಜೇಭ್ಯಃ ಸತ್ಪ್ರ-
ಭುಕ್ತ್ಯರ್ಥ್ಥಂ(ರ್ಥಂ) ತಂ ಗ್ರಾಮಂ ವಿನ್ಯಯೋ[30]ಜಯೇತ್ ॥ ಮಧುರೋ ಯಾಜು[ಷೋ†]
ವಿಪ್ರ್ರ ಕೋಟೀಶಾನ್ವಯಸಂಭವಃ ॥(।) ತಿಂಮಣಾರಾಧ್ಯ(ಧ್ಯ)ತನುಜೋ ಮಲ್ಲಣಾರಾಧ್ಯನಾಮಕಃ ॥(।)
[31]ಕ್ರು(ಕೃ)ತವಾನಿಪ ಪದ್ಯಾನಿ ಶಾಸನೇ ಪ್ರಭುಶಾಸನಾತ್ ॥

Translation.

Reverence to Śri-Harihara! Reverence to Śambhu, who is made beautiful, &c.! May that body of Harihara, which is made auspicious by the side-glances of Indirâ‡ and the daughter§ of the mountain, confer prosperity upon the three worlds! May that god ‖, who destroyed the race of the demons, protect the whole world; and the mighty Śiva, who humbled the pride of Kandarpa¶; and (the two conjointly in the form of) Harihara, who was the cause of alarm to Laṅkâ**, who cut short the intention of the leader†† of the Kurus, who is preëminent in the world, who destroyed Tripura‡‡, who slew him who§§ was the terror and the death of the three worlds, and who was like Guha‖‖ in making an end of those (demons) who had pervaded the universe! When they were quarrelling in love, the lord of the daughter of the mountain here performed obeisance to appease Bhavânî¶¶, and, for fear lest the lotuses which were her feet should commence to close their buds, bore (upon

* In the original this line commences with the letters ಚೀಂಮಾಶಾ, but has marks of erasure over them, the letters ಮಾಶಾ are then repeated as I have given them above.

† The vowel, —'ೋ',—is clear; the consonant only is illegible in the original.

‡ A name of Śrî or Lakshmî.

§ Pârvatî, the daughter of the mountain Himâlaya.

‖ Vishṇu or Hari.

¶ Kâmadêva.

** Siṁhaladvîpa or Ceylon, or the chief town of that island, the stronghold of the demon Râvaṇa.

†† Duryôdhana, whose chief object in life was to destroy or ruin his cousins, the Pâṇḍava princes, but whose efforts were frustrated by Vishṇu as Krishṇa.

‡‡ Three strong cities of a demon destroyed by Śiva, of gold, silver, and iron, in the sky, air, and earth.

§§ Probably Râvaṇa is intended.

‖‖ Kârttikêya, the god of war.

¶¶ Pârvatî.

[37] स्य वृत्ति । (॥) श्रीवराहउ* [॥] दानपालनयोर्म-
[38] ध्ये दानाछ्रे(च्छ्रे)यो नुपालनं [।] दानात्स्व-
[39] र्गमवाप्नोति पालनादच्युतं प-
[40] दं ।(॥) स्वदत्ताद्वि(द्द्वि)गुणं पुण्यं परदत्ता-
[41] नुपालनं [।] परदत्तापहारेण स्व-
[42] दत्तं निष्फलं भवेत्† ॥ मद्दत्ता पुत्रिका

Third Plate, inner side.

[43] ज्ञेया‡ पितृदत्ता सहोदर(रा) ।§ अन्यद-
[44] त्ता न जननी दत्तभूमीं परि-
[45] त्यजेत् [॥] अन्येभ्यः छ(च्छ)र्दितं भु¶क्ते(भुङ्क्ते)
[46] श्वभिश्च छ(च्छ)र्दितं न तु [।] ततः
[47] कष्टो ततो नीचः स्वयंदत्ता-
[48] पहारकः ॥ स्वदत्तां परदत्तां
[49] वा ब्रह्मवृत्तिं हरेत यः । षष्टि(ष्टी)-
[50] र्वर्षसहस्राणि विष्टायां जाय-
[51] ते क्रमी (क्रिमिः) ॥

Translation.

Reverence to Śrî-Gaṇâdhipati! May the four arms of Hari protect you, which are of a dark colour like a cloud, which are rough from being rubbed by the string of the bow Śârṅga**, and which serve as pillars to support the pavilion of the three worlds!

Hail! In the victorious and glorious Yudhishṭhira Śaka, in the eighty-ninth year called Plavaṅga, in the month Sahasya††, on the day of the new-moon, on Wednesday, the king Śrî-Janamêjaya,—the glorious supreme king of great kings; the supreme lord of kings; he who was endowed with valour and puissance; he who was born in the race of Kuru and in the lineage of Vaiyaghrapada; he who was enthroned at the city of Kishkindhyânagari; he who protected the rites of all castes and of all the stages of life,—made a grant of land‡‡ in the sacred locality called Vṛikôdarakshêtra of the city of Sîtâpura which is in the south country, on account of the worship of (the god) Sîtarâma who had been propitiated by Kaikayanâtha, the holy disciple of Garudavâhanatîrtha, of the religious college of the band of the saints belonging to those parts, (as follows):—

"In the sacred locality of the band of saints, which was presided over by my great-grandfather Yudhishṭhira, and the details of the four boundaries of which are:—On the E., to the W. of the Tuṅgabhadrâ which (at that place) flows to the north; on the S., to the N. of the confluence of rivers which is called the confluence of the hermitage of Agastya; on the W., to the E. of the Pâshâṇanadî §§; and on the N., to the S. of the Bhinnanadî,—in order that my parents may attain the world of Vishṇu,—in the presence of the god Harihara, at the time of an eclipse, with gifts of gold, and with libations of the water of the Tuṅgabhadrâ, I, of my own free will, have given into the hands of ascetics, (to be enjoyed) by the succession of your disciples as long as the moon and sun may last, the sacred locality of the band of saints which is situated within these limits, together with its hidden treasure and water and stones and everything that accrues and *Akshiṇî* and whatever has become or may become property, and with the proprietorship of the glory (of the eight sources of enjoyment)."

The witnesses to this act of piety are:—The sun, the moon, the wind, fire, the sky, the earth, the waters, the heart, the mind, and day, and night, and the morning- and the evening-twilight, and Dharma||, know the behaviour of a man! *Śrîvaraha*.¶¶ In (discriminating between) giving a grant and preserving &c.! The preservation of that which has been given by another is twice &c.! (Let each one say to himself),—Land given by myself is to be regarded as a daughter, and land given by a father as a sister, and land given by another as a mother; one should abstain from land that has been bestowed! He, who is mean enough to confiscate that which has been given by himself, is viler than that which is vomited forth by other low animals, but not by dogs! He is born for sixty thousand years as a worm in ordure, who takes away the portion of a Brâhmaṇ, whether it has been given by himself or by another!

* Perhaps श्रीवराहउ, 'the holy boar' (Vishṇu), is intended.

† This letter—त्—was at first omitted in the original and [illegible] inserted [illegible] below the line.

‡ The word ज्ञेया was at first omitted in the original and then inserted [illegible] the line.

§ In the original this stop is inserted between the द and the र of सहोदर.

¶ This character as written in the original requires only one curve more, in the lower part, to convert it from ङ्ग into ङ्क.

** The bow of Vishṇu.

†† Pausha.

‡‡ *Sîtâpura* [illegible] * * * *Ketubhûlînasâdhanam*', there is no separate verb with the nominative case *Srî Janamêjayaḥ*. The construction is wrong in Sanskrit grammar, but it is a translation of the Canarese idiom *Sîtâpura* [illegible] *bhûdânasiddhanam*.

§§ 'The rocky river.'

|| Yama.

¶¶ See note * to line 37 of the text.

ROUGH NOTES ON KHANDESH.

BY W. F. SINCLAIR, Bo. C. S.

(*Continued from p.* 110.)

The Kathkarîs* are found in the forests of the west or north. They are all of the Dhor division and eat beef.

The Parwârîs of Khândesh are identical in all respects with those of the Dekhan.

The Wandering Tribes are much the same as in the Dekhan.

The most peculiar are a set of people called the Magar Shikârîs, who spend their lives wandering up and down the large rivers fishing, especially for crocodiles. Their procedure is to get the crocodile into some pool having narrow outlets, which they stop with large and strong nets. If they mark one in at night, they light fires and watch the pool till daylight.

The Mân Bhâwâs are a religious sect who wear black garments and beg about, but have now generally settled down to trade and agriculture. I am not aware of their special tenets, but they seem to be unpopular amongst orthodox Hindûs. A gurû of this sect, named Ajîbâ, exercised considerable influence at the court of Indor during the corrupt period of the regency of Tulasi Bâi, after Yeshwantrao Holkar had become insane.

A peculiar race of drovers called Kânades sometimes visit the western forests of Khândesh, though their proper pastures are in the north-west corner of the Dekhan. They appear to be descended from Drâviḍian immigrants, but have no tradition to that effect and no special language. They are more civilized and respectable than most wandering herdsmen, and resemble more the Marâthâ cultivators. In parts of the Nâsik district they have taken entirely to agriculture. They have a peculiar breed of black and white cattle called Hatkar, much prized in the Koṅkan for their strength and spirit, though not large. They worship Krishṇa as the divine herdsman, and take good care of their cattle, and are altogether a good sort of folk.

Under the head of Hill or Forest Tribes, however, we find much that is new and interesting in this district.

There are very few Râmusîs, the Bhisti Kolis† taking their intermediate place between the settled races and the "pucka junglies," in addition to their own position as water-bearers, fishers, and ferrymen. They are particularly numerous in the east and south, where they generally hold the inferior offices of village police, those of the Jâglia or general watchman, Taral or gate-ward, and Talabde, or sentry of the village *chauḍi*; and also that of the village Havildâr who answers to the Chougule of the Dekhan, being the head of the village police under the *pâṭîls*, in whose absence he is responsible for order. These Kolis are often great *shikâris*, as skilful in woodcraft as the Bhills, and far cooler and steadier. They are also tolerable cultivators, less given to crime than most castes of this sort, and withal a fine manly set of fellows, physically and morally. They do not, however (on account of their inferior numbers and less troublesome character), attract nearly so much attention as the next race on the list, the Bhills.‡

I have not seen the results of the last census of Khândesh, but I hope some officer now serving there will correct, if necessary, the rough estimate which was current when I was in that district, viz. that the Bhills numbered 150,000 souls, or about ten per cent. of the whole population of Khândesh, including the three south-western tâlukâs, since transferred to Nâsik. This estimate, however, allowed for several races who are not true Bhills, or, as they call themselves, "Bhîll Naiks" or "Naik lok." Sir John Malcolm, in his work on Central India, quotes a legend by which the descent of the Bhîlls of those parts is traced to the union of Mahâdeva with a wood-nymph who relieved and comforted him when alone and weary in the forest. She bore him a large family, of whom one turned out a scamp, and was accordingly kicked out into the jungles, which have ever since been the patrimony of his descendants, the Bhîlls. In Khândesh, however, I have never met with this or any similar legend; and, as far as I could discover, the Bhîlls there look upon themselves as Autochthones. I believe they are several times mentioned in

* See *Ind. Ant.* vol. III. p. 189.

† Vide *ante*, vol. II. p. 76.

‡ Vide *ante*, vol. II pp. 148, 201, 217, 251; vol. III pp. 110, 178, 180, 186, 189, 222, 224, 228, 339.

Sanskrit writings, but am not in a position to give chapter and verse. Throughout Central and Southern Khândesh they are village watchmen and *shikâris*, and paid labourers for the cultivating and trading castes; often, indeed, under our "Reign of Law," reduced to a state of personal slavery or little better, and living under a yoke of stamped paper that enters into the soul of the poor demi-savage as bitterly as could fetters of iron. In the Sâtpurâ mountains to the north and the dense low-lying forests of the west they form often the whole population of remote jungle villages. To the east and south-east they give place to the Koli in the plains, and in the hills to the Tàrvî, but to the north-east they run on quite into British Nimâr, and how much further I know not. They are numerous along that part of the Sâtmala range in the south-west which lies between Châlisgâm and the great gap of Manmâr through which the G. I. P. Railway runs, and in that direction they extend as far south as the Punâ District, but keeping (as far as my limited knowledge of the Nâsik and Ahmadnagar Collectorates allows me to state) rather to the plains than to the Sahyâdrî Hills, in which, I fancy, the presence of a much superior aboriginal race, the Hill Kolîs, leaves little room for them. Among a people thus scattered over a country nearly as large as Ireland, and subject to considerable variety of climate and nourishment,* there are naturally various types of appearance and even of character.

The Bhîlls of the Sahyâdrî and Sâtmala are generally much superior in physique, features, and intelligence to those of the Sâtpurâs and Central Khândesh, and in the ranks of the Bhîll Corps at Dharamgâm one may see, amongst dwarfish figures surmounted by faces which almost suggest the African, many well-built men, and even some tall and handsome ones with regular features and wavy hair.

Like most Indian races, whether Âryan or aboriginal, they are divided into *kulas* or families having different surnames, but they don't mention these often, except in the case of the "Mewâs Chiefs" of the west, who are always spoken of by their family names of Wasâwâ, Walvî, Pârvî, &c.

Probably no race in this Presidency has given more trouble to reduce to order, considering its numbers. The Marâthâs, never tolerant of forest tribes, appear to have treated the Bhîlls like wild beasts, and the latter seem to have heartily accepted the position, the result of which was a war of raids and dacoities on the one side, and extermination by all possible means on the other. The favourite manœuvre of the Marâthâ leaders was to humbug their simple adversaries into coming in to make peace, and ratify the treaty with a grand carouse. "You know, Sâheb," said a Bhîll in narrating one of these *coups*, "that our people can never resist an offer of liquor." The invariable 'grace after meat' of the entertainment was a wholesale massacre of the unsuspecting and intoxicated savages,—generally by precipitating them over a cliff or into wells. A race accustomed for several generations to regard these tactics as the main characteristic of organized government and civilized society might be expected to give trouble to the first British officers who came into contact with them. Accordingly the early history of Khândesh as a British district is one long record of devastating raids and fruitless pursuits varied with an occasional skirmish or execution. The Bhîlls derived great advantage from the natural wildness of parts of the country, the desolation to which all of it had been reduced by serving as a cockpit for the later wars of the Marâthâ empire, and the deadly unhealthiness of the jungle posts.

Of one of these, Nawapûr, there is a legend that after a certain detachment had been there for a few months the native civil official in charge carted in their arms and accoutrements to head-quarters with a brief and *naïve* report that the men were '*khalâs jhâle*' (expended); and even now native subordinates often resign when ordered there on duty. This state of things was finally terminated by the raising of the Khândesh Bhîll Corps, and the adoption of measures to induce the Bhîlls to 'come in' for pardon and settle down to such cultivation as they could manage, in which the chief mover was the late General (then Captain) Outram, whose name is still famous among the people of Khândesh, and connected with a heap of legends which will no doubt justify some euhemerist of the future in proving him to be

* I remember a party of Bhîlls who committed a murder in Punâ being "spotted" as wanderers from Khândesh by the remains of their dinner, which contained food not entering into the diet of the local dangerous classes.

a Solar hero. From his time till now most of the district has had peace; but every now and then indications appear that the old spirit has not quite died out.

In 1857-8 a Bhîll named Kajî Siṅg raised a considerable force of rebels and plunderers in the north, and was only put down after a sharp action fought at Amba Panî, in the Shâda Tâlukâ; and within my own memory the differences of Bhîll Chiefs with neighbouring Native States have three times threatened considerable disturbances. The last and most serious occasion was when the Gaikwâḍ was put in possession, in 1870, of a certain disputed territory called the Wajpûr Taraf, lying between the Nesu and Tapti rivers, which his officials immediately proceeded to administer in a manner that soon produced a state of things amounting to open rebellion in his territory, and organized mosstrooping in the adjacent parts of ours. For the rest, the Bhîll, if let alone and unexposed to the corrupting influences of civilization, is a good fellow enough, honest except for occasional dacoities undertaken under pressure of hunger or from *gaieté de cœur* (like French wars), truthful, generous and cheerful, and even at times industrious in a spasmodic way. His faults are a childish unsteadiness and fickleness, and a considerable taste for country spirits; but the race is certainly improvable. Major Forsyth has recorded a similar opinion from observation in Nimâr. It is hardly necessary to add that this race have never exercised any organized government. The petty chiefs of the "Dâng" and "Mewâs" States are indeed Bhîlls, though they "make-believe very much indeed" to be Râjpûts; but they are merely captains of bands of thieves crystallized and localized into so-called states by our conquest of the country, the troubles immediately preceding which had enabled them to acquire a certain amount of predatory power.

The Bhîlls cultivate in a fashion; and as there is much good waste land available they use the plough, and are not often reduced (within Khândesh proper) to the rude agriculture of the *kumrî** system. Where they can, they often shift not only their fields but their villages. But their characteristic industries are those connected with their beloved jungles, cutting and carrying timber, firewood, and bamboos; collecting lac and forest fruits; and the unremitting pursuit of almost every creature that hath life. They do not eat monkeys, and I have never myself known them to eat beef, but have every reason to believe that those of the remoter forests do so. With these exceptions almost everything is fish to the Bhîll's net. I have seen them eat the grub of the Tusseh-silk moth; and their resources in the vegetable kingdom are equally extensive, including the bitter roots of certain water-lilies; and the fruit even of the *pimpal*-tree (*Ficus religiosa*). They have a saying of their own. "If all the world were to die of hunger, the Bhîll would remain," which has a double meaning,—alluding firstly to their omnivorous palates, and secondly conveying a meaning like that of the Border motto "Thou shalt want ere I want." They use the pike, sword, and matchlock, but their distinguishing weapon is the bow, which those of the hills draw with some effect. The bow and arrow is the mark of a Bhîll on any document. They have no separate constructed language, but possess a peculiar vocabulary of their own, which they are rather shy of imparting to any one else; and though I have sometimes imagined that I had got hold of peculiar words, I always found them in the end traceable to other languages. The words *Nilog*, *Nadug*, and *Nargî*, meaning 'a bear,' occur among all the hill-tribes of the Dekhan, and are not specially Bhîll. One or two officers have at different times made notes of such words. The Bhîlls seldom ride, even on ponies; a few were enlisted into a cavalry regiment at Mâlegâṁ some years ago, but they mostly deserted. As infantry, however, they are capable of a certain amount of discipline; and the bravery, endurance, and fidelity of the Khândesh Bhîll Corps have been long approved, while two generations of good living have improved the descendants of Outram's first recruits into a very fine race, and their hospital is perhaps a solitary instance among military medical establishments of the complete absence of a certain class of diseases.

In Western Khândesh there are three races often confounded with Bhîlls, but holding themselves separate and superior. The first are the Gâwids or Mâwachas, whom I suspect

* *Kumrî* or *Dhalî* is the *Dahya* of the Central Provinces, and consists in cutting down and burning the jungle and sowing in the ashes.

to be akin to the Kolis of the Sahyâdrî, and would derive their name from a contraction of *mâwalâche* (sc. *lok*), 'men of the sunset.'* They are chiefly confined to the high plateaux of the Pimpalner Tâlukâ, forming the northernmost outworks of the Sahyâdrî range. They are rather tall and fair as compared with the other aboriginal tribes of Khândesh; not very numerous, and live chiefly by cultivation; rude enough, but improvable; they are a quiet, well-behaved people, get drunk a little at times, tell the truth in inverse ratio to their prosperity and civilization, and seldom take Government service. They bury their dead, and often the deceased's personal property with him.

The Koṅkanîs rank below the Gâwids, inhabit the same country, and resemble them in their way of living, but are dark and short, and more like the Ṭhâkûrs† of the Koṅkan in appearance than any other caste. They are, however, a much more settled race than the latter, and use the plough, which the Ṭhâkûrs seldom do. They say their ancestors came from the Koṅkan at some long-forgotten period. They bury their dead, and erect in their memory monolithic square pillars, sometimes as much as eight feet high above ground. They don't often take service or leave their villages, but many of them, as of the Gâwids, are *patils*. Neither of these have any distinctive dialect.

The Pauryas inhabit the north-western corner of the district between the crest of the Sâtpurâs and the Narmadâ river. They are a very wild and shy race, but simple and well-behaved enough. They call themselves Paurya Bhîll, Paurya Naik, and Paurya Kolî indifferently, but to my eye resemble in appearance the sea-Kolîs of the Koṅkan. The men wear peculiar silver earrings with a square drop, the women huge necklaces of small pewter "bugle" beads. I have on a former occasion described the peculiarities of their dialect (*Ind. Ant.* vol. III. p. 250). The Târvîs are, in Khândesh, a mixed race produced partly by conversion of Bhîlls to Islâm, and partly by miscegenation of Bhîlls and Musalmâns,—a cross which shows very plainly on their features. They are a little more civilized than the Bhills, but their knowledge of Islam may be judged of from the fact that the greater number do not know enough of a prayer to say over an animal that is being slaughtered. In Khândesh proper they are nearly always attached to a village of settled races, of which they are sometimes the watchmen: but in British Nimâr they are occasionally the only inhabitants of forest villages; *e.g.* of the two "Hattî States" of Jâmtî and Gadhî (each of which consists of a single village). They are tolerable *shikârîs*, but bad cultivators, and in a general way combine the faults of both races. The late Major Forsyth attaches to the word Târvî the signification of 'hereditary watchman.' After much inquiry from the best authorities, I cannot find that it is ever used in that sense in Khândesh, or in any other than that which I have given above; but that most accurate and acute observer must have had grounds for his statement, and it is probable that they have adopted the name of an office as that of their race, just as the true Bhîlls delight in calling themselves "Naiks," a purely official name. Major Forsyth calls this caste "Muhammadan Bhîlls," and gives them a very bad character. They are very ready to take any service, are still rather given to theft, and were formerly great robbers. I remember an old Târvî pointing out to me a deep glen in the Hattî hills with the remark "Many's the good herd of cattle I've hidden there in old days." They use the sword and matchlock, seldom the bow.

The Mewattîs are not inhabitants of Khândesh proper, but the tradition of their advent in the Sâtmala hills bordering on it is so curious that I stretch a point to bring them in here. They are Musalmân mountaineers from Mewat, in Central India, and say that Âlamgir Pâdshâh imported them to garrison the forts and hold the passes about Ajaṇṭâ, where they inhabit fifty villages in the hills and forests. They are a very wild people, and extremely rough of speech, but honest and brave, and physically tall, strong and active, though as ugly of visage as a pack of satyrs. They live by rough cultivation and wood-cutting.

The Bhilâlâs‡ are a crossed race between the Bhîlls and caste-Hindus. They are found mostly in the Sâtpurâs, where they live by cultivation and wood-cutting, and are not remarkable for anything but their persistent assertion of superiority to the Bhîlls. A Bhi-

* Vide *Ind. Ant.* vol. III. p. 187 † Vide vol. III. p. 189. ‡ See *Ind. Ant.* vol. III. p. 208.

lâlâ *pâṭîl* once told me his village contained "thirty *houses* of our people, and twenty *huts* of Bhills;" but it needed the eye of faith to see any difference in the architecture, which was all of the ancient British, or wattle-and-dab order.

The Nahars live in the Sâtpurâ jungles bordering on Holkar's Nimâr. They are said to be close akin to Bhîlls, but some of them at least are Musalmâns. They are not numerous, and I never met them but once.

There are some Gonds who are wandering cowherds, and have their head-quarters chiefly about Châlîsgâṁ. They speak Marâthi, at least to other people, and don't seem to keep up any connexion with Gondwânâ.

The Musalmâns resemble those of the Dekhan, but are more lazy and debauched. Jews, Christians, and Pârsis are scarce, all immigrants, and no way remarkable.

These notes would hardly be complete without some remarks on the antiquities of the district. The most ancient and noticeable remains,—the Buddhist caves of Ajaṇṭâ and other places in the Sàtmala hills,—nearly all lie in territory belonging to H. H. the Nizâm, but are most easily approached from British Khândesh. Ajaṇṭâ has been frequently described, most recently in the *Indian Antiquary* (vol. III. pp. 25, 269). The easiest approach is *viâ* Pachora, a station of the G. I. P. Railway, from which it is seventeen miles to Shendurnî, the jâghîr village of the Dikshit family, connected by marriage with the Peshwâs. I think one of them was also the spiritual preceptor of the last of that dynasty. From the camping-place at Shendurnî, where there is a pretty modern temple, it is eighteen miles to Fardapur—evidently a place of importance in Mughul days, as commanding the northern entrance to the Ajantâ Pass, but now consisting of a heap of ruins and mud huts huddled under the walls of a huge imperial sarâî, and garrisoned by half a dozen ragged Rohillas. The pass is still fortified by a massive wall and tall gateway at its crest; the caves lie in the ravine of Lenapur away to the right, five miles from the travellers' bungalow at Fardapur. I am not myself aware of any remains in the Sâtmalas east of Ajaṇṭâ, but ten miles to the westward and six from Shendurnî are the hill-forts of Beitulbârâ (*vide* p. 108) to Waisagaḍh. The former is occupied by a garrison of jealous Arabs, the latter deserted. Local tradition says that it was built by "Râja Tirthâ," who was a "Gaulî Râja." Most of the existing works are Musalmân; but one tower in the centre bears the device of a winged monster shaking an elephant as if he were a rat,—which occurs also, I believe, upon the walls of the ancient Gond capital of Chanda, and of Sagargaḍh in the North Koṅkan. In the scarps of this fort and of the *khora* or ravine to the east of it are several caves. They were described to Dr Wilson by Captain Rose (*Jour. Bomb. Br. R. As. Soc.* January 1853, p. 360) as being now dedicated, one to Pudreśvara, and others to Hidimba the Râkshasa wife of Bhima the Pâṇḍava, and her son by him, Ghatotkach. The cave of Ghatotkach, measuring fifty cubits square, is probably the largest *vihâra* in India; and the whole group, with those mentioned by Captain Rose as existing at Beitulbârâ and Jinjala, deserve fuller investigation and description than they have yet received. Captain Rose also supplied Dr. Wilson with notes on the Patna caves, which have since been more fully described by myself and visited by Dr. Bhâu Dâji; but a few round the western scarps of the Patna valley still remain uninvestigated, as also the cave on the Gotala pass above Wargâṁ, ten miles east of Châlîsgâṁ, mentioned by me in the same paper (*Ind. Ant. ubi supra*). The only caves which I know of in Khândesh north of the Sâtmala are those of Bhamer (vide *Ind. Ant.* vol. II. p. 128): but about eight miles east of them, in the ugly wilderness called the Pan river fuel reserves, there is a village called Vehergâṁ, a name which generally indicates the neighbourhood of caves, and perhaps may in this instance. In the same neighbourhood, at Bhamer itself, and at Wargâṁ and other villages on the Bara Dhara plateau north of Nizâmpûr, are several "Hemâḍ Panti" temples of some size and beauty, generally half ruined and quite deserted, as is also one at Nawapur, below the ghâts; but these are, to the best of my belief, the only ancient Hindu temples in the district; and the inclusion of Burhanpûr in Nimâr leaves it almost equally poor in Musalmân architecture, of which the best specimens are the tombs at Jhalner. These are locally said to have been built by "a Senapati of Hol-

* *Ind. Ant.* vol. I. p. 294.

kar's," which I don't believe. The principal one, about thirty feet square, has walls six feet thick pierced with windows, not only in the four sides, but at the angles also; a *tour de force* which requires good masonry, as the outermost angles of the walls are left quite without vertical support above the windows. There is a pretty tomb at Parola. I think it was in it that a friend of mine discovered an inscription interesting if not antique:—" Private —— ——, —Company — Battalion 1st Royal Scots. On the sober tack till St. Patrick's day; 2nd March 1818." The Royal Scots formed part of Sir T. Hislop's force which reduced this country in that year. I don't think there are any ancient remains of any sort in the Sâtpura except the tank on the Jusan Mal hill, said to have been made by the god Goraknâth, and a few forts, which, with all the other old forts in the district, are ascribed to the mythical Gauli Râj.*

SPECIMENS OF THE MAITHILI OR TIRHUTI DIALECT OF TIRHUT.

BY S. W. FALLON, PH.D. *Halle*, INSPECTOR OF SCHOOLS.

Râm ka byâh. [Mixed Tirhûti.]

Aj sobha Janak mandir,
Chal-ahu† dekhan châhu, he!
Subh ghari, subh dîn mangal,
Harakhi sakal samâj, he!
Jânki ka dulah Raghubar
Dhanukh ṭûṭal aj, he!
Paral nagar hakâr ghar ghar,
Chalali gâini nâri, he
Sáji ḍâla, pân, chânan,
Dîp châu-mukh lesi, he!
Kâhu sakhi lel dûbhi, akchhat,
Kâhu anjan hâth, he!
Kâhu sir par kalas‡ mangal,
Chal-ahu jahâṅ Raghunath, he!
Pratham subh subh gâwi sakhi sabh,
Del chânan, pân, he!
Chât mâri, uthâi ân-al,
Dhail subh-dhani nâk, he!
Chalali sabhe gaj-râj kâmini,
Del sindur dhâr, he!
Âni thak, bak, pât, bhâlari,
Del chitâur-hâr, he!
Jânki ke pûr-al manorath,
Janak sahit samâj, he.
Joti Narâin hirdai harkhit,
Dev bâjan bâj, he!

The marriage of Râma.

This day is Jânkî's palace bright,—
Come, hasten all who will and see!
Auspicious hour, auspicious day of joy!
Rejoice the whole assembled throng!
Jânkî's bridegroom, Raghubar,
The bow hath broke this day.
In all the town, from house to house,
[Joyful] huzzas arose and spread.
The women singing go along,
With *pân* and *chandan* neatly placed,
And four-wicked lighted lamp;
Some maidens bear the *dûb* and rice,
And some the lamp-black in their hands;
Some joyous *kalas* bearing on their heads:
Go all to where is Raghunâth.
First all the maids their benisons sing,
[Then] betel-leaf and *chandan* give.
The women slap and bring him in.
The leader [then] doth pull his nose
With elephantine grace the love-
Inspiring train all move along,
Dropping *sendûr* a line they trace.
[Then make they sport of him as thus:—]
A *thak* [is rattled in his ear]§,
A cotton bird [before him's thrown],
On plantain stem and leaves [feet-squeezed],

* I have here to correct an error in the former part of these notes, p. 109, where the scientific name of the common Maina is given as *Gracula religiosa*. It is *Acridotheres tristis*; *Gracula religiosa* is, I think, the black Maina with yellow wattles. I find, too, that Mr Loch, in his *Historical Account of Ahmadnagar, Nâsik, and Khândesh*, p. 5? derives the name Dandes or Dândeś from Prince Danyal, son of the Emperor Akbar, who ruled the country in 1600 A.D. and following years.

† The figures in this and the following notes refer to the lines:—2 Chal-ahu, H. chalo. 6 ṭûṭ-al, H. tora. 7 par-al, H. para; hakâr, noise, report, H. ha-hâ-kâr:—In this word we have the derivation of *harkâra*, a messenger. 8 Chalali, H. chali. 10 Lesi, having lighted, H. (lakh flame) lekhî-ke bâl-ke. 11 Lel, H. li.

‡ Kalas, a *ghara* of water, containing also a sprig (*pallo*) of a mango branch, a betel-nut, and a silver or copper coin, with some tyre (*dahi*) encircled with leaves placed on the cover, and a garland of flowers hung round the neck of the *ghara*. 15 Gâwi, having sung, H. gâ-ke. 16 del, H. dyâ. 17 chât, H. chameta; ân-al, H. le âye. 18 dha-il, seized, East H. dhar lya; subh-dhani, the leader of the company of women. 21 âni, H. la-ke; thak, H. dibba, or box with a pebble in it; bak, heron, paddy-bird; H. bagla (of cotton); bhalar, the stem of the plantain, H. kele ka bîr. 22 chitâur, a strong-scented flower, said to cause fainting, H. chita, *Plumbago Zeylanica*. 23 pûr-al, H. pûra hua.

§ He is requested to mind that he must obey his wife.

[Thrown in a faint] with the *chitan*.
Fulfilled is Jànkî's heart's desire,
And Janak's and the multitude.
Beams from Naràin all hearts made glad.
The gods upon their harps do play.

Mahàdeva ka byâh.

[This song is in the pure Tirhuti dialect.]

Âge* mài! ehàn umat bar lai-la.
Hemat-giri† dekhi dekhi laga-ichh rang.
Ehàn umat bar ghora bo na charha ik,
Jehi ghora rang rang jang.
Bâghak chhâl je basaha palànal
Sâpak bhìr-al tang.
Dimiki dimiki je ḍàmaru baja-in,
Khatar khatar karu ang.
Bhakar bhakar je bhâng bhakosa-thi,
Chaṭar paṭar karu gâl.
Chânan soṅ anurâg-al thikain,
Bhasam charhàwa-thi ang.
Bhût pisàch anek dal sàj-al,
Sir soṅ bahi gel Gang.
Bhana-hiṅ Bidyâpati,‡ suniye Manâin,§
Thikâha digambar bhang.

The marriage of Mahâdeva.

Oh, heavens! *such* a fool for a husband brought!
The father looks and looks, in wonder lost;—
A lout who cannot even ride a horse
Who's been in all his paces broken in;
Stretched on a bullock is a lion's skin,
A snake strapped round to serve for girth;
He rattling keeps a pebble in a box,
Crack, crack, [his bones all in] his body go;
Gobble, gobble, lumps of *bhang* go down,
Flop, flop, chuck, chuck, his [swollen] chops both go,
Decked out with painted streaks of sandalwood,
Begrimed with ashes o'er his body all,
Arrayed a cloud of demons various, see;
The [river] Ganges flowing from his head;
'Tis Bidyâpati sings, listen Manàin.
Patience, [it is the god] "digambar bhang."

NICOBARESE HIEROGLYPHICS OR PICTURE-WRITING.

BY V. BALL, M.A., F.G.S., GEOLOGICAL SURVEY OF INDIA.

In the somewhat extensive literature of the Nicobar Islands and their inhabitants, which consists of numerous though much scattered papers, I can find but little allusion to, and no adequate description of, the hieroglyphic devices which are so common a feature in Nicobarese houses.

The subject appears to me to be deserving of more than a mere passing notice when viewed in connection with the discoveries which have been made of somewhat similar but prehistoric figures engraven on stones, bones, and other substances.

As the Andamanese may be said to have not progressed in civilization beyond that stage which was represented by the people of the 'Stone' Periods of Europe, so the Nicobarese, who are much less savage and degraded than their neighbours of the Andamans, may justly be compared with the inhabitants of Europe in the 'Bronze' Period||—their villages, erected on posts below high-water mark, alone serving to suggest a comparison with the lake dwellings of Switzerland and other countries.

The example of Nicobarese hieroglyphics represented in the accompanying illustration was obtained by me in the year 1873 on the island of Kondul, where I found it hanging up in the deserted house of a man who was stated to have died a short time before.

Before removing it I obtained the consent of some of the villagers, who seemed amused at my wishing for it. Sundry bottles of rum, some cheroots and rupees, enabled me to collect a goodly number of images, weapons, utensils, &c.: but these, more than incidentally, I do not propose to describe at present.

While fully recognizing the *possibility* of this

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* 1 Âge, H. he! Lai-la, H. lâya.

† The father of Pârvatî.—2 Laga-ichh, H. lagta hai. 3 ghora bo, H. ghora bhì: ik, H. ke. 4 jang, pace, H. châl. 5 bâgh-ak chhâl, H. bâgh ka chhâl. basaha, Eastern Hindi busaha, Western Hindi nadia, nâdia, a bullock with the rudiments of a fifth, and sometimes sixth and seventh leg, esteemed sacred as carrying Siva on his back: palân-al, H. bichhâya (Persian pâlân, a pannier). 6 Bhir-al, H. kasa, drawn tight. 7 baja-in, H. bajta hai. 8 Karu, H. kare. 9 bhakosa-thi, H. bhakosta hai, gobbles. 11 chânan, H. chandan; anurâg-al, adorned, H. sanwâra. thika-in (honorific form), H. hain. 12 Charhâwa-thi, H. charhâta hai. 13 sàj-al, H. saja hua. 14 Gel, H. gya. 15 bhana-hiṅ, H. kahte hain.

‡ In Tirhut, Bidyâpati is said to have been a brother-in-law of Râja Pratâp Singh, of Râj Darbangah. Mahâdeva (Siva) is said to have been wont to dance with Bidyâpati.

§ The mother of Pârvatì.—16 Thikaha (honorific form), H. hain.

|| I have a Nicobarese spear-head made of copper. Ordinarily iron, obtained from ships, is used for making their spears.

painted screen not being intended to be more than an ornamental object, as the wooden images of men which are commonly to be seen in Nicobarese houses are believed to be,* there are several features about it which lead me to the conclusion that it is really a record of some event, and I therefore believe that the following account will not be uninteresting to some of the readers of the *Indian Antiquary*.

The original is now in Europe, but a photograph, from which the accompanying illustration is taken, represents faithfully its appearance. The material of which it is made is either the *glume* of a bamboo or the *spathe* of a palm which has been flattened out and framed with split bamboos. It is about three feet long by eighteen inches broad. The figures are painted with vermilion, their outlines being surrounded with punctures which allow the light to pass through. Suspended from the frame are some young cocoanuts and fragments of dried hogs'-flesh.

As in all such Nicobarese paintings which I have either seen or heard of, figures of the sun, moon and stars occupy prominent positions. Now the sun and moon are stated by those who have known the Nicobarese best to be especial objects of adoration, and therefore this document may have some religious significance; but, as these particular figures occur in all, they may perhaps be regarded as the orthodox heading for even purely civil records.

At first it occurred to me that this was merely an inventory of the property of the deceased, but as some of the objects are certainly not such as we should expect to find in an enumeration of property—*e.g.* the lizard—while the figures of human beings appear to pourtray particular emotions, it seems probable that the objects represented have a more or less conventional meaning, and that we have here a document of as *bonâ fide* and translatable a character as any hieroglyphic inscription from Egypt.

My own efforts to discover an interpretation from the natives on the spot were not crowned with success. I have now to regret that I did not persevere, as some of the more intelligent and intelligible natives near the settlement at Kamorta would probably have been able to explain the meaning of the signs.

The following is a list of the objects depicted: besides animals, many of the common utensils in use in a Nicobarese household are included:—

1. The sun. 2. The moon.
3. Swallows or (?) flying fish.
4. Impression of the forepart of a human foot.
5. A lizard or (?) crocodile.
6. Three men in various attitudes.†
7. Two *dâs* for cutting jungle.
8. Earthen cooking-pots.
9. Two birds. 10. An axe.
11. Two spears. 12. Possibly a ladder.
13. Dish for food.
14. Cocoanut water-vessels. 15. Palm-tree.
16. A canoe. 17. Three pigs.
18. Shed for drying fruit of *Pandanus*.
19. Domestic fowl. 20. Seaman's chest.
21. Dog. 22. Fish of different kinds.
23. Turtle.

SÂNTÂLÎ SONGS, WITH TRANSLATIONS AND NOTES.

COMMUNICATED BY REV. J. MURRAY MITCHELL, LL.D.

I formerly communicated some Mundari-Kolh songs, translated from the German version of the Rev. Th. Jellinghaus. These appeared in the *Indian Antiquary* for February last (pp. 51 ff.). I have now the pleasure of forwarding both the original and the translation of a few Sântâlî songs,—or fragments of several songs, more probably. Explanatory notes are added. The whole has been kindly supplied, at my request, by Mr. A. Campbell, of the Free Church Mission, Pachamba.

Mr. Jellinghaus lived chiefly at Rânchî, and though he does not mention the precise locality in which the person resided from whom he obtained the Mundari songs which he translated, it probably was in the district near Rânchî. Mr. Campbell resides about 120 miles to the east of this.

The evidence of language proves incontestably the close connexion of the Munda-Kolhs and the Sântâls.

Sântâlî Song.

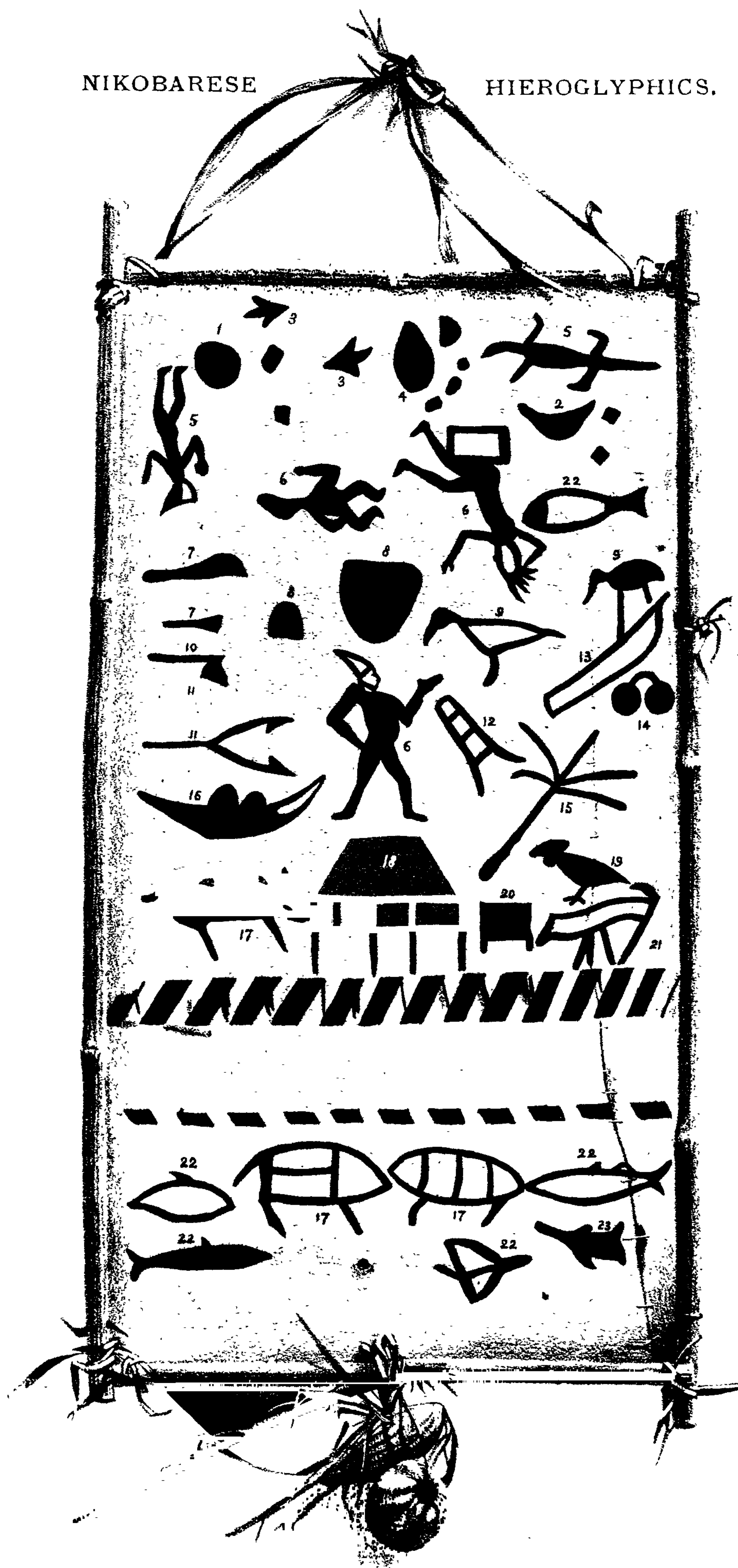
1 Netom tema Piyo cheîreñ, koñe tema daura dâka.

Sarañ me Piyo, sagunaiñ me.

* Inquiry on the spot led me to the conclusion that these images are no more idols than are the oil-paintings of our ancestors with which our houses are adorned.

† The first of these is numbered by mistake on the plate as '5.'

NIKOBARESE HIEROGLYPHICS.



Jhith beṭâ perâ duar, saraiñ me, Piyo, sâgunaiñ me.

2. Ukịhaura : peṭei : kate, loṭa da : re topoe pe,
Moṅre dhaute nirchi pe.
Moṅre goṭei : sârjom sakâm re sindur do red pe.
Moṅre dhaute ṭikâg pe, tyomte, "Hari bol" pe.

3. Dini tale, mai tale, dini tale bite tale
Sadom re le dejeya, chhatartele numuletale.

4. Napum, mai, chonda ṭaka, neṅgam neṅga netat :
Chet : hirir garir mai, chet : bâm bâṛo.

5. Demaiṅ delimaiṅ tâṛam tâṛam ben.
Khurthia sadom doe han hanao : kan.
Heṅ dâdâ hape dâdâ, hape tangi liñ me.
Bonsiya bajâr do parom kaliñ me.

6. Buru re Richi cheṅreṅ daya gi râgâ daya gi.
Tala ñinda hâra re Richi cheṅreṅ dayagi râgâ daya gi.
Sanaiṅ me.

7. Rid rid me mai marpitad me,
Lawatam lodâm chhal paṛ rangâwatâm.

8. Nai gitil talare kukṛuchu : baha bareṅ kukṛuchu : baha.
Gaḍa gitil talare sikiyom baha bareṅ sikiyom baha.

9. Nayo go bâm mâyâ lena, nayo go bâm dâyâ lena,
Nayo go neṅgâ nitat : lagit : gi, nayo gom nidigidi kadiña.

10. Babâ re bâm dâyâ lena, babâ re bâm mâyâ lena.
Babâ re moṅre ṭakalagit : babâ rem nidigidi kadiña.

11. Bareṅ re bâm dâyâ lena, baba re bâm mâyâ lena,
Bareṅ bareṅitat : lagit gi, bareṅ rem nidigidi kadiña.

12. Ohai! niṅgaiñ hoṅ banugi, Ohai! napum hoṅ banugi.
Ohai sâto sai naṭwa! Ohai! dâṛ redo nâp kaiñ me.

13. Raṅ, charei :, pitar phuṛu : Chândojonom dom nemâdiñ.
Chândo nindin lagit gi, Chândom kumâyâyen.

14. Moṅre paila nera tabenaiñ me, nera tabenaiñ me.
Moṅre paila nera chauleyaiñ me, nera chauleyaiñ me.

15. Siñ bir do nera sendera ho, nera sendera ho.
Maṭ : bir do, nera karekâ ho, nera karekâ ho.

16. Nai parom gaḍa parom Ṭuḍu mânḍariya ho, Ṭuḍu mânḍariya.
Nai parom gaḍa parom Beserako kuṛi ho Beserako kuṛi.

Translation.

1. On the left hand the Pio bird,* on the right a basket of rice.†
Give me a good token, Pio, give me a good omen.
Give me a good token, Pio, for my big boy at my friend's door; give me an omen.

2. Break a branch from a mango tree, ‡ and dip it in a *loṭâ* of water.
Five times sprinkle with water.§
Wrap up the red lead in five folds of *sâl* leaves‖.
Mark five times with red lead, and then shout "Hari bol."

3. Give to us our daughter, give to us our daughter.
We shall place her on horseback, and shade her with an umbrella.¶

4. Daughter, your father has received piled rupees.* Daughter, your mother too has received her present.†
Why run hiding hither and thither, daughter? why so reluctant?‡

* The Pio is a small hawk with a peculiarly pleasant cry. If heard on the left of a marriage party on its way to the bride's residence, it is considered a good omen, but if on the right a bad one.

† The bridegroom's father carries a large basketful of rice with him, for the use of the guests; and if at the time the Pio is heard on the left he is carrying the rice in his right hand, it is an additional token for good.

‡ His reference to the Jag Manjhi (the guardian of the morals of the young men and maidens), who is master of ceremonies at marriages, and who provides a small branch from a mango tree, with which the bridegroom sprinkles water over the bride.

§ The bridegroom dips the branch in a *loṭâ*—brass water-vessel—and sprinkles the bride.

‖ Red lead mixed with a little oil is wrapped up in five *sâl* leaves and given to the bridegroom, who marks the bride five times on the forehead with the little finger of the right hand. What remains in the leaves after this has been done is applied by pressing the leaves on the forehead; after which all present shout "Hari bol," very few knowing the meaning of it.

¶ This is understood to refer to the bride having a real or feigned reluctance to go with the bridegroom and his party. The bridegroom's party address themselves to the bride's party in the above words.

* It is customary among Sântâls for the bridegroom to give the bride's father a sum of money in rupees, which are placed one above the other in a pile.

† The mother of the bride also receives a small acknowledgment, generally cloth.

‡ The bride often runs hiding in all conceivable places, from a real or feigned unwillingness to accompany her husband to his home: and the singers ask, Why, seeing that your father has received money, and your mother a present, do you not go home joyfully with your husband?

5. Bring our daughter.* Daughter, come quickly, come quickly,
The Khurthia horse is neighing.†
Yes, brother, tarry for us; brother, see us through Bonsiya bazâr.‡
6. On the hill the Richi bird calls in heart-ravishing notes;
At midnight in the valley the Richi bird calls sweetly.
Give to me my wish.§
7. Spin, spin, daughter, clean the cotton:
Bring Lodam bark to dye the border.‖
8. In the sand of the Dàmudà the Kukruchu flower,¶ brother, the Kukruchu flower.
In the sand of the river the Sikiyom flower, brother, the Sikiyom flower.
9. Mother dear, you have shown no pity! Mother dear, you have had no compassion!
Mother dear, for the sake of the marriage present you have given me away!
10. O father, you have shown no compassion! O father, you have had no pity!
O father, for the sake of five rupees you have thrown me away!
11. O brother, you have had no pity! O brother, you have shown no compassion!
Brother, for the sake of the marriage present* you have given me away.
12. Alas, my mother is not! Alas, my father is not!
Oh, ye seven hundred dancers of the sword and shield dance!
Oh, place me on a branch!†
13. Solder, *charri*, brass *lotá*; ‡ God gave me being.
God, for so many days, God, thou to me hast been unpitying.§
14. Wife, husk for me five *pilas* of rice; wife, husk me rice.
Wife, five *pilas* of *taben* ‖ give me, *taben* give me.
15. Sing jungle, wife! a hunting, hark! wife, a hunting, hark!
Matt jungle, wife! a large hunting party, hark! a large hunting party, hark!
16. Across the Dàmudà, across the river, the Ṭuḍu musicians, ho! the Ṭuḍu musicians.
Across the Dâmudà, across the river, the Besera girls, ho! the Besera girls.¶

CASTE INSIGNIA.

BY CAPT. J. S. F. MACKENZIE, MAISUR COMMISSION.

The following translation of a Canarese document tells its own story:—

"At a marriage ceremony a dispute having arisen between the right and left hand castes of Heggadevanakote and Madras, it was referred to Kanchi (Conjeveram) and there settled.

* This is addressed by the bridegroom's party to the bride's party.

† It is impossible to say what the Khurthia horse is. Some say a wild jungle horse. It may have some connection with the horse already mentioned, upon which they propose to convey the bride to her new home.

‡ The bride entreats them to tarry till she is ready. She uses the singular—"brother", but the Santâls understand it to apply to the whole party.

§ I am not certain whether this line is correctly translated or not. [illegible] is "wish," [illegible] "give me my wish." It does not, however, show any connection with what goes before, and it may have some other meaning which I have been unable to find out.

‖ Refers to the "Sari" or garment worn by Santâli females. It has a narrow border of a red colour, which is obtained from a jungle tree called by the Santâls Lodam. I have seen in Col. Dalton's *Ethnology* that the Santâls as a race have no acquaintance with the art of weaving. In this district, in almost every village there are one or more looms, and the cloth worn by the women is almost entirely manufactured by themselves. There are one or two songs like the above referring to weaving, which make me think them not so ignorant of it as is generally supposed.

¶ This flower is the same as is called by us the Cockscomb. It is with the Sântâls much as the thistle is with us. Immense quantities of it are grown in every village. It is the favourite flower of the young women, who may almost always be seen with it stuck in their hair. So far as I know, it does not grow in river-beds, and I cannot account for the two being connected as they are here. The Sikiyom is not known to Europeans at home.

* In some cases the eldest brother of the bride is presented with a piece of cloth.

† This is understood by Sântâls to be sung by a young woman whose parents are dead and who is desirous of being married. The last clause is a figurative expression for "marry me into a good family."

‡ This means here everything, as we might say, or, 'big and little.' It is something like the Hindu "Naukar châkar." *Charri* is a species of spear-grass, with which leaf-plates are pinned together.

§ This verse is understood to be sung by a girl who has been married against her will. All the marriage guests have eaten and drunken, and the bride is about to be conveyed to her husband's house. In the latter part she complains that God, who gave her being, has since become unmerciful to her. From the construction of the sentence it is impossible to say from what time God has been unmerciful. Those whom I have consulted think it refers to the time of her marriage, and not to that of her birth.

‖ *Taben* is a kind of prepared rice. When soft after having been half-boiled, it is put into the *dheki* and flattened. It is then called *taben*.

¶ The meaning of the foregoing is said to be that the arts of singing and dancing were introduced among the Sântals by the clans Tudu and Besera, whose habitation was beyond the Dâmudâ. There is a legend giving a description of two men coming upon the gods and goddesses dancing in the jungle.

The following is an account of the insignia proper to castes, as given in the Kanchi records.

"This copy was written, in the presence of Collector Coleman and Danapân Shetti, by the heads of castes, with their full approval:—

"*Dated* 17*th April* 1807.

"The insignia of the 'nadu-deshada':—

"White umbrella — white horse—'Chamara (fans) — 'Pal-pavada' (cloths spread before one)—day-torch (*i.e.* torches by daylight)— 'Môre' (a kind of harp)—dancing girls—red turban—trumpets—'Jayamaru' (an ornament set with precious stones)—white flag—kettle-drums—the insignia of merchants—the lion-flag—'Hanumanta palu'—five-coloured flag—the bull-flag—the holy-coloured (yellow) tent — bell and chain — 'Mantappa, &c. Saṅga Maheśvaraṇa throne—necklace of snakes:— all these are proper to the right hand.

1. Telega Ballâla Shetti,—The 'haṁsa.'
2. Do. Kuraba,—The conch shell.
3. Bridara,—The 'ganda bhîrunda' (a fabulous bird having a double head and which lived on elephants), twelve poles and four corners.
4. Yeṇe (oilmen),—Fish.
5. Kônakarâ —? ?
6. Idigaru,—A ladder.
7. Gujarât Mochi,—A flag of five colours; an ensign with Nimosa Suma.
8. Nayamora—A turtle.
9. Waḍḍâru,—A spade.
10. Karnâṭaka Mochi,—A red flag.
11. Gollaru,—A silver stick used in churning.
12. Goudas,—A plough.
13. Karnâṭaka Kurabara,—A black flag.
14. Teliga, —'Naga varhna,' a cobra coiled up with head erect.
15. Jalagaru,—Lotus flower.
16. Korama Shetti,—The string used to tie up a bag.
17. Christians,—A currycomb!!!
18. Bhattaru (bards),—A silver stick.
19. Courtezans,—Cupid.
20. Dôlegaru,—Cupid.
21. Maddale Kara (drummers who use both hands),—Drum.
22. Bestaru (fishermen),—Net.
23. Budabudake,—A pearl-oyster.
24. Tera-Kula,—A pearl.
25. Telegaru,—A trident-flag.
26. Marama pujâri (*i.e.* priest to the village goddess),—The dress worn when performing service.
27. Nere-Koramaru,—A dog.
28. Madivala (washermen),—'Ubbi' (the pot in which clothes are boiled).
29. Telaga Hajâmaru,—The pipe used by snake-charmers.
30. Komtegaru,—in eleven 'kambas' (poles) three corners.
31. Nagatara,—A dancing-girl, eleven kambas and three corners.
32. Padigara,—Fire; 2nd, jackal; 3rd, a fly-brush.
33. Upâra,—Flowers.
34. Vajara (carpenters),—An eagle or kite; eleven poles and three corners (only allowed to go in procession in their own street).
35. Kocha-Kuraba, Mohout,—A peacock; 2nd, a bear; 3rd, an antelope.
36. Ane-Samagaru,—The insignia of the Mochis; a boy's kite.
37. Mahânadi Maranna,—The chief necklace.
38. Dombaru,—Pole and knife.
39. Tigala-Kumbaru,—The potter's wheel.
40. Devangada,—Flowers, eleven poles and three corners.
41. Heggâ-Negaru,—Five-coloured flag, eleven poles and three corners.

"The left-hand caste have eleven *kambas* and three corners—canopy—a black cloth over the centre of the canopy when carried during a marriage ceremony or other great occasions. At twelve o'clock at night they may ride a black horse in their own street, to which processions are confined. If there are any dancing-girls in their caste they may dance. If there are any washermen they may wash for them. The horn of a buffalo—drum: the ring over which the skin of the drum is stretched may be of silver if they have the means.

"Besides the above to which the *nadu-deshada* are entitled. As the white umbrella and the *palpavada* (spreading of cloths) are the highest honours, *sanyâsis*, gods, and princes are entitled to them.

"Whoever takes an insignia to which he is not entitled, his family will surely die."

The eleven poles refer to the number allowed to be used to support the *pandal* erected in the

street and before the house where a marriage is taking place. The usual number is twelve, but some castes are restricted to eleven.

'Three corners' refers to the canopy carried over the young couple during the marriage procession. In general all four corners are supported, but some castes are only allowed to support three.

MAHEŚVARA, IN MÂLWÂ.

BY RÂOJI VÂSUDEVA TULLU, M.A., INDOR.

Maheśvara is an important city in Nemâḍa, on the banks of the Narmadâ, and is believed to be second only to Indor in size and population in H. H. the Mahârâja Holkar's territories. Maheśvara was for a long time the capital of the Holkar family, and had attained a position of note in the time of Ahalyâ Bâî, one of the few model female rulers of India. "Maheśvara," says Major-General Sir John Malcolm, in his *Memoir of Central India* (vol. I. p. 14), "must be considered the principal and almost only place of note in Nemâḍa. This ancient city, which is pleasantly situated on the northern bank of the Narmadâ, with a fort elevated above the town, has long been, as well as its attached lands, accounted a distinct portion of territory,—probably from having been under the immediate management of the head of the Holkar family when it was their capital. That benefit which it formerly derived from being the residence of Ahalyâ Bâî is now given to it as containing the ashes of that great and venerated woman. Public buildings of different kinds are erecting, and a most spacious and highly finished flight of stone steps from the town to the river—meant, with the adjoining temples, to be dedicated to her memory—is nearly completed."

Having had an opportunity of seeing these buildings, I propose in this paper to give some account of them.

Most of the buildings are temples; as the northern bank of the Narmadâ is studded with them, a boating excursion is the most convenient for seeing them in a short time. The temples are all built of stone, and generally crown the summit of the hill or rock on which the fort of Maheśvara is situated. They are masterpieces of Hindu art, and though most of them are more than a century old they appear as fresh and strong as if newly built. Scarcely an inch of surface is devoid of carving. Generally there are ghâts leading from the banks of the river to the ridge on which the temples are situated. On these is a good deal of sculpture. Besides the many curves and flourishes that deck the stone slabs of the steps, there are scenes of daily life carved with artistic skill:—bands of players and musicians, hunting parties, marriage processions, singing and dancing girls, fights of bulls and elephants, pairs of lovers, scenes of war, &c. &c., all carved in the liveliest style. But, deservedly, the most esteemed is the magnificent tomb or *chhatri* of Ahalyâ Bâî. To give the reader an adequate idea of her greatness, I proceed to extract from Malcolm's *Memoir* an account of her character:—"The character of her administration was for more than thirty years the basis of the prosperity which attended the dynasty to which she belonged; and, although latterly it was obscured by the genius and success of Mahâdaji Sindyâ, it continued to sustain its rank during her life as one of the principal branches of the Marâthâ empire . . . . Her great object was, by a just and moderate government, to improve the condition of the country while she promoted the happiness of her subjects. She maintained but a small force independent of the territorial militia; but her troops were sufficient, aided by the equity of her administration, to preserve internal tranquillity; and she relied on the army of the state, actively employed in Hindustân and the Dekhan, and on her own reputation, for safety against all external enemies . . . . . . Ahalyâ Bâî sat every day, for a considerable period, in open darbâr, transacting business. Her first principle of government appears to have been moderate assessment, and an almost sacred respect for the native rights of village officers and proprietors of lands. She heard every complaint in person, and although she continually referred causes to courts of equity and arbitration, and to her ministers for settlement, she was always accessible; and so strong was her sense of duty on all points connected with the distribution of justice, that she is represented as not only patient, but unwearied, in the investigation of the most insignificant

causes, when appeals were made to her decision . . . . It appears above all extraordinary how she had mental and bodily powers to go through with the labours she imposed upon herself, and which from the age of thirty to that of sixty, when she died, were unremitted. The hours gained from the affairs of the state were all given to acts of devotion and charity; and a deep sense of religion appears to have strengthened her mind in the performance of her worldly duties." Such was the venerated A h a l y â B â î, who, though a woman, maintained for thirty years (1765-95) the utmost tranquillity in her dominions at a time when the country was disturbed with wars from one end to the other. Her charitable foundations extend all over India, from the snow-crowned Himâlayas to Cape Kumârî in the south, and from Somanâth in Gujarât to the temple of Jagannâth in the east. The g h â ṭ known as that of A h a l y â B â î,—from the river to the noble tomb erected to her memory,—is spacious, and consists of a number of flights of steps decorated with carvings of the sort already described. At the top of these is a spacious quadrangle enclosed on all sides by four massive stone buildings, each two stories high, richly embossed with carving. At one corner is another flight of steps leading to the main building. Here as we pass up we find to the left a dark stone slab in the wall of the building containing an inscription, to be noticed below. Above this is an open courtyard in front of the tomb. Entering this, we come first to a spacious hall. Inside is the l i ṅ g a of M a h â d e v a, as in ordinary temples. And behind this, close to the wall, is a marble half-size image of the queen A h a l y â B â î. The dome covering this temple is equally rich in carving, having a dozen concentric circles of carving leading up to the top. There are staircases on either side round massive stone pillars, leading to the outside of the dome, where there is a splendid terrace commanding a view of the adjacent buildings and the river below.

The inscription above referred to is as follows:—

|| श्रीगणेशाय नमः | श्रीराजराजेश्वराय नमः | श्रीनर्मदायै नमः ||
अस्ति क्षमारक्षणदक्षिणानां विपक्षपक्षक्षपणक्षमाणाम् |
श्रीशौर्यगांभीर्यगुणैकधाम्नां वंशः क्षितौ होलकरोपनाम्नाम् ||१||
समजनि जितमल्लो यत्र मल्लारिनाम्ना दशमहरिचरित्रो भोगि-
भोगातपत्रः |
जवजितपृषदश्वे राजमानः सदश्वे सदसिहततुरुष्कान्यस्तुरुष्कां-
श्चकार ||२||
यतस्तदात्मा तदनूनविक्रमो विष्णुर्विरेजे यदनंतभोगभाक् |
स्वैदेवनाह्निततया च खंडेरावाभिधां स्वां प्रथयन् पृथिव्याम् ||३||
या तद्वधूभावमुपाश्रयंती तदीयधर्माननुपालयंती |
अत्रेर्वसिष्ठस्य कलत्रमत्र संस्मारयंती विमलैश्चरित्रैः ||४||
बलादिलायां कलिनिग्रहाय गृहीतभूपालकलत्रदेहा |
साक्षादहल्याभिधया च तुल्या जनावनायाविरभूदवन्याम् ||५||
यस्तां महादेवरताप्रसादान्महामहादेवरतामवाप्य |
श्रीशीलशौर्यादिगुणैरुदारः श्रीमान्सुभेदार इति प्रसिद्धः ||६||
तुकोजिनामा नरराजधामा भाज्यं स्वराज्यं समलंचकार |
ततः सुतस्तस्य चतुःसमुद्रवेलावनव्यापियशोविशालः ||७||
प्रचंडदोर्मंडितचंडखड्गविखंडितारातिगृहीतदंडः |
अराजत श्रीयशवंतरावनामा महाराजपदाभिरूढः ||८||
माहिष्मतीदक्षिणपक्षलक्षितां मांशुकां तां तटयुग्मकांताम् |
रेवां समालोक्य तदंकशय्यामसावहल्यामनुचिंत्य तस्याः ||९||
लोकांतरे वा विदितास्तु सेवा ममेति देवासुरसेवितायाः |
अस्यास्तटे घट्टविधानपूर्वं प्रासादमाधातुमना मनीषी ||१०||
श्रीविक्रमादित्यमहींद्रराज्यात्प्रसाधनागाक्षितिसंमिते १८५६ ऽब्दे ||
श्रीशालिवाहस्य शके धराब्धिशैलेंदु १७२१ वर्षे ज्येसितैकतिथ्याम्
तारेशवारे श्रवणे प्रभाते चक्रे स्वयं मूलशिलानिवेशम् ||११||
दारास्ततस्तस्य गुणैरुदारा सदा सदाचारधरा धरायाम् |
तारा द्वितीयेव कृतावतारा ताराशिताराप्तयशःप्रसारा ||१२||
कृष्णाभिधा भर्तुरुपक्रमस्य मनोरथस्यापि सुपूर्णतायै |
प्रासादमत्रादितवैजयंतश्रियं विनिर्माय विमानरूपम् ||१३||
श्रीविक्रमाब्दे खनंदनागधरा १८९० शरन्माधवशुक्लपक्षे |
वारे भृगोः सप्तमसत्तिथौ सा मूर्तेः प्रतिष्ठां सशिवामकार्षीत् ||१४||
स्वभर्तृसंपादितदेवभावां भावेन मूर्तौ कृतसंनिधानाम् |
अस्मिन्नहल्यां विहितप्रतिष्ठां विधाय सामीप्यमपि स्मरारेः ||१५||
विभाव्य तस्याः पुरतः पुरारेर्लिंगं समास्थापयदत्र कृष्णा |
सायुज्यमस्याः प्रथयन्महेशो विभात्यहल्येश्वरनामधेयः ||१६||

Salutation to Ś r i G a ṇ e ś a, salutation to the King of Kings, salutation to Ś r î N a r m a d â!

1. There is on the earth the family of the H o l k a r s, clever in protecting the earth, in beating down the cause of their enemies, and the centre of wealth, bravery, serenity, and other qualities. 2. In this family was born M a l l â r i (known as Malhâr Râo I.), the conqueror of the brave, resembling the tenth incarnation of H a r i (*i.e.* Kalki) in his actions, having an umbrella white as the skin of the snake, and shining on his splendid horse which surpassed the wind in speed. This king killed the T u r u s h k a s (*i.e.* Mlechchhas) with his good sword. 3. His son, not less than himself in valour, enjoying infinite pleasures, shone like Vishṇu lying on the snake. He published to the world his own name, K h a ṇ ḍ e r â o, as if to show that he did

not differ in person from the tutelary deity of the family. 4. She who was his wife, and observed all duties towards him, reminds us, by her pure actions, of the wives of Atri and Vasishtha, Anasuyâ and Arundhatî. 5. She manifested herself on the earth for the protection of men, being equal to her name in person, *i.e.* resembling the old A h a l y â (the wife of Gautama), and incarnate in the form of a queen here in order to put down by force all quarrels and disputes. 6. He who having obtained (for his support) (*ahalyâ*) the great devotee of Mahâdeva, through her favour was known as the great and generous Subhedâr, endowed with wealth, good conduct, bravery, and other qualities. 7. This was T u k o j i, who in the splendour of a king was the jewel of his extensive kingdom. Then his son, who was great in his fame, extending the forests on the banks of the four seas, 8. And who had exacted tributes from his enemies whom he had destroyed by his fierce dagger that was set off by his terrible hands, shone as the great king Y a s h v a n t r â o. 9. Then observing the Narmadâ, beautiful between her two banks, and the robe of her current flowing to the south of the town M â h i ś m a t î (Maheśvara), and thinking of A h a l y â as resting on her lap, 10. And with the hope that his services towards her be promulgated through other worlds, the generous king thought of erecting first a ghât on her bank, and then a palatial tomb. 11. The foundation-stone was laid on the morning of Monday the 12th of the bright half of Kârtika, on the Śravaṇa Nakshatra in the year of Vikrama Saṁvatsara 1856, or the era of Śâlivâhana 1721 (*i.e.* A.D. 1800). 12. Then his wife, generous in all her qualities and bearing excellent conduct on the earth, was incarnate like another Târâ whose fame had spread beyond the seas. 13. She, K ṛ i s h ṇ â by name, erected a palace in form like an air-chariot, and in beauty like the palace of Indra, in order to fulfil the already commenced object of her husband. 14. On Thursday the 7th day in the bright half of Vaiśâkha, in the year of Vikrama 1890 (*i.e.* A.D. 1834), she placed the image (of *Ahalyâ*) with Śiva (in the temple). 15. Having here placed with devotion, close to the image of Śiva, A h a l y â who had attained a divine position by her conduct, and having thought of placing Śiva close to her image, 16. She, K ṛ i s h ṇ â, placed the l i ṅ g a of Ś i v a before the image which appears in the name of A h a l y e ś v a r a declaring her final salvation.

There is not much of poetry in these verses, but they serve the purpose for which they were intended. The line of the Holkar family has been traced from its founder, M a l h â r r â o, to K ṛ i s h ṇ â B â î, the adoptive mother of the present Mahârâja, H. H. T u k o j i R â o H o l k a r, G.C.S.I. I have dwelt upon this monumental building at length, as it carries with it a good deal of historical interest, in which the present generation participates to a considerable extent.

A COPPER-PLATE GRANT FROM UDAYPUR.

The plate is a facsimile of a copper-plate grant belonging to the Udaypur Darbâr. It was the subject of a dispute a few years ago, as to the possession of the ground granted by it. As Mokal Râṇâ is said to have ruled from Saṁvat 1454 to 1475, there seems to be some discrepancy in the date of the grant. When Chonda renounced the throne of Chittur in favour of this Mokal, it is said he stipulated that in all grants to the vassals of the crown his symbol (the lance of Salumbra) should precede the monogram of the Râṇâ: this is shown on the plate, of which the following is a transcript:—

Śrî Râmji.

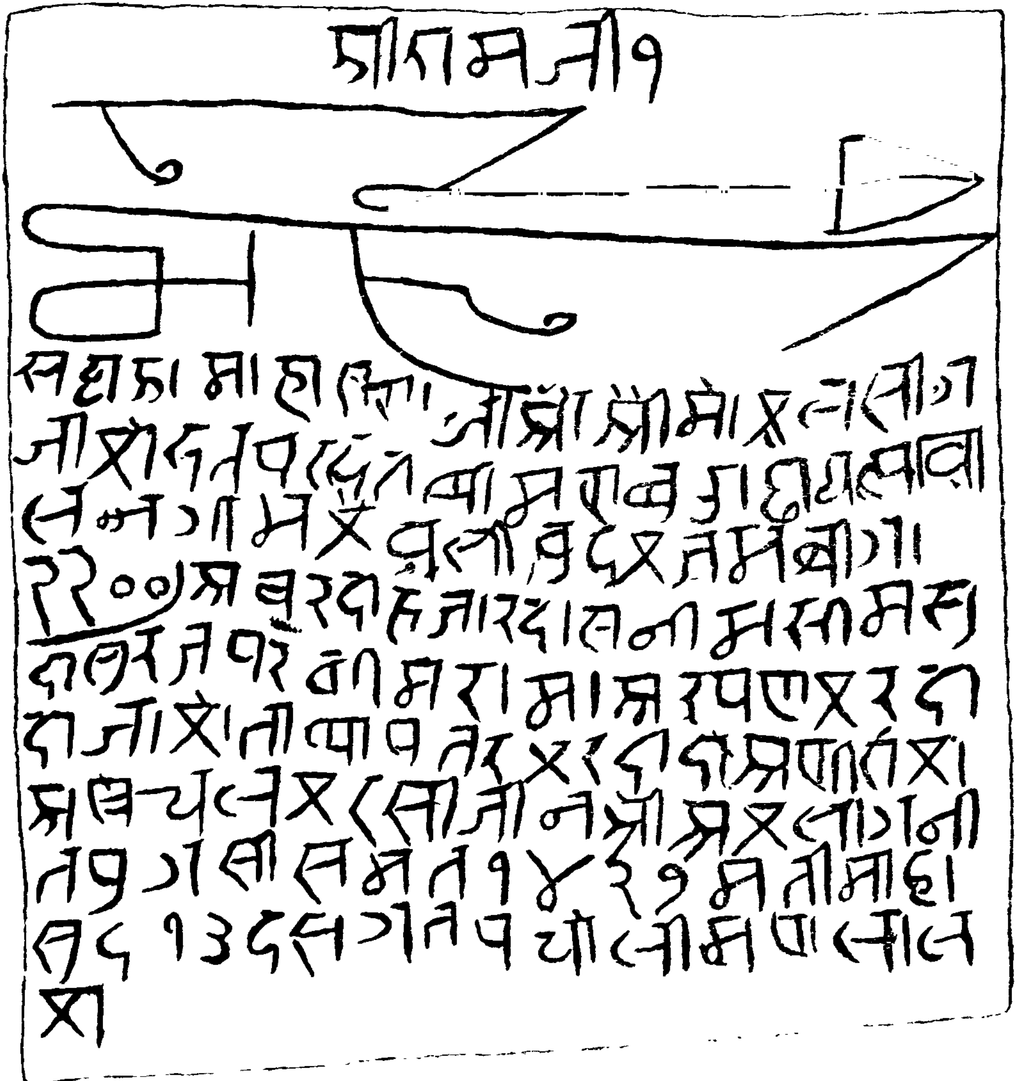
(*Lance of Salumbra*).

SAHA—(*The Râṇâ's monogram*).

Siddha Śrî Mahârâṇâji Śrî Śrî Mokal Sîgjî kâ datt pardatt Bamaṇa Baḍâ Dhâyalâvâla na gâṁ Kavalî, udaka jamî bîgâ 2200 ashar hajâr do do-se nîm-sîm sudî suraj parbi ma Râmâ arpaṇa* kar dî dî, jâ ko tàmpâ patar kar dî do. Aṇirî ko akshachal karsî, jî na Śrî Akliṅganâtha pugsî. Saṁvat 1427, matî Mâhâ Sudi 13. Dasgat Pañcholi Maṇa Lâlaka.

* *Râma arpaṇ* corresponds among the Solar race, as remarked by Major J. W. Watson, to the *Kṛishṇârpan* of the Lunar race; both terms imply an irrevocable grant.

COPPER-PLATE IN THE DARBAR LIBRARY, UDAYPUR.



J. Burgess fecit.

The following version and notes are by Mr. J. F. Goulding, Principal of the Ajmir Government College:—

Śrî Râmji.

Sidha—Śrî Mâhârâṇâji Śrî Śrî Mokal Singji ka dâtha pardathâ Brâhmaṇ Baḍâ-Dhâila vâlâ na gâṁ Kevalì udak jamì bigâh 2200 (akrâ do hazâr do sao) nîm-sîm sudân, Suraj parbi ma Râm arpan kar di di. Jiṅ ko thamba patr kar dì do. Ìnari koe khâchal karsi, je nâ Śrî Iklanganâth pugsi. Saṁvat 1427, Mithi Mahâ Sudh 13 (thâras). Dastkhat Pancholi Man Lâlka.

Translation.

Śrî Râmji.

Siddhâ.—Śrî Mahârâṇâji Śrî Śrî Mokal Singji has on his own part, by way of an offering to Râma, given in charity and confirmed to the Brâhmaṇ of Barâ Dhâylavâlâ the village of Kavali, comprising 2200 bigâhs (*in words*, two thousand two hundred bigâhs), with its foundations and boundaries. It is given during an eclipse of the sun. In witness whereof he has given him this copper-plate. Should any one disturb him in the possession of it, Śrî Eklinganâth will torment him. Dated 13th Mahâ Sudh, Saṁvat 1427. Signed,—Man Lâl, Pañcholi.

NOTES.

Siddha, literally 'fulfilment,' 'completion,' a word denoting wish or vow, and termed "Mangali," *i.e.* 'triumphant.' It means here "may my wish be satisfied."

The adjective *bará*, 'large,' here qualifies Dhaila, which may also be read *Chaila*. It is of frequent application in Mherwârâ, where the larger of two villages of the same name is always distinguished by the term *bará*, *e g.* Barâ Lamba, Barâ Kanaisan, Barâ Kherâ.

Udak means literally 'water.' The ceremony of Sankalpa is here referred to. It consists in the donor taking a small quantity of water in the palm of his right hand and pouring it into that of the right hand of the donee, repeating the terms and circumstances of the gift. The lands thus bestowed are thenceforth termed *Udak*, and the gift becomes irrevocable.

Nîm-sîm is an idiom, literally 'with its foundation and boundaries;' in its more comprehensive sense, 'in all its entirety'

Khâchal is literally 'interference.'

Pugsi, literally 'will visit him,' that is, 'torment him.' Eklinganâth is the god worshipped more particularly by the Mahârâṇâs of Udaypur.*

As the name of the donee is not mentioned in the copper-plate, it is just probable that the gift of the village was made to the Brâhmaṇs of Barâ Dhailavâlâ. The word Brâhmaṇ can be made to signify the plural by placing an *anuswâr* over the final *a* in the word Dhailavâlâ. Gifts of this kind are frequently made to communities of Brâhmaṇs.

Mr. F. S. Growse, B.C.S., who furnishes a version substantially the same, also remarks that "as both Dailvâḍi and Korvaṇa are given in the map of Udaypur, they are probably the places intended. There is, however, a difficulty about the date; for Mokal Siṅha, the first Râṇâ of Mewâr of the younger branch (his elder brother Chonda having ceded to him the throne) did not commence his reign till *Saṁvat* 1454 (A.D. 1398), and, if the dates given in Tod's narrative† are to be implicitly accepted, can scarcely have been born in *Saṁvat* 1427 (A.D. 1371),—two years before his father Lakhâ ascended the throne. As to the grammatical construction: *ne* is occasionally used to the present day by villagers in Mathurâ instead of *ko*; and *si* for *ga*, as the sign of the future tense, is of common occurrence in the Hindi *Râmâyaṇa*. *Anî-râ* I take to be for *un-ko*. Of *akhgal* and *pugsi*, though the meaning of both is clear from the context, I cannot suggest any derivation."

SANGAMNER INSCRIPTIONS.

TRANSLATED BY E. REHATSEK, M.C.E., Hon. Mem. B. B. R. A. S.

Transcripts of the following three inscriptions have been sent to me,‡ and although they are very good, estampages would have been preferable, as I have doubts concerning several words. I give them, however, as they are, without alteration:—

* One of the Mahârâṇâ's titles is 'Diwân of Eklingaji'. The great temple of Eklinganâth is in a secluded valley among the hills, about eight miles north of Udaypur.—ED.

† *Annals of Râjasthân*, vol. I. p. 283: Madras ed. p. 237.

‡ The first and second inscriptions are upon a pretty little domed tomb just east of the town of Sangamner in the Ahmadnagar district. The Khovâjah is said by the local Kâzî to have been the spiritual preceptor of Âlamgîr Bâdshâh, but the dome is attributed to a later, but undefined, period.—W. F. S.

I.—On the Gumbaz of Khovâjah Muḥammad Ṣâdeḳ.

درگهی صاحب کرامت در مبارک ساعتی
خلق را بهر زیارت حل مشکل حاجتی
مشکل آسان میشوند این خواجگان نقشبند[؟]
خواجهٔ شاهی بلا گردان بفضل و برکتی
آنکه در سیر و سفر چون از بخارا آمدند
مظهر اهل ولایت داشت جاه و حشمتی
ساخت کامل عارف این روضه اندر سال نیك
یکهزار و یکصد و هفتاد بود از هجری

The Durgâh of the worker of Kerâmet* is, at a propitious hour, to the people a place for pilgrimage, where their difficulties are solved. Difficulties become easy to these Naḳshbendi Khovâjahs; the Royal Khovâjah is a turner away of calamities† by grace and blessing; when he‡ arrived in his wanderings and travellings from Bokhârâ, the manifester of the possession of the Velâyet§ enjoyed glory and pomp. Kâmel 'Aârif|| built this mausoleum in the auspicious year 1070 of the exile" [1659-60].

II.—On the durgâh of Khovâjah Muḥammad Ṣâdeḳ Naḳshbendi.

این درگاه حضرت خواجه محمد صادق فرزندان
حضرت قطب الاقطاب سید محمد بخاری عرف
خواجه بهاؤالدین نقشبندی فرزندان حضرت
امام حسن الذکری الهی بحق شیخ دین معروف
کرخی نگهداری از آفتهای چرخی زشرف خواجه
محمد شاه نصرمن الله فتح قریب و بشرالمومنین

"The Durgâh of His Excellency Khovâjah Muḥammad Ṣâdeḳ, son of His Excellency Kutb-allaḳtâb¶ Sayyid Muḥammad Bokhâry, known as Khovâjah Behâ-al-din Naḳshbendi*, son of His Excellency Emâm Hasan Alẕikri Elahy, in reality a Sheikh of the religion known as Karkhy, is a protection from the misfortunes of the times, by the nobility of the Khovâjah Muḥammad Shâh. Assistance from God, and a speedy victory. And do thou bear good tidings to the true believers."†

III.—On the Friday Mosque.

بفضل الهی مرتب شده
زهجرت هزار و صد و نوزده

"Established by divine favour A. H. 1119" [1707-8].

MISCELLANEA.

SÂGHAR.

In the *Antiquary* (vol. III. p. 116) I find a query by Colonel Yule as to Sâghar, a place visited by Ibn Batûta on his way from Nandurbâr in Khândesh to Khambay.

It is almost certainly Sônghar (or Songadh?), on the Tapti, in 21° 9′ N. latitude; and 73° 35′ E. longitude—there or thereabouts. I have not seen the place, but know it by repute as a station on the march from Khândesh to Gujarât. On the map it looks rather a roundabout way from Nandurbâr to Khambay; but the shortest cut across, lying in this instance through very rough and unsettled country, was probably then, as now, the longest way round.

W. F. S.

SOME SONGS OF WESTERN INDIA.

It is not easy to get the words of songs in this part of India. The airs of the Dekhan—"the grave of music," as the Hindustânis call it—are not usually very attractive; and the language is usually

* The miracles worked by saints are named 'Kerâmât,' and appear to hold an intermediate position between the 'Asâr' and the 'Ma'jzât;' the former being inferior, and the latter superior to the Kerâmât.

† The speciality of the power of some saints consisted in the favour bestowed on them to remove calamities that befell people. One of the congregation of departed saints of whom Khovâjah Behâ-al-din Nakshbendi had a vision, said to him:—ترا آن کرامت کرده اند که بلای نازل شده از برکت تو دفع شود "They have bestowed on thee the favour (*kerâmet*) that calamities which have happened should be removed by thy blessing:"—*Nafhat-ul-uns*, p. ۲۴۷

‡ The honorific 'they,' used also in Hindustâni, Marâṭhi, Gujarâti, &c., I have translated by 'he.'

§ *Velâyet*, in a special sense, is a metaphor expressing the evanescence of the worshipper in God, and permanence in Him; only he can be in the possession of *Velâyet* who is a *Vâsil*, *i.e.* one who has attained perfection in the *Sulûk*, or journey of piety.

|| This word I prefer to consider as a proper noun; its meaning is 'perfect knower;' both have also a religious sense in reference to a knowledge of the Deity.

¶ *Kutb*, 'axis,' is a particular degree of sanctity, here exalted to the highest, *i.e.* 'the axis of axes.'

* The life of Khovâjah Behâ-al-din Nakshbendi, who died A. H. 791 (1389), and appears never to have left Bokhârâ, may be seen in the *Naf'at-ul-uns*, p. ۲۴۷—۲۵۰ Bombay lithogr. ed.

† *Koran*, lxi. 13.

all but unintelligible, and fragmentary at that. Respect prevents natives from singing in the presence of Europeans, except at a *nâch*, where the song is generally a mere repetition of the glories of the principal guest, or an importation from Hindustân or Haidarâbâd.

It is probable that the *kathâs* or semidramatic recitations, and *nâṭaks* or plays, would afford a field for any inquirer who had health and patience to endure their "linked sweetness long drawn out" at impossible hours, and subject to the conditions of crowd and heat which are inevitable; but as yet no one has been found to try it. One class of compositions, however, are an exception in this respect,—I mean the boat-songs of the coast, which perhaps owe some of their undoubted charm to their surroundings of fresh air and beautiful scenery, and to the pleasant leisure which the passenger enjoys, sitting

"Above the oars
The while on even keel, between low shores,
Our long ship breasts the Thames' flood or the Seine"—

that is, *mutatis mutandis*, the tide-wave that sweeps the palm-fringed shores and castellated islands of the Kulâbâ coast, or the moonlit streams of the beautiful Kondulika and Ulâs.*

The following fragments were mostly picked up upon such expeditions; and I can only regret that my want of musical science prevents me from giving the tunes, and hope that some more scientific traveller may be induced to contribute to our knowledge of the subject.

The first is a song much in favour with the coast Kolîs; the hero, "Bhokî Baba," is a sportive Kolî, who has pushed a lady into his house and shut the door. Her plaintive entreaty for release forms the refrain, and is given with great expression, and a suppressed grin of appreciation.

She speaks:
Are, Bhokî Bâbâ, malâ kashâlâ dharalâ ?
Bhokî Bâbâ, are, malâ soḍûn de!
He answers:
Tulâ âhe sonechâ wa rupaichâ dâṇḍâ.
She repeats:
Bhokî Bâbâ, are malâ soḍûn de!
She speaks, seeing her husband approach:
Are, Bhokî Bâbâ, pahâ te ale navarâ!
Bhokî Bâbâ, are malâ soḍûn de!
The husband speaks:
Bhokî Bâbâ, koṭheṅ âhe majhi porî ?
The lady interrupts Bhokî's answer with
Bhokî Bâbâ, are malâ soḍûn de!

and so on for several stanzas, or rather distichs, in the same style. I learnt this and the next from the gig's crew of the Political Agent at Jinjîra. The following is the translation:—

"Oh! Bhokî Bâbâ, why did you catch me so?
Oh! Bhokî Bâbâ, pray let me go!"

"You have an arm of silver and gold" (this is a compliment, alluding to her bracelets).

"Oh! Bhokî Bâbâ, pray let me go!

"Bhokî Bâbâ, see, there is my husband coming (lit. that my husband has come)! Oh, Bhokî Bâbâ!" &c.

"Bhokî Bâbâ, where is my little girl?" (a curious use of *porî*, which usually means one's *daughter*).

"Oh! Bhokî Bâbâ!" &c.

Another similar song is a dialogue between a Kolî woman who has gone into a garden to steal flowers to deck herself with, and the gardener, who has discovered her. He shuts the gate to prevent her escape, and answers all her petitions for release with the refrain—

"Tulâ hai re phulâchâ galyâ," *i.e.* "You have got a necklace of flowers"—evidence of her theft.

The following war-song is a great favourite with the Musalmân boatmen; it has some resemblance in language, and much in vigour and power, to the Marseillaise, and was to be heard in every Musalmân boat during the last Bombay riots, the singers getting much excited:—

"Husain ne bolâ, Karbalameṅ âkar,
Âj bakhat ayâ laḍai kâ.
Kasimi! bolâ, baḍe khijmati karekar,
Âj bakhat ayâ laḍai kâ.
Ija ka dìn ayâ, khijmati karekar.
Âj bakhat ayâ laḍai kâ," &c.

Here is a more harmless fragment from the Mahâd river:—

"Jhor-jhorî kuttre, Mogalya,
Sassa paḷâlâ, dongaryâ;
Jevhân sassane kuttr'yaṅla pahila,
Jevhâncheṅ tevhan, lapûnhi basalâ."

"Two Moghal dogs in a leash were they,
And a mountain hare that ran away;
When the hare those dogs espied,
At once he squatted down to hide."

And the next, "Musalmâni" from Ṭhâna, is almost a nursery rhyme, and not a bad one either:—

Mûrghâ murghî shâdî kyâ,
Baidâ dyâ solâ,
Jaldî bachhâ paidâ huâ,
Kukurû! kukurû! kukurû! bolâ.

"Cock and hen a wedding made,
Sixteen eggs (the lady) laid,
Out came a little chick speedilie,
'Cock-a-doodle-doo!' quoth he."

* 'Ulâs'—'rejoicing,' with an idea of motion; "Nadı ulasâ na châlalî" is a line of a Ṭhâkur song in praise of the monsoon.

The author of *Pâṇḍurang Harî* puts in the mouth of an ass-driver between Punâ and Nagar several songs which I find still remembered in the latter city. The best is a nursery rhyme :—

Ḍing ! porî, ḍing ! kapâlâchen bing ;
Bing gelâ phûṭhûn, porî gelî ûṭhûn.

Which may be translated—

"Bye, bye, my little lass
(Looked at herself in) a looking-glass ;*
Smash in pieces went the glass,
And up and away went my little lass."

The boatmen have choruses, to which they tack on rude verses improvised for the occasion. The following is very popular on the Kulâbâ coast :—

1. Bharati âlî ; peṭ bharitânâ
   Khandârî ḍongar tikaḍe jâ.
2. Tâmbaḍa phûtalâ, peṭ bharitânâ
   Khandârî ḍongar tikaḍe jâ.
3. Diwas ughawalâ ; peṭ bharitânâ
   Khandârî ḍongar tikaḍe jâ.
4. Sâheb lok basale ; peṭ bharitânâ
   Khandârî ḍongar tikaḍe jâ.

1. "The flood has come ; filling our bellies (*i.e.* earning our bread) go to the hill of Khandârî" (Kennery Island, south of Bombay, a well-known mark).

2. "The day has broken ;† earning our bread," &c.

3. "The sun has risen ; earning our bread," &c.

4. "The sâhebs have taken their seats (in the boat) ; earning our bread," &c.

The strain on the imagination of the improvisatore at the stroke oar is not severe. Sometimes the chorus is nonsense, *e.g.* a "Musalmânî" one "Lâhemâdîn wa mewa phula" three times repeated. "Mewa phula," fruit and flowers ; but the rest is gibberish, and the chorus is fitted, like the last, to any words that occur.

Critical readers are warned that I am not responsible for boatmen's grammar.

W. F. SINCLAIR.

Queries.

CHÂKAN, BELGÂM, AND CHAKABÛ.

1. In "A.D. 1436, Malik-ut-Tijâr, having undertaken the conduct of the war, marched at the head of a choice body of troops, the flower of the Dekhan army. This officer began on a systematic plan of conquering and regulating the country to be subdued. He established his head-quarters at Châkan, and raised a fort near the city of Junar."

"Châkan is a small fort eighteen miles north from Punâ. It is nearly square, with towers at the angles and centres of the faces ; it has a good ditch about thirty feet wide and fifteen deep, but wet on the north side only ; the walls are high, the parapet and rampart narrow, and the towers confined. There is but one entrance into the body of the place through five or six gateways ; and there is a mud outwork, which also has a ditch. I mention it particularly on account of its reputed antiquity ; for, although it probably is the fort built by Malik-ut-Tijâr, according to concurring Hindû legends it was constructed by an Abyssinian Poligâr A.D. 1295. As to how he got there, they do not pretend to account."‡

Fort Châkan, thirty-five miles south from Junar, was built by Khalaf Hasan of Basri (Bassora ?), styled Malik-ut-Tijâr. Further information is required regarding the family history of the two Marâṭhâ Râjas by whom he was betrayed ; the wily Poligâr Sirkhê of Panâla, and his abused friend of Fort Siñhgaḍ or Kandwânâ (Kelueh in Scott's translation).§

2. What is known of Vikrama Râya of Belgâm—the Birkana Rây of Muhammadan writers—conquered by Muhammad Shâh Bahmani in 1472, and of his ancestors ?

3. "However, it was decreed that for a certain time that kingdom should remain in the family of the Pâṇḍavas ; for this reason, when Abhiman, the son of Arjuna, was killed in the battle of Chakabû, his wife happened to be pregnant ; accordingly, after nine months, she gave birth to a fortunate son, so their dark house was lighted up."‖

In which of the *Purâṇas* is the fullest account of the battle of Chakabû given ?

R. R. W. ELLIS.

Starcross, near Exeter, 14th September 1875.

CHÂKAN.

Châkan—probably 'Châr kan,'—*kan* being among Marâṭhâs a division between four posts, by which they reckon the size of all buildings, and is the name of the village,—probably older than the fort. The tradition of the Abyssinian chief is now extinct, and there is no reason whatever for connecting it with Chakabû. Grant Duff's account of the modern fort is incorrect in every particular except as to size. It was captured by Sivaji early in his career. For the subsequent siege by and capitulation to Shaista Khân Amir ul' Umra *vide* Grant Duff, vol. I. Shaista Khân repaired the fort, according to inscriptions found there dated 19th Zulhej A. H. 1071. It was finally dismantled in 1858—vide *Ind. Ant.* vol. II. p. 43.

W. F. S.

* *Kapâlâchen bing* is the small round hand-glass which barbers carry and give to the patient to hold while they are operating on his "*kapâl*" (head).

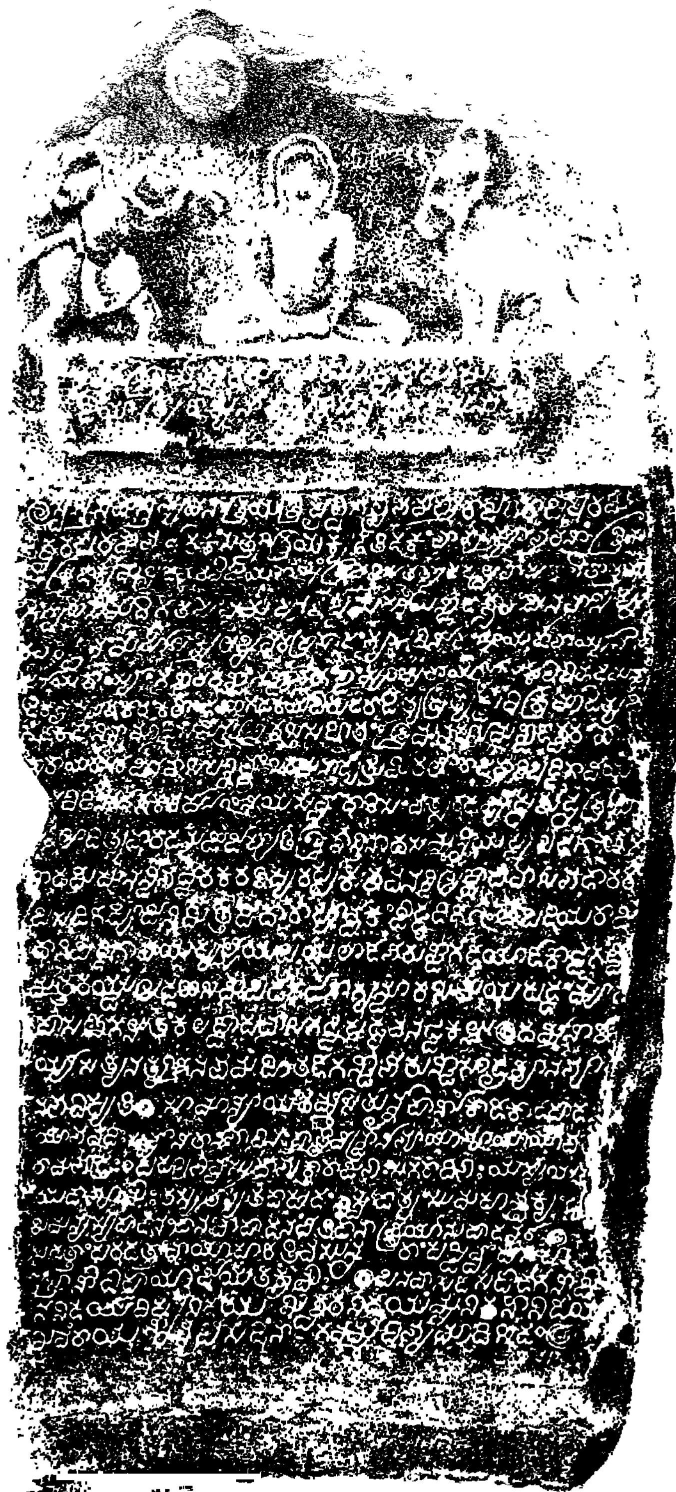
† Lit "It has broken red"—an idiomatic expression for the red appearance of the sky at earliest "peep o' day."

‡ Grant Duff's *History of the Marâṭhâs*, vol. I. p. 61.

§ Firishtah, Persian text, vol. I p 644.

‖ *Araish-i-Mahfil*, translated by Major H. Court, 1871.

SILASASANAM AT BALLIGAMVE.



THE LEGENDARY ACCOUNT OF OLD NEWÂSA.

BY ŚRI KRISHṆA ŚÂSTRI TALEKAR, DEPUTY EDUCATIONAL INSPECTOR, AHMADNAGAR.

NEWÂSA is a tâlukâ town in the district of Ahmadnagar. It has, like many other places, its own history or legend, which I hope will be of some interest to the readers of the *Indian Antiquary*.

The legend is given in the *Mahâlaya Mâhâtmya* (or 'the greatness of Mâhâlaya'), which is a part of the *Skanda Purâṇa*. The *Mâhâtmya* is written in both Sanskrit and Prâkrit. It has not been published, nor is it known except in Newâsa. There are few copies of it even there, and consequently their owners do not trust them to others. I obtained, with difficulty, a copy for perusal, for which I was indebted to a friend. It gives the geographical position of Newâsa, and enlarges on the sanctity and legendary history both of the place itself, and of the *tîrthas* named as connected with it. The legend respecting Newâsa is as follows:—

Formerly there was a demon by name Târakâsur, who having pleased Brahmâ and got entrance into heaven through his favour, became so proud that he began to harass the gods, and at last expelled them from heaven. The gods then met together and went to Brahmâ for protection, who mentally invoked Vishṇu for assistance. Vishṇu forthwith appeared, and having heard the cause of his invocation said to him that Kârtika Svâmi (the commander-in-chief of the celestial armies) was to kill the demon, and that he was yet to be born in the womb of Pârvati from the loins of Śankar. Brahmâ then asked for a place for all the gods to live in till the birth of Kârtika Svâmi should take place, where they would suffer no annoyance from the demon. Vishṇu then pointed out Newâsa for them, which he described thus:—

विंध्यस्य दक्षिणे भागे गोदाया दक्षिणे तटे।
पंचक्रोशात्मकं क्षेत्रं वरा यत्र नदी शुभा।
तस्याश्च पूर्वभागे हि वैष्णवी शक्तिरद्भुता।

"In the country south of the Vindhya mountains, and on the south bank of the Godâvarî, there is a holy place of the extent of five *kos*, where there is the meritorious Varâ; and to the east of the river there is a Vaishṇavi Śakti* (popularly called Mohinirâja) of extraordinary power."

The gods then immediately resorted to this place. The position given above is exactly that of the present Newâsa.

The names of Newâsa used in the *Mahâlaya Mâhâtmya* are Mahâlaya and Nidhiwâsa, and the names of the river, Pravarâ, Pâpharâ, and Varâ. The origin of all these names is given in the *Mâhâtmya* by Sanatkumâra to Vyâsa.

Vyâsa asks—

महालयं कथं क्षेत्रं निधिवासः कथं हि तत्।
प्रवरेति कथं नाम तथा पापहरेति च।
वरा च नाम्ना ह्यभवत्कथं सा मुनिसत्तम।

"O greatest of the sages, how did this holy place come to be called Mahâlaya, and also Nidhiwâsa? What is the origin of the name Pravarâ, and of the name Pâpharâ? Why is the river called Varâ? Sanatkumâra answers:—

महतामालयं यस्मात्स्थानमेतद्भविष्यति।
महालयमितीदं हि ज्ञानिनो विबुधा विदुः।
यस्य देवस्य यद्वस्तु वरिष्ठं तदिहानयत्।
निधयो निहितास्तत्र धनदेन महामुने।
तस्मान्न चलिता स्थानान्निधयो देवपूजिताः।
निधिवासस्ततो लोके ख्यातिमाप शुभां भुवि।
आप ऊचुः। माधुर्यरससंयुक्ताः शुद्धा लोकत्रयप्रभो।
सर्वेषामुपजीव्या वै भविष्यामस्तथा कुरु।

"As this place was a dwelling-place of the great (the gods), wise men called it Mahâlaya (*mahâ*, great, and *âlaya*, a dwelling-place)." When the gods betook themselves to this place, as advised by Vishṇu, "every one of them brought with him whatever he considered most valuable. O great sage, Kuber (the treasurer of the gods) lodged here his (nine) treasures, which were worshipped by the gods and were never removed. Hence the place got the good name of Nidhiwâsa among the people of earth (*nidhi*, treasures, and *wâsa*, a depository). The waters (of the Pravarâ) spoke (to the presiding deity): 'O Lord of the three worlds, make us such that we shall become possessed of sweet taste, pure, and sustaining all in life.'

* Vaishṇavi Śakti—the energy of Vishṇu personified as a goddess.

The boon asked for by the waters was granted them by the deity, and hence the names Pravarâ, or the river of very sweet water; Pâpharâ, the river washing away sins; and Varâ, the river of healthy water."

This story, though mythological, serves well to explain the origin of the names of Newâsa, and those of the river Pravarâ. It need not now be told that Newâsa is a corruption of Nidhiwâsa, the ancient name of the place. It was first changed to Niwâsa, in which form it occurs in Dnyânesvara, and then to Newâsa. Niwâsa is also a Sanskrit word meaning 'a place of residence.' There is a phrase in Marâthî गोदा स्नान आणि प्रवरा पान, "We should use waters of the Godâ for bathing, and those of the Pravarâ for drinking," in common use among the higher classes of Hindus residing on the banks of the Godâvarî and the Pravarâ.

The *Mahâlaya Mâhâtmya* tells us that the Vaishṇavi Śakti above alluded to was the presiding deity at Newâsa when the gods came there for protection. This Śakti is still the tutelary deity of the town. There is a beautiful temple of this deity at Newâsa. It is of modern date, but its sculpture is excellent. This Śakti, the *Mâhâtmya* states, is the form which Vishṇu assumed to punish Râhu (a demon) who, at the time of distributing nectar produced by the Surâs and Asurâs from the churning of the ocean, entered in disguise among the gods to drink it, though it was intended for the gods only.

Dnyânesvara makes mention of Newâsa, and states that he composed his *Dnyânesvarî* there. He has given a description of it, which is similar to that given in the *Mahâlaya Mâhâtmya*. It is this (*Dnyânesvarî*, ch. xviii.) :—

ऐसे युगीं परि कळीं । आणि महाराष्ट्रमंडळीं ।
श्रीगोदावरीजवळी । निवास स्थान ॥
तें त्रिभुवनैकपवित्र । अनादि पंचक्रोश क्षेत्र ।
जेथ जगाचें जीवन सूत्र । श्रीमहालया वसे ॥
जेथ यदुवंशविलास । जो सकलकलानिवास ।
न्यायातें पोषी क्षितीश । श्रीरामचंद्र ॥
तेथ महेशान्वयसंभूतें । श्रीनिवृत्तिनाथसुतें ।
केलें ज्ञानदेवें गीते । देशीकारलेणें ॥

"In the Kali Yug there is a place (by name) Niwâsa, in the Marâthâ country, near the Godâvarî, which extends five *kos*, and is the only holy place in the three worlds, from time immemorial, in which there lives the deity Śri Mahâlayâ (Mohinirâja), the preserver of lives in the universe, and in which there is a ruler of the earth (by name) Râmachandra, who is an ornament to the Yâdava race, the abode of all arts, and the supporter of justice. There the *Gîtâ* was dressed in Marâthî by Dnyânadeva, a descendant of the family of Maheśa, and the son* of Nivritti Nâth."

At the distance of about a quarter of a mile from Newâsa towards the west there is a stone pillar, apparently part of a temple not now in existence, bearing a Sanskrit inscription. The pillar is called Dnyânobâcha khamb, 'Dnyânobâ's pillar.' When I first heard of the pillar and of its being inscribed, I was impatient to see the inscription, as I was in hopes that I might find something in it regarding Dnyânobâ, the pillar being called after his name. But, to my disappointment, when I did visit it I found nothing in it regarding either Dnyânobâ or Newâsa. The pillar is buried in the ground, with a pretty good flat-roofed building over it measuring about thirty-three feet by twenty-six. The pillar is called Dnyânobâ's only because it is supposed to have been leaned against by him while composing his commentary on the *Gîtâ*. But great respect is paid to it in consequence of this, and a fair is held every year in honour of the pillar, on the 11th day of the dark fortnight of Phâlgun. The height of the pillar above the ground is about four and six inches, and its circumference about four feet. The middle part of the pillar is square, while it is round above and below. The front side of the square bears the inscription, which consists of seven lines, and contains two Sanskrit verses in Anushtup metre. It is as follows :—

[1] ओन्नमः [कर] वीरेश्वराय । पिता
[2] महेन यत्पूर्वं [दत्तं] षट्कं जगद्गुरोः ।
[3] अ ग्वं ड व त्ति नै ला र्थं प्र-
[4] ति मासं सदा हि तत् । [रूपका]
[5] [णां] षट्कसंख्या देया आनंदसू-
[6] र्यकं । [यः स्वी]करोति दुष्टः [सः] तस्य
[7] पूर्वे व्रजंत्यधः । मंगलं महाश्रीः ।

Translation.

"Om, salutation to Karavîreśvara! As (my) grandfather has formerly granted a sum of six

* Nivritti Nâth was the elder brother of Dnyânesvara, and also his *guru*. He therefore calls himself his son.

(rupees) to Jagatguru (Śiva), to be continued *per mensem*, for a continual supply of wick and oil (for a light in his temple), so that that sum of six rupees should be given as long as the sun and the moon exist, he who appropriates it to his use is wicked : his ancestors will go to hell. May the great deity (Mohinîrâja) do good !"

The letters of the inscription have in several places suffered from the effects of time, which have rendered them illegible or uncertain. They have been supplied as the general contents of the inscription required, and have been distinguished from the rest by brackets. In the first line [करा] is supplied from the *Mahâlaya Mâhâtmya*, which gives Karavîreśvara as a name of Śiva, from Karavîr, a head-attendant of Śiva who propitiated him and induced him to take the name as a token of his favour towards him (Karavîr).

The inscription bears no date, nor does it name the grantor, but the date can approximately be fixed from the character of the letters inscribed. The character is similar to that found in inscriptions dated six hundred years back, so that the inscription cannot be older than about that time. As to the name of the grantor, or rather the renewer of the grant, there are no means of ascertaining it. But it appears that some rich man in Newâsa probably renewed the grant of his grandfather, who, being a devotee of Karavîreśvara, to whom a salutation is offered at the beginning of the inscription, furnished the temple with a lamp continually burning. Newâsa, as the *ovi* अथ यदुवंश विलास, &c., quoted above from the *Dnyâneśvarî*, shows, was the capital of Râja Râmachandra, and it must have then contained many rich men, though there are none at present. The Râja Râmachandra, the same *ovi* proves, was contemporary with Dnyâneśvara (who completed his *Dnyâneśvarî* at Newâsa in Śake 1212, or 1290 A.D., and died at Âlandî, near Puṇâ, in Śake 1218 or 1296 A.D.)—that is, he was ruling at Newâsa about six hundred years back, or about the time the grant was inscribed ; but he cannot be supposed to have made the grant. If he had given anything for the maintenance of the lamp, it would have been a village or land, and not such a small sum as six rupees.

The above *ovis* quoted from the *Dnyâneśvarî* will be found useful. They contribute to the history of the Yadava or Gaulî Râjas by giving the name, the capital, and the date of one of them.

Note.

The learned Śâstri assumes the identity of the Yadavas of Devgaḍh and the surrounding region with the Gaulì Râjas,—a subject on which we are gradually getting a little light, especially from the earlier sargas of the *Dvyâshrâya* (*vide ante*, pp. 71 ff). in which the ruler of Vâmanasthalî is stigmatized as an Ahir or herdsman. But in the 4th sarga this chief's ambassador seems to speak of his master as a Yadava ; and in fact it is almost certain that he was one of the Chuḍâsammâ Râs of Junâgaḍh, whom Major Watson (vol. II p. 316) considers to have sprung from Chuḍà Chand Yadava. It is to be hoped that the Śâstri will contribute the result of his researches towards the elucidation of the great historical puzzle of the Gaulî *raj*.

The references to Dnyâneśvara are also of interest. Is it not possible to recover the *original* text* of this first and greatest of Marâṭhâ poets ? It would be more valuable for Marâṭhi than Chaucer is for the history of the development of the English language. Who will be patriotic enough to attempt in good earnest to discover at least the *oldest* text now in existence ?

* The Honourable Rao Sâheb Vishvanâth Nârâyan Mandlik informs me that his MS. of the *Dnyâneśvarî* says it was revised, that is, modernized, in Śake 1576, or A.D. 1654.—ED.

SACRED FOOTPRINTS IN JAVA.

BY DR. A. B. COHEN STUART.

Translated from the Dutch by the Rev. D. Macmillan, M.A.

The first of the accompanying sketches has been borrowed from the photograph taken by Heer J. van Kinsbergen for the Government of Netherlands India, and published under the superintendence of the Batavian Society of Arts and Sciences in the *Oudheden van Java* (No. 10), and represents, according to the catalogue of that valuable collection, "an inscribed stone with two footprints and spiders at the river Charenten,† at Champea, Buitenzorg."

The extraordinary distinctness with which the inscription on this stone has been preserved

† Elsewhere Chiroenten, which flows northwards from Mount Salak and falls into the Chidani near Champea.

and rendered in the photograph, throws a remarkable light on other memorials of the same nature, and also furnishes, if I mistake not, a contribution of some importance to the history of writing in Java.

When but recently, in the introduction to the *Kawi Oorkonden*, blz. vi., I mentioned, with some reserve, the close relation between the forms of writing in these records and that of some of the oldest known inscriptions of ancient India, I had particularly in view certain copper-plates, published in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* (N. S. vol. I. pp. 247 ff.) by Prof. Dowson, belonging to the Châlukya dynasty of Kaira and dated in the year Ś. 394 (A.D. 472-473). The striking and, in many respects, even perfect resemblance between the characters of that inscription and our Kawi—a resemblance first pointed out by our Sinologue Dr. G. Schlegel—induced me at the time to make a note of the alphabet. Though no other Indian form of writing really appeared on the whole so nearly related to the Kawi, yet I did not venture to attach much weight to it, inasmuch as some characters differed decidedly, and moreover I was a stranger to a number of Indian forms of writing, among which perhaps the nearest approach to the Kawi might occur.

So far as the Peninsula is concerned, my doubts are to a certain extent met by Dr. A. C. Burnell's recently published *Elements of South Indian Palæography from the Fourth to the Seventeenth Century* A.D., containing a series of alphabets and specimens of writing arranged according to chronological order from the oldest* in the fourth century A.D.—the Vengî inscription, from the north-east of the peninsula, from a Chera inscription of A.D. 466,† from the south-east; West Chalukya, A.D. 608-9, from the north-west corner; and East Châlukya, A.D. 680, from the north-east,—quite or nearly corresponding to the first-mentioned Châlukya inscription, and the later ones deviate from it further and further, as well as from the Kawi writing.

This last circumstance was to be expected, since we know that the character of our Kawi records ascends at least to the middle of the eighth century, and thus can scarcely show deviations which in the original country first began to appear at a later date.

Granting, however, that the character brought over from India doubtless also in Java and elsewhere in the Archipelago developed in numberless secondary branches independent of the parent stem, we have no certainty that these branches all sprang from one original form of that stock; and we must at least allow it as probable that during some ages of the more active intercourse with India, writing in Java continued to share in the influences of time and locality and other circumstances that influenced it in India. Consequently we find here and there in Java forms of writing more closely allied to one than another of the Indian alphabets; yet it does not by any means follow from this that in the one form of writing we have the true key to the origin of the other.

Still I think I may call it a notable discovery that, on inscribed stones in West Java—otherwise less rich in memorials of Hindu civilization than other parts of the island—the Vengî or Chera character, even in the peculiarities that most markedly distinguish it from the Kawi, is so clearly rendered as in the case of the Charoenten stone. By a comparison of that inscription with Burnell's first plate and the alphabet from the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, I succeeded without difficulty in reading the greater part of it, though it contained characters that could not easily be explained by the Kawi. Inasmuch, however, as it appeared to be Sanskrit, of which my knowledge is limited, I applied to Prof. Kern, and with his aid was enabled to obtain a full explanation of the inscription with the exception of a couple of letters.

It consists of four lines forming together a pure Sanskrit *śloka*:—

1. Vikrântasyâvanipateh.
2. śrîmatah pûrṇṇavarmmaṇah.
3. ....ma-nagarendrasya.
4. Vishṇor-iva pada-dvayam.

The subject of the sentence is *pada-dvayam*, *i.e.* 'pair of feet' or 'two footsteps': all the rest of the words with the exception of the adverb *iva*, 'like,' immediately preceding it, are genitives of the nouns *vikrânta*, 'striding,' 'stepping,' also 'mighty' (here perhaps to be

* Not therefore, however, the most ancient known remains of Indian writing, which in the inscriptions of Aśoka ascend to about B.C. 250.

† See the Merkara plates, *Ind. Ant.* vol. I. p. 363.—ED.

STONE IN THE RIVER CHARVENTEN, IN BUITENZORG, JAVA.



STONE AT JAMBU, BUITENZORG, JAVA.



PHOTO-LITHOGRAPHED & PRINTED BY W. GRIGGS, LONDON

understood in a double sense, and specially in allusion to Vishṇu's *trivikrama*—the 'three strides' with which he is supposed to have overstepped the world), *avanipati*, 'lord of the soil, prince'; *Śrîman*, 'illustrious'; *Pûṇṇavarmmâ*, a personal name; . . . . *ma-nagarendra*, 'prince of the city or kingdom of . . . . *ma*;' and *Vishṇu*, the god. And the whole may be translated thus:—

"The two footsteps of the striding (or mighty?) Prince, the illustrious Pûrṇavarmmâ, lord of.....ma-nagara, are like (those) of Vishṇu." With respect to the personal name, Prof. Kern points out that in St. Julien's *Mémoires sur les contrées occidentales, par Hiouen Thsang*, t. I. p. 463, a Buddhist king of Magadha is mentioned, of the same name, as a protector and cultivator of the Bo-tree, which the heretics (non-Buddhists) had wished to extirpate. Whether the same person is here intended, or perhaps another in Java called after him, is difficult to determine, so long as the name of the place is unknown. "From the comparison with Vishṇu," remarks Prof. Kern, "the Brahmanical character of the inscription does not follow, at least with certainty: the whole Hindu Pantheon is fully acknowledged by the Buddhists, and even enlarged and enriched particularly with evil spirits and devils."

As to the name, it is certain that it consisted of three syllables of which the last is *ma*; the middle syllable appears to be *ru* or *rú*—probably the latter, at least if *ma* is to be considered as short, seeing the metre requires a long syllable. The first, which as to metre may be either long or short, we are inclined conjecturally to read as *ná* or *tá*,—though it appears to differ rather widely from both in this character, we cannot suggest a better.

The last character deserves special notice, viz. *m*, which is thus equivalent to *ma*, and if necessary it may be so understood by the stroke running down on the right side of the letter as standing in place of the usual form of the *virâma* or *paten* in Kawi: but the unusual form and position of the letter readily suggest the peculiarity mentioned by Burnell (page 15):—"Final *m* is represented by a small *m*—less than the other letters—which is peculiar to the Vengî character." So, though without the crooked line, it is nearly represented in his first plate, 4th century A.D., expressing the syllable *lam*; in the following, A.D. 608, its place is supplied by a small circle between other letters but near the top of the line; while later (A.D. 689) it is written above the preceding letter and passes into the well-known form of *anusvâra* or *bindu*, though at first it is *interchanged* with the old form.

If the two star-like figures before the footprints represent spiders, as the catalogue states—and they have really something of that appearance—it may be imputed, as Prof. Kern thinks, to the Jaina doctrine, which prescribes at every step to be careful not to trample upon any living creature.

Above the figure are some strokes, as of writing, that still wait explication.

Thus, without being able accurately to determine the time whence this memorial dates, we may regard it with some grounds of certainty as one of the oldest indications of Hinduism hitherto known in Java; a trace that derives a higher interest from its surroundings,—on a living almost shapeless mass of rock in the middle of a stream, scarcely above the surface of the water, where it has lain for at least ten centuries unprotected and undisturbed, without apparently having sustained any injury to the sharpness of the lines with which it is carved.

Under Nos. 11 and 12 of the catalogue follow two stones of the same sort,—the first at Jamboe inscribed with two footprints* and already described by Rigg and Frederich in the *Tijdschrift voor Ind. Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde*, III. 183 ff. It has two lines of writing, each 5 feet 2 inches long, of the same sort, and apparently not less distinct and well preserved than that on No. 10, but in the photographic copy too much foreshortened to be equally easily read. No. 12 is a stone at Kĕbon Kopi (Coffee-garden) on the way from Champea to Paseran Moewara, and shows the impresses of two elephant's-feet with a line of inscription between them, apparently of the same kind, but not so well preserved or copied, and not deciphered as yet. . . . . .

Professor Kern has been able in a great

* These impressions are much feebler than those of No. 10: in the photograph there is little more distinguishable than the toes near the top of the triangular stone, beyond which is a deep gap between the two, which, according to Rigg, were originally united, but probably torn asunder by fire.

measure to make out the Jamboe inscription. Each of the two lines shows clearly two halves, each answering to a line of *Sragdhara* measure consisting of three parts each of seven syllables, thus:—

– – – _ ᵕ – _ | ᵕ ᵕ ᵕ ᵕ ᵕ ᵕ _ | – ᵕ _ – ᵕ _ – |

This being once established, it is necessary to find words for the doubtful places which will suit *first* the measure; *second*, as far as practicable, the sense; and *third*, to correspond with the traces of writing. The last two conditions, however, are too loose, and allow too much room for choice, to be a sufficient guarantee against a wrong reading. Accordingly in the following attempt at a transcription the more doubtful letters are printed in italics, while the rest are sufficiently certain:—

1. Śrimân nânâ-krĕta-dñyo narapatir-as*a*mo ya*h* purá . . ara*m*áyâ,

2. nâmnâ Śrî-Pûrṇṇa-varmmâ *pa*ṭur-ari-*m*u*kh*arâbhedya (or suśarâ ?) vi*kh*y*â*ta-varmmâ,

3. tasyêdam pâda-vimba-dvayam-ari-nagarotsâdanè nityada*ksh*am.

4. bhaktânâ(ng) yat *t*ridhâ*tan* s*u*gati-*sukha*-*karanj* Jyê*sh*thabh*é* v*â*ri *m*û*l*ê.

Of which the meaning amounts to nearly this:—

"The illustrious, skilled in many great deeds, matchless prince who aforetime (*ruled in*) ... *aramá* with the name of H. H. Pûrṇṇa-varmmâ, the brave whose weapons were renowned, invulnerable to hostile assailants (or to the enemy's best darts?): Of him is this pair of footprints at all times capable to destroy hostile cities. Which footprints supplied blessing and enjoyment to those who belong to the division of the three constellations Jyeshṭha, Wâri (or first Aśaḍhâ), and Mûla."

In illustration of this last clause, which admittedly rests on a mere conjecture,* Prof. Kern remarks that space is divided into nine spokes or divisions, corresponding to our eight cardinal points and the zenith, each swayed by three constellations, of which the three mentioned represent the west. The meaning therefore should be that the representation of the feet—for *pâda vimba* leaves it doubtful whether the prints be intended literally—is to be contemplated as a sanctuary of blissful influence for the inhabitants of the west (of Java). However this may be, so much at least is certain, that here reference is also meant to a footprint of the same person who is mentioned on the stone of Charoenten.

Leiden, 26th May 1875.

* For the last syllable *mâ* I am obliged to read *pâ*; and in the place where the syllables *bhé vâ* must stand I cannot possibly find a place for them, though, according to the metre, two long syllables must be supposed there.

WORDS AND PLACES IN AND ABOUT BOMBAY.

BY DR. J. GERSON DA CUNHA.

(*Continued from vol. III. p. 295.*)

Kâlbâdevi—the name of a main road in Bombay connecting the Esplanade with Pâyadhuṇi, about the middle of which is a Hindu shrine of the same name,—derives its origin from Kâli or Kâlikâ, an incarnation of Bhagavatî or Durgâ, and a heroine, from the triumph she achieved over the Asura Raktavija.

The *Kâlikâ Mâhâtmya* states that the goddess, on destroying this powerful demon, was so overjoyed that, unable to restrain her feelings, she commenced to dance, and the dancing became at last so violent that the earth quaked to its very poles. The *Adhyâtma Râmâyaṇa* gives a description of another *avatâr* of Kâli. It is there said that when Râma was returning home with his wife Sitâ after the defeat of Râvaṇa, he was all the way talking to her about his great exploits, which Sitâ finding rather vain-glorious remarked that he had only vanquished a Râvaṇa of ten heads, or Dashânana, but she doubted very much whether he could kill one with a thousand. This remark instigated Râma to challenge this Râvaṇa of a thousand heads, whom, however, he was unable to destroy; and Sitâ, to avoid disgrace to her husband, intervened, assumed the form of Kâli, and killed him.

The legend goes on to state that this feat took place in a city named Mahimâpurî, where the demon resided. This Mahimâpuri is supposed to correspond to modern Mahim, and the narrative is possibly an allusion to some

battle fought between Râma and a king of ancient Mahim. The victory is said to have been then commemorated by raising a temple on the spot to the goddess Kâli, which was transferred from the island of Mahimâpurî to that of Mambâdevi, where it is to be seen in our days. The current tradition is that the temple was transferred about five hundred years ago by a Koli named Kâlbâ or Kâlsâ, and hence the name Kâlbâdevi; but no reliance can be placed on this story.

Any one passing along the Kâlbâdevi road may see the image of Kâlî just in front of the door of a small square room, with a circular dome, seated on a quadrilateral cornice bearing four images of Mahâdeva, one at each angle, and surmounted by a flag. It is represented as a black female figure with red paint on the face, silvery white eyes, and a gaudy scarlet *sâḍî* round the waist, while the trunk is left nude. The Kolis never pass it without saluting it with both hands.

Kâli is supposed to have been originally a goddess of the non-Âryan races, incorporated into the Hindu pantheon, along with other aboriginal deities, as a Brahmanical expedient to induce the natives of the country to join their creed, just as the first Jesuit missionaries, such as De' Nobilì and others, in proselytizing the Brâhmaṇs, are said to have done in later times. Sir W. Jones considers Kâli as analogous to the Proserpine of the Greeks.

The present temple was built not very many years ago, after pulling down the old one, which stood about the same place, in order to widen the Kâlbâdevi road. It is also said that the modern building was erected at the expense of the Government. It is at present under the management of the Paḷsis, the aboriginal settlers in Bombay.

Besides the Hindu temple just mentioned, there are several others in Bombay, the greater number being dedicated to a saint of the aborigines, imported into the Brahmanical *Flos Sanctorum*—Mâruti or Hanuman, the monkey-god, and the son of Maruta and Añjanî. The Hindus worship Mâruti because he is supposed to possess the power to bestow sound health on his votaries and preserve them from epidemics. The Catholic martyrology has also a saint described as *advocatus contra pestes coram Deo*, who is invoked when any infectious disease prevails.

The peculiarity about the worship of Hanuman is that his altar is made solely for him, and that it allows no niche or corner for any other *devata;* while other *devas* do not disdain the company of even the lowest of their fraternity. The special day when Mâruti is worshipped is Saturday, when vermilion and oil are poured on him. In the *Râmâyaṇa* it is said that when Mâruti was born he saw the rising sun, and thinking it to be a ripe fruit flew up to the sky and seized the sun's chariot, whereupon Indra, fearing that Mâruti would swallow the sun, smote him, and he came to the ground. As a reward for his bravery, and at the recommendation of his father Vâyu or Maruta, who corresponds to the Æolus of the Romans, Brahma made him *chîrañjîva*, or immortal. In the war of Râma with Râvaṇa he is said to have assisted the former, at the head of a regiment of monkeys. It is likewise said that this simian general first met Râma on the Ṛishimukha mountain, near the lake Pampâ, in the south of the Dekhan, a place not identified.

Mâruti has a number of patronymics describing several of the episodes of his life,—as Hanuman, which is derived from *hanu*, 'the chin,' in reference to the fall he had from heaven, a result of the blow received from Indra's thunderbolt on his chin.

The principal temples of Śiva in Bombay are: — one close to the old Sailors' Home, facing the Esplanade; one in Antoba's Street, near Lohârchâl; one in the middle of the market near the Jumma Masjid; a fourth named Panchamukhi, or the five-faced, at Bholeśvara; and several others, including those in Mazagon, Kulâbâ, &c. Bholeśvara, to the right of the temple of Mammâdevi, and of the main road to the Fort, is so named from a pagoda there consecrated to Bholeśvara—'the Lord of the simple-hearted,'—from भोला 'simple-hearted,' and ईश्वर 'lord,'—an epithet of Śiva. It is also sometimes called Bholanâtha. The temple is one of the largest in Bombay, with a well-built tank. The deity here is represented by a black smooth stone with a concave projection at the base, like the mouth of a spoon, which is called *Piṇḍika*. The congregation of this temple is the largest in the town, comprising Brâhmaṇs of Gujarât and Mahârâshṭra, Vâṇiâs, Prabhus, Sonârs, Marâṭhâs, and others, who make valuable offerings to the *liṅga* of Śiva. The

worshippers are Śaivas, who form the largest proportion of the Hindu community in Bombay. The characteristic sign by which they are known is two or three semicircular or horizontal lines on the forehead of red or greyish white paint. The former is prepared from the wood of the Raktachandana (*Pterocarpus Santalinus*), or from turmeric (*Curcuma longa*) and chunam (carbonate of lime) or borax, both of which substances change the yellow of the turmeric into red: the latter or the greyish white paint is made from the wood of white sandal (*Sirium myrtifolium*): but at the time of worship, instead of these preparations, ashes are applied to different parts of the body while repeating certain mantras. The horizontal lines on the forehead have also a round dot in the middle, which may be either of the same or of a different colour. The women of the Śaivas make use of a different preparation, which in the first stage, or as found in commerce, is called ravâ, the powder of which is called pinzar when dry, and when mixed with oil (*sesamum*) is called kumkuma. Previous to application, turmeric powder and the juice of bimbla (*Averrhoa Bilimbi*) are added to the mixture. The *Śiva Purâṇa* and *Śivalilâmṛita*, written in Prakrit, may be consulted by such as wish to extend their knowledge on the subject of *linga*-worship and the duties of the worshippers.

In the compound round this temple are four other small shrines, mostly occupied by Jogis leading a life of ease and contemplation, which is just as lucrative an industry in their case as that of others living on the alms of the faithful.

The principal temple of Bholeśvara is said to have been built by the Sarasvatis about two centuries ago, from among whom are elected the members of the committee of management; while the smaller shrines are of modern construction,—one belongs exclusively to the Sonârs or goldsmiths, and another to the Śimpis or tailors. All these temples are under the immediate superintendence of the Gujarât Brâhmans.

Thâkurdwâras are certain places in Bombay named from temples dedicated to different deities, and called Thâkurdwâras from their meaning 'doors of an idol,' from ठाकुर 'an idol,' and द्वार 'a door.' There are some three temples thus named, the principal of which is on the Breach Candy road near Girgâm. It has a tower of black stone or basalt, which is conspicuous among a number of yellow and red washed houses and cocoanut trees around it. It is dedicated to Râma, whose image, placed in a niche, is painted of a bluish colour; while the image of his brother Lakshmaṇa, who is always placed by his side, is painted white. Râma holds in one hand a bow, and in the other an arrow.

This temple was built by a Bâwa or ascetic by name Atmârâma, who died, at the advanced age of ninety, in 1836, on the 7th day of Krishṇapaksha of the month of Srâvaṇa. He was highly respected by the Hindu community and consulted as a sage. He was also a poet and wrote verses in Prakrit in Pada metre, but they are mere prayers and contain nothing remarkable: they are sung daily by his followers. His life was spent in religious austerities, and when he died a subscription was raised to build a *samâdhi* or tomb, erected in the compound of the temple, just in front of the entrance door, where his votaries crowd together every morning and evening to pay him their devotions. There is no epitaph or inscription of any sort on it, but the place is well known by the name of Âtmârâmabâwa's Ṭhâkurdwâra.

The tomb of Âtmârâmabâwa does not simply record his memory, but contains his body: this is rather singular among the Hindus. It is said, however, that an exception is made in the case of Rishis and Swâmis, who, when they have the courage to live on bread and water, and sleep on a hard stone, have the chance of getting their remains consigned to a grave. This perhaps points to the fact that the Hindus think it irreverent to burn one who has gained among them the reputation of a spiritual guide or saint.

During the life of this Âtmarâmabâwa the offerings of his sectaries were immense, and it is said that his renown was so great that Sayâji Gâikawâḍ, who succeeded to the government of Baroda about the year 1818, made him a present of a village in his territory yielding him annually an income of five hundred rupees, which he spent wholly in charity. Other Ṭhâkurdwâras contain nothing striking to deserve special description, and are almost all situated along the same road.

Râmawâḍi.—This is a small place between

Bholeśvara and the Kâlbâdevi temple; it is so named from a shrine of Râma in the form of a snug little square room, built by a Prabhu named Kâśinâth Sokâji, about two centuries ago, which contains, besides the image of Râma and the indispensable one of his brother Lakshmaṇa, those of Sîtâ, Mâruti, and Gaṇeśa. This shrine was rebuilt about seventy years after by one Viṭhobâ Maṇkoji. It is resorted to by all classes of Hindus, and though poor in appearance is said to be rich in funds. It is under the management of the Prabhus.

Viṭhalwâḍi.—This is a small narrow lane near Râmawâḍi, and leads to a temple of Viṭhal, which is a large oblong hall with a paved area in front, with eight pillars with holes for *battîs*, which serve to light it at the time of the feasts of the god Viṭhoba.* This Viṭhoba of Bombay has all the power and attributes of that of Paṇḍharpura, which specially came there from Dwârkâ in response to the fervent prayers of a devotee of his, a boy of about twelve or fifteen years named Puṇḍalika. This boy asked Viṭhobâ to reside permanently near him at Paṇḍharpura, whereupon the god transformed himself into a black idol, round which a temple was built soon after. His fame then spread and gave rise to innumerable pilgrimages, and not unfrequently to unseemly conflicts among his own devotees, in some of which the god himself suffered mutilation. Some of his worshippers, despairing of resorting to him in person at Paṇḍharpura, resolved to build temples in different parts of India dedicated to him. Thus arose Viṭhobâ's temple, or the Viṭhalwâḍi, in Bombay.

Gaṇeśwâḍi, so called from a temple dedicated to the god Gaṇeśa or Gaṇapati, is in one of the most populous parts of Bombay, entirely inhabited by the Vâṇiâs, close to the new market. The image of Gaṇeśa is always represented sitting upon a rat. He has four hands, and is said to be the god of wisdom. Gaṇeśa means 'the lord of the troops of Śiva.' He is held in high veneration by the Hindus, and nothing is undertaken, nor a book written, without invoking him. His name is inscribed at the top of all grants and works. He is said to have written the *Mahâbhârata* as dictated by Vyâsa. Those who wish to study the exploits of Gaṇeśa may consult the *Gaṇeśa Khanda* of the *Brahmavaivarta Purâṇa*, *Gaṇeśa Purâṇa*, and *Gaṇeśasthavaraja*, a part of the *Bhavishya Purâṇa*.

TÂRÂNÂTHA'S ACCOUNT OF THE MAGADHA KINGS.

Translated from Vassilief's work on Buddhism† *by Miss E. Lyall.*

Târânâtha transmits to us the order of succession of the Magadha kings in this way: after Ajâtaśatru, Subâhu reigned for ten years; he was succeeded by his son Sudhanu, and, according to Lassen, Dhanubhadra and Udayibhadra; after the latter and in the time of Upagupta, his son Mahendra reigned for nine years, and Chamasa, son of the latter, reigned for twenty-two years. Chamasa left twelve sons, several of whom mounted the throne, but they could not retain it long. The government fell into the hands of the Brâhmaṇ Gambhîraśila.

At this time (Târânâtha, *chap.* vi.) in the Champarna kingdom, which belonged to the Kuru race, there was a king called Nemita, who was descended from the Solar race. He had six sons born of lawful wives, and besides them he had a son Aśoka, by the daughter of a merchant, to whom he gave in appanage the town of Pâṭaliputra, as a reward for his victory over the people of Nêpâl, who dwelt in the kingdom of Kaśya, and over other mountaineers. Nemita sent his six sons to Magadha to make war against a Brâhmaṇ who dwelt in that town and enjoyed a very high reputation, and several battles were fought on the banks of the Ganges. Nemita died suddenly, and the grandees raised Aśoka to the throne, but his brothers who had subdued six towns of Magadha reigned over them. Aśoka, however, suddenly made war against them, slew them, and besides their towns seized upon other territories so numerous that his dominions stretched from the Himâlaya to the Vindhya mountains. As he had formerly spent several years in pleasure, he was surnamed Kâmâ-

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* Viṭhobâ is not a Sanskrit word, but a corruption of विष्णुपति (Vishṇupati), through the vulgar pronouncing it Bistu or Biṭṭu. Nor is Viṭhal—another appellation of Viṭhobâ—a Sanskrit word; it has been imported into Sanskrit in modern times.—See vol. II. p. 272, vol. IV. p. 22.

† Forming a long note, pp. 45-55.

śoka. Afterwards, according to the accounts of the Buddhists, he gave himself up to violence, and procured for himself the surname of Chaṇḍâśoka; but at last he was converted to Buddhism, and now the legends give him the name of Dharmâśoka and relate many marvels of him,—among others that he covered the whole land with monuments and temples in honour of Buddha. Then his dominions stretched from beyond Thibet on the north to the ocean on the south. But he showed still more attention to the clergy when he distributed all his treasures among them, and finally mortgaged himself. The grandees relieved him, but probably they were dissatisfied with him,—perhaps they even deposed him, for the historian alludes, though obscurely, to a miserable end.

After the death of Aśoka,* his grandson Vigatâśoka was raised to the throne: he was the son of Kunâla, and the legend about the blindness which his stepmother inflicted on him is known to all the Buddhists. Almost at the same time mention is made of king Vîrasena, who honoured Buddhism. (It is uncertain whether he was the successor of Vigatâśoka, or Vigatâśoka himself.) His son Nanda reigned twenty-nine years. In his reign lived Pâṇinî,† the first Indian grammarian, and probably also the first who introduced writing into India. To Nanda succeeded his son Mahâpadma, who reigned at Kusumapura. The great Bhadra and Vararuchi were his contemporaries, and he protected Buddhism. Here we meet with the first mention of literature in a written form. Vararuchi caused a number of copies of the *Vibhâshâ* to be prepared, and distributed them among the preachers. But how are we to reconcile this account with what we find elsewhere, that the *Vibhâshâ* was composed in Kaśmîr, and at a time subsequent to this? According to an authentic account the *Vibhâshâ* was composed either in the time of Upagupta or in that of the Arhan Yaśas.‡ It is most probable that works which preceded the *Vibhâshâ* are here to be understood. It is possible that Kâtyâyana, who composed one of the *Abhidharmas*, wrote also the commentary on the *Vibhâshâ*; whilst there still remain six other *Abhidharmas* making part of the whole number of ideas in this book. Inasmuch as history has preserved the memory of the sacrifice of Vararuchi, we may readily conclude that writing was as yet a rare accomplishment (it has been remarked above that it was introduced in the time of Pâṇini). Although this is so, the remembrance of the *Vibhâshâ* rests upon the appearance, a short time after, of a third collection of the doctrines of Buddha § either in the kingdom of Kaśmîr or Jalandhara (it is disputed which), but in either case it was under king Kanishka, who then reigned over these countries, and who lived four hundred years after Buddha. Although, according to Chinese sources, we are forced to the conclusion that Kâtyâyana, the composer of the first *Abhidharma*, was president of this assembly, and that at this time he called on Aśvagosha to write down the *Vibhâshâ*,—everything goes to assure us that Kâtyâyana lived much earlier, and that his name is used here only to remind us that he was the first representative of the Abhidharmists, who were then changed to Vaibhâshists. In the list which has come down to us of his survivors, innumerable in China, Kâtyâyana is placed in the fifth or seventh generation after Buddha, whilst Aśvagosha is reckoned in the ninth or eleventh. After all, the account of Târânâtha admits as very probable that king Kanishka convoked the priests under Pârśva, the author of the *Sútra* on the prophetic vision of king Krikin, who, according to Chinese and Thibetan sources, is regarded as having been converted by Aśvagosha, and who, though at one time an enemy of the faith, became a zealous worshipper: he was the first lyric poet, and by his hymns raised Buddhism out of the pedantic scholastic system, and taught the nation to praise Buddha by singing lyric odes. If Târânâtha may be relied on, it was at this time that the denomination of Vaibhâshists and Sautrantists first appeared: Dharmatrâta is said to have been the representative of the former at this time, but the first of the Sautrantists was the great Sthavira—a proper name, as we see, which perhaps at this time only was changed into an appellative in the school which was called after him, and from which, as we see, the school of

* Chap. viii.

† *Vide* ante, vol. I. p. 21; vol. IV. pp. 102, 103.

‡ Conf. ante, pp. 143, 144.

§ It is assumed that the first appeared immediately after the death of Buddha; the second on the occasion of the disputes at Vaisâlî, and for the third it is necessary to include the assembly during the reign of the second Aśoka, but that is unknown to the northern Buddhists.

Sautrantists was indeed formed. It was at this time that the so-called first canonical books of this school appeared, such as the *Rosary of Examples* and the *Collection of Examples of him who holds the Basket*. If these books are not among the collections with which we are acquainted under other names, then they are generally unknown to us. The strange thing is that the two persons of whom we have just spoken met in Kaśmîr.

Târânâtha (*chap.* xii.) says distinctly that "at the time of the third council all the eighteen schools were recognized as pure teaching; that the *Vinaya* had received a written form, as well as the *Sûtras* and *Abhidharmas*, which, until then, had not existed in this shape; and that those which had been so habilitated had been corrected." It is evident that the last circumstance is only an apology to prevent the depreciation of the glory of his religion.

After the death of Kanishka and after the third council, mention is made of two famous personages among the Vaibhâshists—Vasumitra, of the race of Maru, and Udgrantha; in the Thibetan-Sanskṛit dictionary this word is rendered Udgratri, but is not this Girisena, who in the Chinese chronology is mentioned after Vasumitra! Both dwelt at Aśmaparânta, west of Kaśmîr, and not far from Togara.

Aśvagupta and his disciple Nandamitra dwelt at Pâṭaliputra. At this time there appeared in Magadha the two Upâsaka brothers (secular Buddhists) Mudgaragomin and Śaṅkara, who sang the praises of Buddha in hymns preserved in the *Danjur*, and laid the foundation of the celebrated monastery of Nâlanda, which afterwards became the representative of Buddhism in Central India: at first the *Abhidarma* was taught there (*chap.* xv.), but afterwards it was the principal chosen seat of the Mahâyâna.

Târânâtha breaks the thread of his narrative regarding the kings of India or of Magadha which we have been following above. Although he mentions king Chandanapâla, under whom lived Indradhruva, the author of the *Indravyâkaraṇa*, and makes him king over everything under the sun, he does not tell us distinctly whether he was the immediate successor of Mahâpadma, or whether he was descended of the race of Aśoka. But, judging from the order of the story, his reign should immediately follow that of the latter. According to his account, this king reigned about one hundred and twenty years, and lived one hundred and fifty. But, as in another place (*chap.* xv.) Târânâtha says king Śaṅkara lived a hundred and fifty years, and as he again mentions Vararuchi under this king as his minister and the author of the Grammar, we may conclude that he reigned in Southern India, and was the contemporary of Mahâpadma and, after him, of Bhîmaśukla, who is said to have been the king of Banâras under whom Kâlidâsa lived,* in whose history Vararuchi figures. It must have been at this time that king Śântivâhana (Śâlivâhana), and Saptavarma, author of the grammatical work *Kalâpa*, lived in the west.

Under king Chandapâla there lived in the town of Sâketana the Bhikshu Mahâvîrya, at Banâras the Vaibhâshist sectary Buddhadeva, and in Kaśmîr the Sautrantist Śrîlabha who spread the doctrine of the Śrâvakas. Dharmatrâta, Udgrantha (or Girisena), Vasumitra, and Buddhadeva are reckoned the four great teachers of the Vaibhâshists, and in their school the principal canonical books are the *Rosary of the Three Miscellanies* and the *Century of Upâdâna*—works both alike unknown to us. About this time a Brâhmaṇ built eight hundred temples in the town of Hâstinapura, and employed in them eight hundred professors of the *Vinaya*.

After this Târânâtha relates only partially the history of Magadha under the Chandrapâla and Senâ dynasties, the one of which rose immediately after the other. It was in Bengal that king Harichandra, who began the royal line of Chandras, appeared. Of this race there were seven kings who openly supported Buddhism, and who because of this are known by the common designation of the seven Chandras. Harichandra was succeeded by his nephew Akshachandra, and after him came his son Jayachandra, who in his turn was succeeded by his son Nemachandra, Panichandra, Bhîmachandra, and Salachandra, who, it is said, were not very capable of holding such a position. Soon after Nemachandra took possession of the throne

* Conf. *Ind. Ant.* vol. I. p. 245; vol. III. pp. 24, 81 —ED.

he was deprived of it by his minister Pushyamitra,* who usurped it. We see that it was at this time that the first inroad of strangers called Tîrthikas, or heretics, into India took place. After commencing war against Pushyamitra, they burned, it is said, a number of temples, beginning from Jalandhara (on the confines of Kaśmîr) and on as far as Magadha; they killed a number of Bhikshus, but a great many of them fled to other countries, and Pushyamitra himself died in the north, five years after. Târânâtha tells us that some years previous to this the Mlechha doctrine had appeared. Under this name, as translated into Thibetan, we now understand Muhammadanism; but naturally it has become the particular designation of the religion of the North-West, as being that of the nations who broke into India. The accounts of the origin of this religion are remarkable in this, that the Buddhists attribute it to a Bhikshu who, driven from the brotherhood, went into the kingdom of Śulik, situated beyond Togara, took the name of Mâṭhara, and who himself hid his writing. At the same time a maiden gave birth to a boy, who, when he was grown up, began to persecute every one, saying that he belonged to no caste. He procured the writing hidden by Mâthara, and afterwards met the latter himself, and upon arriving at the confines of Makka (Mecca) he began to preach his doctrine, and took the name of Paikhamba and Ardo (Ardeśir).† After Salachandra reigned Chandragupta, a king who acquired extraordinary power. He was succeeded by his son Bindusâra, who at first ruled over the kingdom of Gauḍa only; but Châṇaka, one of his great lords, procured the destruction of the nobles and kings of sixteen towns, and as king he made himself master of all the territory between the eastern and western seas (*chap.* xviii.). This king reigned thirty-five years, and was succeeded by his heir, prince Śrîchandra, who again was followed by his son Dharmachandra, who was king only in the east (from what appears, of Bengal), and with whom the lord Vasubandhu lived. In the time of Dharmachandra (*chap.* xix) king Turushka was in Kaśmîr, and at Multân and Lahor, Hunimanta, king of Persia, who, having quarrelled with Dharmachandra (the cause of the quarrel was the same as that of Kanishka with the Kanyakubja‡ king), yielded up the kingdom of Magadha and demolished the temples: the priests fled. Dharmachandra died, and his nephew Kanakachandra, who succeeded him, found himself dependent on Turushka. At this time Buddhapaksha, Dharmachandra's cousin-german, reigned at Banâras, and having entered into relations with the Emperor of China, he attracted to his side the kings of the west and of Central India, and after having quarrelled with Hunimanta he slew him, and re-established the religion of Buddha, which had declined, so to speak, for the second time. Under this king there was something like a third lapse of Buddhism, caused by the burning of the temple of Nâlanda, but that had relation in particular to the Mahâyâna, because it was there that that doctrine flourished, and by the burning of the temple it lost, as it were, the greater number of its books. In the work of the restoration of the religion it is noticed that the Brâhmaṇs Śaṅku and Kîlaka took part with those who helped the king. After that, king Karmachandra appeared, whilst Gambhîrapaksha established his capital at Pañchâla, and reigned there forty years. At this time the son of Turushka—Turushka Mahâsammata—who reigned almost a hundred years, was king of Kaśmîr. He conquered Kaśmîr (?), Tukharestan, and Gajana (Gazna), as well as other territories, and was a worshipper of the three precious things. After the death of Karmachandra his son Vṛikshachandra ascended the throne, but his power diminished, and Jâlôruha, king of Odiviśa (*Orissa*), ruled over a great part of the east (*chap.* xxii.). It was now that Vasubandhu and Âryâsaṅga appeared, nine hundred years having elapsed since the death of Buddha. King Gambhîrapaksha was the protector of Âryâsaṅga, and he assembled the priests, among whom was this teacher, in the Ushmapura temple which was in the town of Sâgara, in the Yavana kingdom, not far from the west (*chap.* xxii.).

After the death of king Gambhîrapak-

* Conf. *Ind. Ant.* vol. I. pp. 300, 350; vol. II. pp. 57, 59, 69, 206, 362.—ED.

† Târânâtha explains that the first decay of Buddhism took place about five hundred years after the death of Buddha.

‡ See Lassen, *Ind. Alt.* II. 849, 2nd ed; Reinaud, *Fragments Arabes et Persans*, p. 149.

sha, the powerful king Śrî Harsha, who was born in the kingdom of Maru, and who made himself chief of all the western provinces, appeared in the west. In the east, Vigamachandra and his son Kâmachandra, the descendants of Vṛikshachandra reigned; they were somewhat devoted to Buddhism, particularly honouring the Nigrantha. The latter king, as we see, submitted to Nâgeśa, king of the Oḍiviśas, who was the son of Jamruta, and who reigned seven years. Nâgakeśa is said to have been this king's minister. Śrî Harsha abolished the teaching of the Mlechhas by massacring them at Multàn (but a weaver of Khoràsàn spread it anew), and laid the foundations of great Buddhist temples in the kingdoms of Maru, Màlava, Mevâra, Pituva, and Chidavara (which probably had yielded to him). Śrî Harsha was succeeded by his son Śila, who reigned about a hundred years. Although we again see the race of Chandras appearing in the east in the person of Siñhachandra, it was very feeble, and submitted to the authority of king Harsha or Siñha and of his son Barśa, who were descended from the family of Lichhchavi. (At this time Chandragomin also lived: *chap.* xxiv.) The contemporary of Śîla in the west was the very powerful Vyâkula, king of Ma-mha (*Mecca?*), who raised himself by force over Śila, and reigned thirty-six years.

Barśa was succeeded by his son, the fifth Siñha, who governed the countries which stretch north to Thibet, south to Triliñga, west to Banâras, and east as far as the sea. At this time Balachandra, son of Siñhachandra, was expelled by this king from Bengal, and was ruling at Tirahuti.* The younger brother of Siñha, the fifth Prasanna governed a small district in Magadha. In the south, in the neighbourhood of Mount Vindhya, Kusuma is spoken of as being king at this time, and under Dharmakirtî is mentioned Kusumajaya, son of Kusuma. All these kings are represented as worshippers of Buddha (*chap.* xxv.).

After the death of Vyâkula, his younger brother, king Vyâkuladhruva, who governed a great part of the west (and was consequently in the place of Śri Harsha and Śila), reigned for twenty years. He was succeeded by his son Vishṇurâja, who, after having destroyed five hundred Rishis in Balanagara, a town in the kingdom of Hali, was swallowed up in an abyss along with his castle. At this time the greater part of the east and of Magadha was governed by Prâditya, son of king Prasanna, and after him by his son Mahâsyaṇa. To the north, in the town of Haridvára, dwelt king Śâkamahâbala, the ally of king Prâditya, to whom all the provinces from Kaśmîr yielded submission. Vimalachandra, son of Balachandra, granted his protection to Amarasiñha, and reigned over Bengal, Kamarupa, and Tirakuti (*chap.* xxvi.)

It was probably at this time that the terrible enemies of the Buddhists, Śaṅkarâchârya and his disciple Bhattâchârya, appeared, the former in Bengal, the latter in Orissa. A short time after, the Buddhists were persecuted in the south by Kumâralîla and Kaṇâdaru-ru. Here mention is made of the Buddhist king Śâlivâhana. Though the Buddhists relate that in the end Dharmakirtî triumphed in the discussions with Kumâralila, Śaṅkarâchârya, and Bhaṭṭâchârya, Târânâtha says (*chap.* xxvii.) that in Bengal the priests trembled at being vanquished in discussion by the Tirthikas, and he himself acknowledges that at this time the sun of Buddhism began to be obscured. As Dharmakirtî is supposed to have been the contemporary of the Thibetan king Srong-tzan-Ga-mbo,† we may infer from this that all we have been relating passed in the 7th century.

Chap. xxvii. After the death of Vishṇurâja, king Bhartṛihari, who was descended from the family of the ancient kings of Mâlavà, appeared. His sister had been married to Vimalachandra, and of her was born Govichandra, who ascended the throne after his father. After Govichandra, Lalitachandra is supposed to have been the last king of the Chandra dynasty. According to the Buddhist stories he became a magician. Though the royal family of the Chandras was still powerful, there was no longer any member of it a king; in Oḍiviśa, in Bengal, and in

* The index gives Tirabhukti—तीरभुक्ति.—ED.

† Born, according to the *Vaidûrya Karpo*, in A. D. 627: see Cosmas, *Thibetan Grammar*, p. 181.—ED.

the other five provinces of the east, each Kshatriya, Brahman, and merchant constituted himself king of his surroundings, but there was no king ruling the country (*chap.* xxviii.). The writer tells how the wife of one of the late kings by night assassinated every one of those who had been chosen to be kings, but after a certain number of years Gopâla, who had been elected for a time, delivered himself from her and was made king for life.* He began to reign in Bengal, but afterwards reduced Magadha also under his power. He built the Nalandara temple not far from Otantapura, and reigned forty-five years. Śrì Harshadeva was at this time reigning in Kaśmìr (*chap.* xxix.). Gopâla was succeeded by his son Devapàla,† who greatly increased his power and brought into submission the kingdom of Varendra in the east, and afterwards the province of Odiviśa: he appears to have re-established the Buddhist religion (he built the Somapura temple). Devapâla reigned forty-eight years. His son Rasapâla, by a daughter of Vibharata, king of Gajana in the west, succeeded him, and reigned for twelve years. After him (*chap.* xxx.) Dharmapâla was raised to the throne, and reigned sixty-four years. He subdued Kamarupa, Tirahuti, Gauda, &c., so that his dominions stretched east to the sea, west to Tili (Dehli), north to Jalandhara, and south to the Vindhya mountains. In his time king Chakrâyodhya lived in the west, and, according to Târinàtha, the Thibetan king Ti-srong-*lde*-*btzan*‡ also reigned at this time (*chap.* xxxi.). After Dharmapàla his son-in-law Basurakshita became king; but eight years later Vanapâla, Dharmapala's son, was raised to the throne; he again was succeeded by Mahipàla,§ who reigned fifty-two years (he was the contemporary of the Thibetan king Khri-ral). During his life mention is made of king Veràchàrya in Orissa, who was, however, Mahipàla's vassal. Mahâpâla, the son of Mahipàla, the next king, reigned forty-four years, and was followed by his son-in-law Sâmupâla, who reigned twelve years (*chap.* xxxiii.). Śreshta, Mahâpâla's eldest son, was next raised to the throne, but he died three years after. As he left behind him a son who was only seven years old, his maternal uncle Chânaka was raised to the throne, and ruled for twenty-nine years; he made war with the king of the Turushkas, and in the end was victorious. The people of Bengal also revolted against him and entered Magadha by force; but he subdued them. In course of time he raised his nephew Bheyapâla to the throne, and retired to the kingdom of Bati, an island near the mouth of the Ganges, where after five years he died (*chap.* xxxiv.). Bheyapâla reigned thirty-two years, and preserved his kingdom in its previous extent (he had with him Jo Adisha, the real propagator of Buddhism in Thibet). He was succeeded by his son Neyapâla, who reigned thirty-five years (the year of his accession was that in which Jo Adisha arrived in Thibet: *chap.* xxxv.). Amrapàla, son of Neyapàla, reigned thirteen years. At his death his son Hastipâla was a minor, and four lords governed in his stead for eight years, after which Hastipâla himself assumed the government and reigned fifteen years. After him his maternal brother Kshântipàla reigned seventeen years (*chap.* xxxvi.). While he was yet young, Râmapâla, son of Hastipâla, next ascended the throne; he governed with great intelligence, and extended his power; his reign lasted forty-six years. Three years before his death his son Yakshapâla ascended the throne, but reigned only one year; after his death, a great lord, Lavasena, usurped the throne and expelled the royal family of Pâla; this man was a descendant of the Sûryavaṅśas (the Solar race): he associated with the common people, and was still living in this way in the time of Târânâtha. He was succeeded by the Sena family, which was descended from the Chandra or Lunar race (*chap.* xxxii). Lavasena, his son Yakshasena, his grandson Mânitâsena, and his great-grandson Ratikasena—four kings of the Sena family—reigned about twenty-four years. After them, under Lavasena (?), Chandra, king of the Turushkas, of the Antarabida kingdom (?) (between the Ganges and the Yamuna), entered into alliance with a number of Turushka kings in Bengal and other places, conquered all the kingdom of Magadha, exterminated the priests, and destroyed the cele-

* See the story of Vikramâditya in Lassen, *Ind. Alt.* II. 804 (2nd ed. pp. 778-790).

† Conf. Gladwin's [illegible] vol. I. p. 20; *As. Res.* vol. IX. pp. 263 ff.; Lassen's *Ind. Alt.* vol. III. p. 726.—ED.

‡ Or Khri-srong-[illegible], born A.D. 726.—ED.

§ *Ind. Ant.* vol. I. p. 95.

brated monasteries of Otantapura and Vikramaśila. In the end we find that the Sena family fell under the power of the Turushka kings, but still it continued to reign. After Lavasena came Buddhasena, who was succeeded by his son Haritasena, and he again was followed by Pratitasena. They continued Buddhists. The race became extinct by the death of Pratitasena. A century after arose in Bengal the powerful king Chagalarâja, whose dominion extended to Tili. He was converted to Buddhism by his wife, and repaired the temples which had been destroyed. From his death to the year 1608, in which Târânâtha's work was composed, 160 years passed; consequently the history is continued to the year 1448 of our era.

INSCRIPTIONS FROM AHMADÂBÂD.

BY H. BLOCHMANN, M.A., CALCUTTA MADRASAH.

(*Continued from p. 293.*)

I.

A copy of the following Persian quatrain was taken by Mr. Burgess from Ganj Ahmad's Dargâh at Sarkhej, near Ahmadâbâd; the quatrain stands on the wall over the door:—

بحر کف احمدي در ریز شود
دامان امید گنج پرویز شود
ازبهر سجود درگهش نیست عجب
گر روي زمین تمام سرخیز شود

Translation.

The ocean of Ahmad's hands scatters pearls, and the hem of hope becomes like Parwiz's treasure.

It would not be astonishing if the whole earth raised her head, in order to bow down at his shrine.

II.

Mr. Burgess sent me some time ago a rubbing of the Arabic inscription from Bâi Harîr's Well in Ahmadâbâd, of which he has given a description in his *Notes of a Visit to Gujarât*, pp. 43 to 46. The inscription measures 1 ft. 11 in. by 1 ft. 2 in., and consists of nine lines:—

1. بنت هذه العمارة الظريفه والبقعة الشريفه
2. والرواق الرفيعه والجدر الاربعة المصوّرة وغرّس
3. الاشجار المثمرة بالفواكهة مع الابّار و البركة
4. ليشفع الانام والانعام فى عهد سلطان سلاطين
5. الزمان الواثق بتائيد الرحمن ناصرالدنيا والدين ابوالفتح
6. محمود شاه بن محمد شاه بن احمد شاه بن محمد شاه بن مظفر شاه
7. السلطان خلد الله ملكه سرى باى حرير سلطانى الاى
8. جعلها الحضرة العالية ....الدهر
9. المحروسة فى الثامن ماه جماد الاوّل سنه ٢٦ ستو تسعما ثمانية

Translation.

This fine building and excellent edifice, erected for pious purposes, and the high portico and the four painted walls, were built, and the fruit-bearing trees were planted, together with the well and the tank, so that men and animals might be refreshed, during the reign of the king of kings of the age, who relies on the help of the All-Merciful, Nâṣir uddunyâ waddîn Abul Fath Mahmûd Shâh, son of Muhammad Shâh, son of Ahmad Shâh, son of Muhammad Shâh, son of Muzaffar Shâh, the king—may God perpetuate his kingdom!—by Śrî Bâi Harîr, the royal [slave], the nurse,—may his august Majesty place her . . . . of time, the guarded. On the 8th Jumâda I. of the 26th year, 896. [19th March, 1490.]

The date of the inscription, clear as it is, does not agree with the histories. First of all, the spelling of the numerals is extraordinary; and secondly, the 26th year of Mahmûd Shâh's reign would be 898 or 899, not 896, if he really began to reign in 863, as stated in the histories.

'Harîr' is the Arabic for the Hind. abbreviation 'resham' (for *abresham*), 'silk.'

Note by the Editor.

The following Sanskrit inscription is on the wall opposite to the above Arabic one, and, as will be observed, it gives the date 13th Paush Sudi Saṁ. 1556 or Śaka 1421 (A.D. 1499). The transla-

tion is by Hari Wâman Limaya, B.A., of the Elphinstone College, Bombay :—

नमः सृष्टिकर्त्रे नामापांपतये* तुभ्यं सर्वजीवनरू-
पिण वरुणाय नमस्तुभ्यं नमः सुकृतसाक्षिणे १
जयति जगत्त्रयजननी कुंडलिनी नाम नः परा श-
क्तिः । सुरनरवंदितचरणा वापीरूपात्मना सततं २
नमामि विश्वकर्माणं सकलाभीष्टदायकं । कृपातो
यस्य सर्वेस्युः कर्तुं कर्मक्षमा नराः ३ स्वस्ति श्री
गुर्जरधरित्र्यां श्रीमदहिम्मदावादनगरे पातुसा
ॐ श्री श्री श्री महमूदविजयराज्ये राज्ञोऽन्तःपुरद्वारि स-
र्वाधिकारिणी बाई श्रीहरिरनाम्नी श्रीनगरादीशान-
दिगाश्रितहरिरपुरमध्ये चतुर्दिगायातानां तृषा-
कुलमनुष्यपशुपक्षिवृक्षादिचतुरशीतिलक्षजी-
वोपभोगाय परमेश्वरप्रीत्यर्थं संवत् १५५६ वर्षे शा-
के १४२१ प्रवर्त्तमाने पौषशुदि १३ सोमे वापीं कार-
यामास ॥ यस्याः सगाधममृतं पानीयराशिमवलो-
क्य क्षीरोदकार्णवसमाकारा दिव्य माभ्यदर्शादु-
त्ताद्भिज्जजरायुजस्वेदजार्थमाचंद्रार्कास्थिरा भू-
यात् ॥ तत्र व्ययीकृतद्रव्यसंख्या ३२९००० सर्व
महमूदसुरत्राणमंत्रिमुख्या प्रतापिनी धर्मार्थिनी हरीरा
ख्या वापीमियमचीकरत् ॥ चतुःपथ्ये चतुर्द्वारे चतुर्दिग्ज
नसंकुले आचंद्रार्कमियं वापी मधुरा पीयतां जनैः । २
दुर्व्योगिपुण्यानीरमानजानजाश्वजनाशयान् । पाद
पादश्च संत्राणि धनिनः संति शोभनाः । ३ महाधनव्य
यं कृत्वा विश्वोपकृतिहेतवे बाई श्री हरीर नाम्नी वा-
पीमियमचीकरत् ॥ ४ वापीनिर्माणेऽधिकारी राजमेश्वराज्ञ
पालकमलिकश्री बिहामद । तथा गजचरवैश्यपत्रवीरात
था जाकर मु० देवा श्री गिरणा महं साया अनया महं वीरा

Salutation to the author of the whole creation, to you, O Lord of waters, to you, O Varuṇa, whose form is made up of everything living, and to him who is a witness to good actions. (1)

A great power by name Kuṇḍalinî, a mother to the three worlds, whose feet are adored by gods and men, prospers for ever as a well (*vâpî*). (2)

I salute Viśvakarma, the giver of all good things by whose grace all men are enabled to undertake actions. (3)

In the prosperous district of Gujarât, in the town of Ahmadâbâd [*a word unintelligible*], during the victorious reign of the illustrious Mahmûd, a female official named Harîra, possessing full authority at the door of the king's private apartments, constructed in the district town of Harîra on the north-east of the prosperous town (Śrinagara), a WELL, for the propitiation of the great God and for the enjoyment of the eighty-four lâkhs of living beings—men, beasts, birds, trees and others coming from the four quarters pressed with thirst; in the year 1556 of Vikrama, and in 1421 of Śaka, in the month of Pausha, bright fortnight, 13th day, Monday.

May that WELL, appearing in form like the milky ocean at the sight of the bottomless waters in it, last as long as there are the sun and moon, for the protection of the sweat-born, the oviparous, the viviparous, and all kinds of vegetable plants.

The money expended here amounts to 3,29,000. The heroic and religious Harîrâ, the principal minister of the king Mahmûd, constructed herself this well.

May this sweet well (water) be drunk by the people as long as the sun and moon endure, where the four roads meet, by men coming from the four quarters [*a word or two unintelligible*]. (2)

In every place there are good feeding institutions established by wealthy men [*the rest unintelligible*]. (3)

Having spent a great amount of wealth, the prosperous Harîrâ constructed this well for the sake of benefiting the world. (4)

The following persons were entrusted with the building of this well, viz. Malika Śrî Bihâmada, the obedient servant of the great king; Vîra, a Vaiśya and superintendent of elephants [*a word unintelligible*]; the commanding Devâ, the prosperous Girnâ, the great Sâyâ, and the great Vîra?

MISCELLANEA.

HÂTIFI'S TIMÛRNÂMAH.

Dr. Franz Teufel, one of the Librarians of the Grand-Ducal Library at Karlsruhe, is preparing for publication a critical edition of Hvâg'a 'Abd'ulhâh Hâtifi's Timûrnâmah, which will contain the Persian text, based on a collation of all the accessible MSS., the critical apparatus, a complete glossary, and will be preceded by the life of the poet from the likewise still inedited *Biographies of Contemporary Persian Poets* by the Prince Sâm Mirzâ. Hâtifî was not alone one of the most renowned of the later poets of Persia (he flourished about the end of the fifteenth and the beginning of the sixteenth centuries), and received the honourable cognomen of Matnavî Gûj, on account of his mastery in the Matnavî,—the Matnavî Poet *par excellence*,—but he has also left in his book on Timûr, the fruit of forty years' labour, a valuable source for the history of the great Moghul-Turkish conqueror. B. Dorn rightly counts him, therefore, among those Persian poets who are of the greatest importance for a knowledge of the political and literary history of Asia.—Trubner's *Literary Record*.

* The vertical stroke to the left of a letter represents the slanting stroke on the top corresponding to the vowel ए, ऐ, ओ or औ.

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